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ART. I.—*Memoirs of John Duke of Marlborough, with his Original Correspondence; collected from the Family Records at Blenheim, and other authentic sources: illustrated with Portraits, Maps, and Military Plans.* By William Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. F. S. A. Archdeacon of Wilts. Second Edition. Six Volumes. 8vo.

IT is related of Sir Robert Walpole, that when his son Horace one day took up an historical work to read aloud to him, he exclaimed, ‘Oh, do not read history, for that *I know* must be false.’ ‘He,’ says his biographer Mr. Coxe, ‘who had fathomed the secrets of all the cabinets of Europe, must have considered history as a tissue of fables, and have smiled at the folly of those writers who affect to penetrate into state-affairs, and trace all the motives of action.’ This is somewhat too serious a comment upon a peevish speech. Walpole himself would have acknowledged after dinner, or in a sunshiny morning, that the remark was more splenetic than just. He was too good a statesman not to perceive that it is only by the study of history statesmen can be formed, and that though the secrets of cabinets can be known to few, and are not always worth knowing,—the causes of the rise and progress and decline of nations—the virtues by which they have flourished—the vices by which they have fallen—the spirit by which revolutions are brought about, and the march of human events in which what has been is perpetually recurring, are within the reach of the historian, and form the lessons by which alone the science of politics can be attained. Least of all men should Mr. Coxe have given his sanction to the remark, who, in his *Memoirs of the two Walpoles, of the House of Austria, of the Spanish Bourbons*, and more especially in the present work, has brought before the public so large a mass of authentic and original information.

The present work is chiefly derived from the most unquestionable documents—the papers at Blenheim. They consist of Marlborough’s own letters, private, official, and diplomatic—a correspondence almost unparalleled for value, interest, and extent—of Godolphin’s letters, which are equal in point of number and of interest—of numerous letters from the different sovereigns of Europe, and their chief ministers—of the papers which that extraordinary woman, Sarah Duchess of Marlborough, left behind

her,—and of the Sunderland collection. From these, from various other manuscript collections which have been opened to Mr. Coxe, in the liberal spirit of the present age, (properly called liberal in this point,) and from the printed works, the author has produced the first full and satisfactory account of Marlborough, a name which must ever hold one of the first places in military history. And now that the character of this illustrious man is brought into open daylight, it is delightful to see, after all the calumnies which have been heaped upon him, how nearly it is without a spot.

The Churchill family, obviously as that name might seem to explain its English origin, is traced to the Courcils of Poitou, who came over with the Conqueror. John Churchill, the subject of this history, was born at Ash, in Devonshire, on the 24th of June 1650. The father and grandfather had been conspicuous for their loyalty in the civil wars, and of course suffered in their estates: that loyalty, however, led to the subsequent elevation of the family. The father, Sir Winston Churchill, was rewarded with certain offices under government; his daughter, Arabella, was appointed maid of honour to the Duchess of York; and John was made page of honour to the Duke. He had previously been placed at St. Paul's school, and it has been affirmed, that he acquired his first inclination for a military life from perusing a copy of Vegetius in the school library. At a review of the foot-guards, the Duke asked him what profession he preferred, and received the answer which he probably expected when he put the question at such a time; the boy fell on his knees, and asked for a pair of colours in one of those fine regiments. His first essay in arms was at Tangiers. His second campaign was in 1672, during the disgraceful alliance between England and France: he then served with the English auxiliaries under Monmouth in that army which Louis XIV. commanded nominally in person, but which was really directed by Turenne and Condé. In that campaign he attracted the notice of Turenne, and received the thanks of the King of France, at the head of the army. And continuing till 1677 to serve with the French in their war against the Emperor, he acquired under Turenne, and the other distinguished French generals of the age, that knowledge of the art of war which was afterwards so well and so worthily employed in protecting Germany, and preserving Europe from the yoke of France.

His person was so remarkably fine, that Turenne distinguished him by the name of the handsome Englishman, and it is said that he did not escape from the vices which at that time disgraced the English court. In the twenty-eighth year of his age, however, he married Sarah Jennings, who was ten years younger than himself:

self: she was of a good family, had been placed in her twelfth year in the Duchess of York's household, and had there become the favourite companion and chosen friend of the Princess Anne. Her figure and countenance were commanding and animated, indicating at once the character of her mind; and licentious as were the manners of the sphere in which she moved, her own conduct was such as to obtain respect, while her person and talents were objects of admiration. The attachment which Colonel Churchill formed for this lady, redeemed him at once from all licentious courses; it was equally permanent and strong; and into whatever faults this celebrated woman may have been hurried by the vehemence of an ardent mind, certain it is that she possessed his full esteem and confidence, as well as his undivided love, and that she deserved to be the wife of Marlborough.

During the latter years of Charles II., Colonel Churchill was confidentially employed by the Duke of York, and he was one of the few persons who escaped with that prince from the miserable wreck of the Gloucester yacht in Yarmouth Roads. In 1683, he was created Baron Churchill of Aymouth in Scotland; and upon the marriage of the Princess Anne, his wife was, at the Princess's earnest desire, made lady of Her Royal Highness's bedchamber. Upon the accession of James he was raised to the English peerage by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford; and during Monmouth's insurrection, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. Churchill had saved Monmouth's life at the siege of Maestricht; and was now summoned to acknowledge him as king of England. By his dispositions, this unhappy and misguided man was compelled to risk an action; and by his vigilance the royal army was saved from a surprise. But his favour with James ceased after this time. Upon the great question by which the country was disturbed, his opinions were those of a wise and good man. He had considered the conduct of the whigs in Charles's reign toward the Duke of York as disrespectful, unjust and unconstitutional. 'Though I have an aversion to popery,' he observed, 'yet am I no less averse to persecution for conscience sake. I deem it the highest act of injustice to set any one aside from his inheritance, upon bare suppositions of intentional evils, and when nothing that is actual appears to preclude him from the exercise of his just rights.' After the accession of James, however, he declared to Lord Galway, that if the king should attempt to change the religion and constitution of the country, he would quit his service. That intention was unequivocally manifested; and Lord Churchill was among the first who made overtures to the Prince of Orange: but he discharged his duty as a faithful friend and subject by telling the King

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thought.' And at p. 155, favours us with the following notable passage.

'The *cerebral functions*, which are much more numerous and diversified in the higher orders of the mammalia, than in any of the preceding divisions of the animal kingdom, receive their last development in man; where they produce all the phenomena of intellect, all those wonderful processes of thought, known under the names of memory, reflection, association, judgment, reasoning, imagination, which so far transcend any analogous appearance in animals, that we *almost* feel a repugnance to refer them to the same principle.—If therefore we were to follow strictly the great series of living bodies through its whole extent, we should see the vital properties gradually encreased in number and energy from the last of plants, the mosses or the algæ, to the first of animals, man!'

Mr. Lawrence, it will be instantly recollected by every reader, whatever other merit may belong to him, has not that of being the inventor of these doctrines. They are as old as any on record, and have been advanced and confuted, and revived and driven into obscurity again and again. In the present instance, Mr. Lawrence has copied them, and even the terms in which he has expressed them, from the school of modern French philosophy. Indeed, this is not the first occasion on which he has consented to become a mere copyist, and for the purpose of propagating these worn-out but mischievous opinions: he is understood to be the writer of several articles on life, and other subjects connected with it, in the interminable Encyclopædia of Dr. Rees, in which the same principles are maintained, and in which Mr. Rennell has discovered, that he has translated whole sections from M. Bichat, without the slightest acknowledgment; and we have traced him, in like manner, still more frequently transcribing into his own pages materials of the same description from the free-thinking physiologists of Germany.

In 1817, Mr. Abernethy delivered another course of 'Physiological Lectures, exhibiting a general view of Mr. Hunter's physiology, and of his researches into comparative anatomy,' in which he affords an interesting detail of the course of study of that distinguished naturalist, of the additions which he made to our stock of useful knowledge in these departments, and of the valuable ends to which he directed his pursuits. At the same time, he took occasion to defend the theory which he had previously explained, from the miserable ribaldry with which it had been assailed, and to guard his hearers from the mischief of the sceptical principles promulgated in that lecture-room in the preceding year. With that view, he made some very just observations on the general tone and method of proceeding of persons
professing

professing these principles, on the evil consequences arising to society from the unguarded adoption of them, and on the imputations which must attach to the medical profession, if a firm stand were not made against the conversion of the lecture-room of students in surgery into a school of infidelity. Exhibiting too the pious feeling of a well principled mind, he strove to elevate, as Hunter had ever done, the thoughts of the student from the contemplation of nature, to nature's God.

• 'It has been said that "an undevout astronomer is mad;" yet he only contemplates the immensity and order of the works of Nature, and the causes of the varieties of light and seasons, so serviceable to the living beings which inhabit this planet, and, as he infers, to those of others. But what shall we say of the anatomist who observes the structure and functions of those beings, who examines their extreme variety, and regular gradation and connexion, without any feeling or perception that Intelligence has operated in ordaining the laws of nature? We judge of others by ourselves, and assuredly, such a character must, by the bulk of mankind, be considered as possessing either a deficient or perverse intellect.

'The opinion that Intelligence must have ordained the order of Nature, is not only impressed by her decrees upon the bulk of mankind, but is confirmed by the observations and reflections of the most observant and intellectual individuals of the human race. Those who think that intelligence may exist distinct from organization, are disposed to admit that the intelligence with which they are endowed may have a separate existence. Those who think that perception is not essential to life, but is an attribute of something different, are also disposed to admit the separate existence of perception and intelligence, and thus do these two opinions produce and support each other. Both opinions are natural to most men, and confirmed by the observations and consideration of the most intellectual of the human race.'—*Physiological Lectures*, p. 331, 332.

Mr. Lawrence sufficiently understood that these observations, though delivered in general terms, applied directly to himself; but, instead of taking the reproof in good part, expressed as it was without harshness or severity, he was unfortunately excited by it to a high pitch of angry feeling, and to a determination to shew his contempt for it by redoubling the offence. Accordingly, in his lectures, delivered in the ensuing year, (1818) under the pretence of defending himself, he indulges in the most coarse and virulent invective against his former patron. He talks, among other things, of being attacked with the *odium theologicum*, which he describes as 'the most concentrated essence of animosity, and rancour.' p. 10. However this be, Mr. Lawrence evinces, by his own example, that the *odium anti-theologicum* is of a far more dark and deadly character:—and if we are ever

called upon to say 'where we should expect to find 'the most concentrated essence of animosity and rancour,' we shall answer without hesitation, in a sceptic, who found himself thwarted and exposed by one who felt the full force and value of sound religious principles, especially if such a person had once been his especial friend and benefactor. Mr. Lawrence, as if determined to endure no longer the imputation of delivering his opinions with some degree of mysticism and obscurity, now affirms, in language which none can misunderstand, that all the phenomena of life and of mind result entirely from the bodily structure, and consequently that death, which destroys the bodily structure, destroys the whole of man! Nor is he content merely to announce these opinions, and to leave them to their natural effect on the reader's mind, but he recurs to them again and again with an earnestness which seems to result more from passion and irritation, than from any motive intelligible even to himself; or, if he have such a motive, it must arise from conceiving that the maintenance of every thing valuable to the happiness of man depends on his success in establishing and propagating the belief of such opinions.

Unsatisfied with converting the lecture-room of the College into a school of materialism, Mr. Lawrence travels out of his course whenever it suits his purpose, and indulges his hearers with his opinions on various subjects of politics, religion, education, &c. In one place, he introduces a long diatribe on the controversies which have taken place among Christians, and facetiously compares religious discussions with the quarrels of the fair sex; in another, he rails at what he calls the vain attempts of persons in power to make men act or think alike. We find him, at one time, venting his mawkish lamentations over the human propensities to war, and passing high encomiums on the Quakers for the *rationality* of their creed; and, at another, bursting forth with all the fury of a disappointed sportsman, against 'the *oppressive cruelty and intolerable abuses* of that iniquitous and execrable code, the game laws.' p. 40. Nor does he conceal his political prepossessions. 'The governments of the old world he is pleased to inform us, in one line, are 'worn out despotisms;' and in the next, that *Eurōpē* is likely to be converted, by 'the conspiracies of the mighty,' (those *worn out* despots) into 'one great state prison.' p. 37. But it is in America that all which is great and good is to be found; there, exclaims this enraptured seer, there is 'the animating spectacle of a country sacred to civil liberty,'—a country which has 'established itself out of the prejudices of the old world—where *religion is in all its fervour* without needing an alliance with the state to maintain it—where the law commands by the respect which it inspires, without being enforced by any military

Abernethy, Lawrence, &c. on the Theories of Life.

tary power.' Whether this eulogium on America be poured forth in the design of transferring at some future time to that land of 'liberty and religious fervour' his own acquirements, and opinions, in case they should not be sufficiently appreciated in this country, we venture not to conjecture. Certain we are, that, if such an event should take place, he would meet with persons there, whose fervour in religion is nearly on a par with his own.

While doctrines of such a fearful nature were maintained by a professor acting under public authority, and, what is not a little singular, without discountenance by the Collegiate body by which he was appointed, it could not be supposed that they would be suffered to pass without any animadversion whatever; or that no stand would be made against the diffusion of principles so revolting to the feelings of mankind, and so destructive of all that tends to advance their happiness and to ennoble their nature. Our readers will hear with great pleasure that many of the most eminent members of the Lecturer's profession are anxious to rescue their community from the disgrace which would deservedly attach to it, if the taint of such principles should be supposed to be deep or extensive. Two pamphlets on the subject have also appeared from other quarters, the one by the Rev. Thomas Rennell, Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge; the other, entitled *Cursory Observations on Mr. Lawrence's Lectures* by one of the people called Christians; to which we must now turn our attention.

It may not be generally known, that the person holding the office of Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge is required by the founder to answer any cavils or objections which may be brought against rational or revealed religion. Mr. Rennell, therefore, was peculiarly called upon to come forward on the occasion. His pamphlet was published before Mr. Lawrence's second work had issued from the press, and when it was only known from the evidence of his two introductory lectures, and from general rumour, in how determined and persevering a manner he was endeavouring to subvert the principles of the medical students. Mr. Rennell has performed his task with equal spirit and ability. By applying the touchstone of close examination to the notions of Mr. Lawrence and some others who agree with him, he has shewn, to the satisfaction we apprehend of every reader, the endless perplexity and confusion of their ideas, the miserable inconsistencies with which their writings abound, and the gross improbability or positive falsehood of many of their assertions. He has entered into an investigation of the doctrine of vitality, and shewn, by clear and powerful reasoning, and aptness of illustration, how much more consonant it is with

the best conclusions of our reason, to believe that life, through the whole range of organized beings, consists in some principle of inherent activity superadded to the material structure, while in man, who lives in a state of reflection as well as sensation, an immaterial and immortal soul is added to the living principle which he possesses in common with other animals. Mr. Rennell concludes with some excellent remarks on the general character of modern scepticism, a severe and solemn reproof of those who are guilty of endeavouring to pervert the religious tenets of the young and inexperienced; and a suitable and impressive caution to those who are likely to be exposed to such seductions. The anonymous author of the 'Cursory Observations' has exclusively directed his attention to Mr. Lawrence's second work, his Lectures on Physiology, &c. He has remonstrated with him in terms of well-deserved severity on their general tone and character, and pointed out with great success the errors and inconsistencies into which he has been betrayed, errors which are truly astonishing in a man of his abilities, but still are naturally to be expected in one who undertakes to maintain a cause so radically unsound.

There remain to be mentioned two other works which stand at the head of this article. The one, 'A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Rennell concerning his remarks on scepticism,' by a Graduate of Medicine. The other 'Sketches on (of) the Philosophy of Life,' by a fit auxiliary to Mr. Lawrence in the cause of scepticism and materialism, Sir T. C. Morgan. The Graduate professes himself friendly to the cause which Mr. Rennell supports, but objects to several parts of his reasoning. We confess that, amidst the obscurity which pervades this pamphlet, we can neither discover the author's meaning in many parts, nor his object in writing at all. He professes to detect errors in Mr. Rennell's work, and to point them out as a friend, lest others should point them out in a hostile manner. We can easily understand that, when a *friend* busies himself solely in tracing out errors in a work, he puts arms into the hands of those who are disposed to run it down; but we cannot quite so well comprehend how the fact of errors being noticed in a friendly manner can tend to prevent their being made the subject of hostile animadversion. The Knight is a prodigious quoter of Greek and other outlandish tongues, of which he understands nothing, and trusts to his reader's understanding as little. He appears to be a true disciple of the French physiologico-sceptical school; and has a number of favourite terms, taken from it, such as, functions, tissues, reaction, &c. on which he rings perpetual changes, to the utter confusion of all sense. The following is a specimen (casually taken) of his jargon;—language it is not.

‘ Essentially

‘Essentially linked with the power of loco-motion, relative sensibility is distributed to the different animals in an exact proportion to the wants of their organization, being resident in a tissue, whose development is regulated in the various species, by the sphere of activity necessary to their preservation.’—p. 276.

According to this great philosopher, ‘there is in all individuals a preponderance of some viscus (in the brain) which gives it a lead in the organization.’ p. 365. In another place he informs us, that ‘the distinction between material and spiritual beings is made a watch-word for fanaticism and persecution:’ and that ‘the proposition of a Deity without parts or dimensions approaches to absolute atheism.’ *ib.* But it is needless to multiply quotations from a work, of which the mischievous tendency is wholly blunted by the unutterable dullness and puzzle-headedness of the writer.

We now return to Mr. Lawrence.

‘In accepting,’ says the author of the “Cursory Observations,” the office of a Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons, you were not indeed bound to accede to the creed of the Established Church, nor compelled to express your admiration of the civil institutions of the English nation. You were still at liberty to enjoy your opinions in private, nay, to publish them to the world in any separate and independent form. But, I appeal to your sense of decorum and propriety, whether it be fair or expedient to transform the professor’s chair into the seat of the scorner and the sceptic? Suppose, Sir, that I had sent my son to attend upon your Lectures, that your fame and reputation as Anatomical and Surgical Professor had determined him to give you the preference above all your brethren; should not I be shocked, on his return, to find that his religious principles were destroyed, and his moral principles corrupted; that he had ceased to admire the constitution of his country; and that he had gained his professional knowledge at the expense of all dignified and elevated moral-sentiment?

‘It would be a poor satisfaction for me to learn, that you had no such nefarious design; that all you wished was, to divest him of pre-conceived prejudices, and to free him from national partialities. I had sent him to perfect himself in anatomical and surgical acquirements, not to be made the disciple of Hume or Volney, of Voltaire or Gibbon. Indeed, Sir, you have completely travelled out of your record, by endeavouring to influence the moral and political sentiments of your pupils. Instead of contemplating physiology, in its reference to surgery and medicine, you have exhibited it as the road to materialism in metaphysics, to faction in politics, and to infidelity in religion. These are grave and serious charges; and if I cannot substantiate them, I shall be content to rank as a bigot and calumniator. But if, in the following Letters, it shall be proved that these are the natural consequences of your speculations, then, as a man of honour, you will feel yourself

yourself driven to the following dilemma: either you will, for the future, refrain from expressing such opinions in your character as Royal Professor, or, you will renounce a situation so totally incompatible with the display of these sentiments in politics and religion.'—p. 8.

Nothing can be more just than the language of this remonstrance. Mr. Lawrence, at the close of his lectures, (p. 573) says, 'I have now performed the task assigned to me by the Board of Curators.' We beg leave to ask *what* was the task assigned to him by that Board? Was it to give a course of lectures for the improvement of the students in the knowledge and practice of surgery? or to seek to pervert their moral and religious principles, to teach them to doubt the records of Revelation, and to indispose them to the institutions of their country? He talks (p. 575) of the liberality of the legislature in voting a large sum of public money for the purchase of Mr. Hunter's valuable collection; and of the pecuniary exertions of the College of Surgeons in making arrangements connected with the gift, and instituting professorships. We ask again, with *what* view was the liberality of the legislature and of the College exerted? Can any one doubt that its sole object was to improve the means of education for students and practitioners in surgery and medicine?—not to form a nursery for scepticism in religion, or republicanism in politics.

But, if Mr. Lawrence is deserving of severe reproof for perverting his professional lectures to the purpose of spreading his peculiar opinions on subjects altogether foreign to that before him, the impropriety is greatly enhanced by the consideration of the sort of audiences to whom his lectures are immediately addressed. They consist of young men, many of whom are obliged to enter on the peculiar studies of their profession with little or no general education; and are, consequently, not likely to have any principles of morality or religion steadily fixed on their minds; whence they must be unable to decide deliberately and calmly on those which are presented to their choice. Under these circumstances, a man like Mr. Lawrence, eminent in his profession, and therefore possessing full command over their attention, must be able, so far as his influence as a Lecturer extends, to mould them to whatever opinions he pleases; more especially when he assumes an air of peculiar freedom of thought, pretends to soar above all vulgar prejudices, and to teach in religion and politics a sounder creed than is received by the mass of mankind. But, if those whom Mr. Lawrence addressed were so liable to be seduced, what excuse can be formed for the seducer?

'If there be a thought, which in the hour of impending dissolution must agonize and distract even the most hardened infidel, it is the remembrance

membrane of having been the instrument of perplexing the understandings, destroying the hopes, and corrupting the morals of the young men committed to his charge. At that very age, when every motive which religion can supply, is so imperiously called for, to check the rising passions, and to subdue them into a state of rational and permanent restraint, it is an offence no less against social, than individual happiness, to inculcate those principles, which set at defiance conscience and morality at defiance. The man who will coldly and laboriously teach the lessons of infidelity, will not scruple to excuse, if not to inculcate the practice of immorality; and he who will confound the distinctions between truth and falsehood in speculation, will annihilate the boundaries between virtue and vice in practice. Nor will the mischief stop here, nor confine itself to those, who have been the more immediate victims of his delusion. Infidelity, like every other pestilence, is propagated by contagion. In whatever provincial town these young men may settle, they will find but too many of their own rank and age, who will become ready converts to a principle, which, while it flatters their understanding, corrupts and indulges their heart.

‘I am at a loss to imagine, what worthy end, or even what plausible excuse, a teacher can propose to himself, for the propagation of opinions, which unsettle and distract the mind, destroy every good and moral feeling, and deprive their victims of all comfort in the day of affliction, of all hope on the bed of death. Will either the principles, or the practices of the Gospel, render the student less ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, or less active in the duties of his profession? Will it exclude any one light of philosophy, any one ray of science from his mind? Will it make him less tender in his manners, less kind in his actions, especially to the poor and the friendless? Will it not rather give him a power over the mind as well as over the body of his patient; so that while he relieves the sufferings of the outward frame, he may speak in the language of peace and of comfort to the soul?’

‘What are the motives of those, who would take advantage, both of the ignorance and of the passions of those whom they address, and teach them through the medium of the most paltry sophistry, to trample upon all religious and moral restraint, I leave for themselves to determine. It is not to the motives of the teachers, but to the consequences of the doctrines, that I would draw the attention of the public.’—*Remarks on Scepticism*, p. 51—53. •

After these general remarks on the mode and consequences of Mr. Lawrence’s proceedings, we must descend to a distinct consideration of some of his opinions. And here, we cannot but observe the notable inconsistency which he betrays, in loudly exclaiming against all attempts to bring men to uniformity of opinion on important points of faith and practice, at the very moment when he himself is straining every nerve to compel them to adopt implicitly those which he promulgates. He burlesques the practice of inculcating those principles which are held useful to society; and hails with anticipations of delight, the

the day, which will soon arrive, 'when the attempts at enforcing uniformity of opinion will be deemed as irrational and as little desirable, as to endeavour at producing sameness of face and nature.' He does not explain to what extent he objects to the plan of endeavouring to make men act and think alike; and thus we are left to conjecture whether he would have human beings brought up without any notions of the distinction between right and wrong. We take it for granted that he would not think of teaching them to believe in the existence or the providence of a God, or to consider themselves accountable for their present conduct, in a future state; for this would be 'to interfere with the sacred right of private judgment:' but we should still be glad to learn whether he would consent to have them taught to act and think alike on the subject of murder and robbery being atrocious crimes; of honesty, gratitude, benevolence being social duties; of the institution of marriage being conducive to the good of society and to individual happiness. Our private opinion is, that he would have no objection to make men act and think alike, and would check at no means to effect this purpose, if they would only consent to adopt those opinions which he embraces. If he could see a chance of making all mankind sceptics in religion, and republicans in politics, we should find him, we suspect, amongst the most active to recommend those 'attempts at uniformity' which he now reprobates with such flaming indignation.

Amongst the subjects to which Mr. Lawrence directs the attention of his pupils in lectures founded expressly for their improvement in the science and practice of surgery, is (strange as it may appear) the Mosaic account of the creation and of the early history of the world! He seems very properly to conclude that his work would be imperfect, if he were not to level a blow at the records of Revelation, at the same time that he proves from physiological principles that men have no souls; accordingly he devotes several pages to an 'attempt' to shake the confidence of his hearers in the truths of them. 'The entire or even partial inspiration of these writings (he says) has been and is doubted by many persons, including learned divines, and distinguished oriental and biblical scholars;' (p. 248.) and he kindly proceeds to inform us, that 'the account of the creation and subsequent events has the allegorical figurative character common to eastern compositions.' To what 'distinguished biblical scholars' he alludes, he does not condescend to explain, and we are unable to conjecture. In vain have we taxed our memory; two only (notwithstanding the *many* of which he boasts) occur to us, of sufficient eminence to deserve to be quoted as authorities: these are Sir
William

William Drummond and Mr. John Bellamy, persons known to all the world for their boundless proficiency in oriental literature, and their matchless judgment in applying it; and who, though they certainly differ in their views of the sense of Scripture from a large body of divines, still, as far as their opinions of their own talents and attainments go, are highly deserving of the entire confidence of Mr. Lawrence.

In considering the evidence of Scripture as to the derivation of the human race from one common stock, Mr. Lawrence stumbles on a discovery (as he would have us believe) of peculiar originality! viz. that 'the Mosaic account does not make it quite clear that the inhabitants of all the world descended from Adam and Eve:—p. 248. In this he outdoes Mr. Bellamy himself; for, if it be 'clear' that the sun is above the horizon at noonday, we conceive it to be equally so that, when it is said Eve was 'the mother of all living,' it is said that all mankind are descended from her. 'But,' cries Mr. Lawrence, 'we read in the first chapter that "God created man male and female," and this *seems to have been* previously to the formation of Eve.' It *seems to be* no such thing; the account of the formation of Eve is manifestly a detailed account of what had been before briefly told. Adam and Eve were created on the same day, but a more particular statement of the manner in which Eve was formed is given in a later period of the narrative. This sagacious commentator on Scripture 'discovers' another proof of his assertion. 'We find,' he says, 'that Cain, after slaying his brother, was married, although no daughters of Eve are mentioned before this time.' None mentioned! but what proof does this afford that none *existed*? It must have happened in the nature of things, it is certain from the narrative itself, that Adam and Eve had many other sons and daughters, although those only are specifically noticed whose names were important to the history.

But Mr. Lawrence's most formidable objections are to the scriptural account of the various animals being brought to Adam to receive their names, and to their being collected in the ark at the time of the deluge. 'I have only to add,' he says, 'that the representations of all the animals being brought before Adam in the first instance, and, subsequently, of their being all collected in the ark, if we are to understand them as applied to the living inhabitants of the whole world, is *zoologically impossible*.' He goes on to state that we have abundant

* In fact, this *discovery* is as stale and hacknied as most of his other opinions. It may be found in Blount's 'Oracles of Reason,' and Peyrerius's 'Præadamite,' iii. 4. and has been refuted to satiety, though urged with far stronger arguments than any of Mr. Lawrence's.

proofs of animals being so completely adapted by their structure, functions and habits to the local peculiarities of temperature, soil and food, that they cannot subsist where these are no longer found. How, then, he shrewdly asks, could all the living beings have been assembled in one climate, while some are adapted to hot climates, others to cold? how could the polar bear have traversed the torrid zone, &c.? To all these questions (and a thousand might be put, involving equal '*zoological impossibilities*') the answer is very short and very simple. The narrative implies that these transactions took place under the control of an extraordinary Providence; which was, no doubt, extended to the subduing of the natural habits of the animals, and to the sustentation of their lives, in circumstances not adapted to their natures, as far as was necessary for the end proposed. This is the clear sense of Scripture, and in this sense it has ever been understood by all who have not been desirous of casting ridicule upon it. As to animals adapted to cold climates, *polar* bears, &c. how does he know that there existed, at that time, any animals adapted to cold climates? or any such animal as the '*polar*' bear? It is sufficient for the reasonable view of the subject that some of every species should then have existed; the distinction into varieties being for the most part the result, subsequently to their dispersion, of their adaptation to particular soils, climates and modes of life.

We must now enter a little more particularly into Mr. Lawrence's notions of life and organization. Before we proceed, however, we entreat the reader to call to mind, what it is that the materialist, who is generally in the habit of smiling at the credulity of the world at large, modestly requires him to believe? It is, that there is no other difference between a man and an oyster, than that the one possesses bodily organs more fully developed than the other; that all the eminent powers which we know to exist in man, the powers of reason, reflexion, imagination, memory, the powers which distinguished a Milton, a Newton, and a Locke, are merely the functions of a few ounces of organized matter called the brain; and that, as soon as this is dissolved, the being which possessed those powers, perishes altogether! Even in this view of the subject, there is nothing new—nothing but the stale repetition of older sceptics, which has been discussed and disproved a thousand times. Dr. Darwin, indeed, carried the hypothesis still farther—for it was a favourite part of his creed that man, when he first sprang by chance into being, *was* an oyster, and nothing more; and that by time alone, (a lapse of some chiliads or myriads of ages, for he has not given his chronology very particularly,) and the perfectibility of his ostraceous nature, he became first an amphibious, and then a terrestrial animal!

But

But leaving this—we know that the belief of a spiritual intelligent soul in man has been so universal, as to be deemed the natural conclusion of his reason; that there is implanted in him a strong desire of immortality, a consciousness that some part of himself will not perish together with the body. Is it possible that all these feelings and anticipations, in which so large a portion of mankind have agreed, and which have been more strong and vivid in proportion as the human faculties have been improved by cultivation, are mere delusion? and, that man, in reality, possesses nothing which *can* survive the grave? Is it on slender proofs, that we should imbibe opinions so opposed to our natural feelings! so contrary to the general conviction of mankind!

Again, we would entreat the reader to consider the unavoidable consequence of this doctrine on the happiness and conduct of mankind. According to the materialist, when the body is dissolved, all that is conscious in the human being, all that is capable of feeling and enjoyment, sinks into nothing. Where then are those powerful considerations, which animate him to virtue, which console him under affliction? All the pleasing anticipations of recompense beyond the grave are at once dashed to the ground,—all those high and holy hopes which have produced the noblest instances of heroic virtue,—which supply the sweetest and most availing antidote to the sorrows of the world,—and which have so often illuminated with a ray from heaven the couch of him who feels that every worldly stay is fast dropping from beneath him!—If again, there be no responsible *hereafter* for the conduct *here*, what rule is there for the guidance of human actions? What is there to stir to the performance of those duties from which no personal advantage is to be obtained? What, to restrain from those crimes by which the individual sees, or fancies he sees, that he will be a gainer in this world? ‘Take away,’ says Mr. Lawrence, ‘from the minds of men the operations of the five senses, and the functions of the brain, and what will be left behind?’ ‘What,’ answers the author of *Cursory Observations*, ‘but the jail and the gallows, neither of which will long restrain from crimes and atrocities.’

Mr. Lawrence, we readily acknowledge, is sometimes a perspicuous writer, and a solid reasoner on the topics which fall within the range of his professional studies. If then it shall appear, that his arguments on this peculiar subject are involved in inextricable confusion, we must in justice attribute it to his utter incompetence to such discussions, and to the radical unsoundness of the cause which he maintains.

In his Introductory Lecture (p. 118,) Mr. Lawrence exhorts his audience to be particularly on their guard against *loose and indefinite*

indefinite expressions; they are (he says) *the bane of all science*, and have been remarkably injurious in the different departments of our own.' After this exordium, we were scarcely prepared for the following passage, which occurs in the next page, and which is intended, in charity, we presume, to guard his medical pupils against his own expressions. He could not have produced, from any quarter, a more striking or more curious specimen of that very description of writing which he justly calls 'the bane of all science,' and against which he deems it so necessary to caution his hearers.

'Organization means the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies; in this point of view they are contrasted with inorganic, inert or dead bodies. Vital properties, such as sensibility and irritability, are the means by which organization is capable of executing its purposes; the vital properties of living bodies correspond to the physical properties of inorganic bodies; such as cohesion, elasticity, &c. Functions are the purposes which any organ or system of organs executes in the animal frame; there is, of course, nothing corresponding to them in inorganic matter. Life is the assemblage of all the functions, and the general result of their exercise. Thus organization, vital properties, functions, and life, are expressions related to each other, in which organization is the instrument, vital properties the acting power, function the mode of action, and life the result.'—*Intr. Lect.* p. 120.

We say nothing of the *looseness* of expression in the first sentence, where he contrasts organized bodies with inorganic, *inert* or *dead* bodies, as if all bodies, whether organized or unorganized, were not inert, and as if organized bodies were never dead; nor of a similar *looseness* in that which follows, where he affirms that the vital properties of living bodies correspond to the physical properties of inorganic bodies; as if living bodies did not possess the same physical properties of cohesion, &c. as inorganic bodies. We hasten to call the reader's attention to the accurate and philosophical notions exhibited in the latter part; and this we cannot do better than in the words of Mr. Rennell.

'So then' (in the preceding passage of Mr. Lawrence,) 'we have an instrument, an acting power, a mode of action, and a result. All this is very intelligible. Organization then is the instrument which produces life as its result. But in the first sentence Mr. Lawrence informs us, that organization "is the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies, as contrasted with inorganic or dead bodies." Here then it appears, that life so far from being the "result," is in fact "a component part" of the said instrument, and that so far from life being the consequence or result of organization, that no organization can exist without it. So according to Mr. Lawrence, "life is the result of the peculiar composition which distinguishes living bodies," or in other words, we first take for granted the existence of life, and then we
prove

prove it to result from its own existence. This is a sort of logic which cannot surely be allowed. "Life," again says Mr. Lawrence, "is the *assemblage* of all the functions, and general *result* of their exercise." Just now he made the result co-existing with the instrument of its production, and now he makes it the same with the mode of action, or in other words, with the mode of producing it.

'Let us take Mr. Lawrence upon his own ground—a scalpel is the instrument, a hand the acting power, cutting the mode of action, and a wound the result. What would Mr. Lawrence say to the man who should assert, that the wound was co-existent with the scalpel, or again that the act of cutting was a wound?

'After all this, in the very next page Mr. Lawrence informs us, that *the vital properties or forces animate living matter, so long as it continues alive*. Or in other words, that they animate (or give life) to matter which has life, so long as it continues to have life.

'First then we were told that organization was the instrument, and life the result; we were then told, the organization and life were co-existent; and now we are told,

"The result of all these enquiries I have no hesitation in affirming to be, that no connection has been established in any one case between the organic texture and its vital power." p. 143.—p. 66, 67.

Amidst all this confusion and inaccuracy, to which no parallel will be found, except in the writings of Sir T. C. Morgan, and some of his brother materialists, let us inquire what direct proof Mr. Lawrence's work affords, that the material brain is the source of thought and of all other faculties. He deals mainly in hardy asseverations, which seem intended to supply the want of regular reasoning; and scatters his opinions, without pointing out the grounds on which they rest: we find him, however, insisting on the close connexion between the mind and body as evincing in his judgment that there is no immaterial principle in man.

'Where (he says) shall we find proof of the mind's *independence* on the bodily structure, of that mind, which, like the corporeal frame, is infantile in the child, manly in the adult, sick and debilitated in disease, phrenzied or melancholy in the madman, enfeebled in the decline of life, doting in decrepitude, and *annihilated by death*?—*Phys. Lect.* p. 7. Again, 'Where is the mind of the fetus, where that of the child just born? Do we not see it *built up* before our eyes by the actions of the five external senses, and of the gradually developed internal faculties?

The reader will at once perceive that most of this is gratuitous. Mr. Lawrence assumes that the mind is *built up* by the external senses, by which, we suppose, he means that no mind exists at first, and that all which we call mind is formed by the action of the external senses. Now whether it be harder to believe this, or that an immaterial mind is an original part of the human being, and—not that it is, built up by, but—that it derives its ideas

through the external senses, let the reader judge.—But what proof is afforded of the non-existence of an immaterial soul distinct from the material body, from the fact of the mental and corporeal faculties beginning to act together, of their growing together to maturity, of their being (often) strengthened and enfeebled together, and (generally) decaying together in the decline of life?

That the closest union subsists between the soul and body, and that the soul, during this union, carries on its functions and operations through the instrumentality of the bodily structure, is a fact too clear to be doubted; however, ignorant we are, and must ever be, of the precise nature of this union, and of the mode by which the one acts by the assistance of the other. This once allowed, it follows, as a natural consequence, that the soul and body should mutually affect each other in the strongest and most immediate manner; that when the bodily organs are deranged, the functions of the mind, the exercise of which is carried on by means of those organs, should, in a correspondent degree, be impeded and obstructed. Now if we were only acquainted with instances in which body acts upon mind, there would still, as far as this view of the subject is concerned, be no reason for concluding that the mental faculties are derived from the bodily organs, but only that their exercise depends on those organs. But how stands the fact? It is matter of every day's experience that intense reflection, excessive grief or joy, the excitement of vehement anger and other passions, affect the bodily frame in various manners and degrees, promote or impede the circulation of the blood, assist or obstruct the digestive organs, provoke the action of particular glands, produce relaxation or tension in the nerves, and materially change the general state of the health. A sudden affection of the mind often produces a temporary suspension of all the active powers of the body, and has even been known to deprive it altogether of life.

‘A letter is brought to a man,’ (as Mr. Rennell well illustrates the action of thought upon the bodily organs,) ‘containing some afflicting intelligence. He casts his eyes upon its contents, and drops down without sense or motion. What is the cause of this sudden affection? It may be said that the vessels have collapsed, that the brain is consequently disordered, and that loss of sense is the natural consequence. But let us take one step backward, and enquire, what is the cause of the disorder itself, the effects of which are thus visible. It is produced by a sheet of white paper distinguished by a few black marks. But no one would be absurd enough to suppose, that it was the effect of the paper alone, or of the characters inscribed upon it, unless those characters conveyed some meaning to the understanding. It is thought then which so suddenly agitates and disturbs the brain, and makes its vessels to collapse. From this circumstance alone we discover the

amazing influence of thought upon the external organ ; of that thought which we can neither hear, nor see, nor touch, which yet produces an affection of the brain fully equal to a blow, a pressure, or any other sensible injury. Now this very action of thought upon the brain, clearly shews that the brain does not produce it ; while the mutual influence which they possess over each other, as clearly shews that there is a strong connection between them. But it is carefully to be remembered, that *connection* is not *identity*.—pp. 94, 95.

• But, says Mr. Lawrence, the faculties of the mind grow up to maturity with the bodily organs, begin when they begin to exist, and decay when they decay. The first part of this assertion will be readily granted, although we do not perceive in what manner it strengthens the Lecturer's cause. We believe he is not likely to have to contend with any persons who maintain the pre-existence of souls, although, with a view to such, he speaks (p. 107.) of a human fetus having been discerned in a very minute state, and asks, with a disgraceful levity well worthy of himself and of the principles which he maintains, 'whether the immaterial mind can have been connected with it in that state, at what precise time the spiritual guest arrived in his corporeal dwelling, and whether the little being had then a soul to be saved?' Putting aside such hopeless nonsense as this ; it is quite as easy to conceive that, in the embryo state of the human being, an immaterial soul should begin to exist in union with the organic structure, and that the powers and faculties of both should be contemporaneously developed, as to conceive that the organic structure alone, without any immaterial soul, should begin to exist, and gradually grow to perfection. We see not that this part of Mr. Lawrence's observation has any thing to do with the establishment of his peculiar doctrine. But, he proceeds, 'the faculties of the mind decay together with the organic structure, they are together enfeebled in old age, and *perish* together in death.' How does he, or any one, know this? Instances are familiar to all of us, in which the exercise of some (or all the) mental functions is occasionally, even in this life, suspended, but not destroyed. Thus in a swoon and in sleep, and more especially in catalepsy, a total suspension of some or all the faculties takes place for a time, yet the exercise of them is afterwards as active as before. Thus too in atony or paralysis of some particular organ, as of vision or hearing, the use of such faculty of the mind is suspended,—let the organ be restored to its natural state of health, and the exercise of it returns. But are we to allow that the faculties of the mind and body decay always together? Generally speaking, no doubt, a decaying body brings with it, more or less, a decaying mind, as is naturally to be expected under the circumstances of the mind being most closely united

with the body, and employing its organs for the development of its faculties. Exceptions, however, to this law occur continually of so marked a character, as wholly to defeat the inference which the materialist would deduce from it. In many cases the mind decays before the body; the latter is strong and vigorous, while the former loses more or less the exercise of its faculties. In many other cases, the powers of the mind remain clear and vigorous, in the most decayed and failing state of the body, and on the very verge of its dissolution.

Mr. Lawrence, who, like all other persons of the same school, is fond of drawing comparisons between brute animals and man, says, (p. 110.) ‘If the intellectual phenomena of man require an immaterial principle superadded to the brain, we must equally concede it to those more rational animals which exhibit manifestations differing only in a degree from some of the human. If we grant it to these, we cannot refuse it to the next in order, and so on to the oyster, the polypus, &c. Is any one prepared to admit the existence of immaterial principles in all these cases? if not, he must equally reject it in man.’ The insidious design with which these observations are made, is easily discerned, but that they are availing to establish the point proposed, will not be so readily allowed. What, if it be granted that the principle of life in brute animals, the principle of inherent activity and volition, and, in some, of a certain share of sagacity, is an immaterial adjunct to the organic structure? This has been granted by many able and philosophical inquirers into the subject, and it is perhaps the best conclusion we can come to, on a matter which is placed so far beyond the range of our knowledge. But is this to allow to brute animals any thing like the understanding soul of man? Surely not. Immateriality does not *necessarily* imply *immortality*. They are not convertible terms; nor does it follow that, because the Almighty has conferred the gift of immortality on the soul of man, he has therefore necessarily conceded it to the soul of brutes. The distinction between the condition of the brute and that of man, as to faculties and capacities of acquirement, is marked by lines too broad and deep to be overlooked. The brute, above all, is not a responsible being, subject to moral discipline, or susceptible of moral amelioration. ‘The greatest part of the animal creation,’ says Mr. Rennell, p. 116, ‘is capable of no sort of improvement whatever; and with the very few, in whom education and discipline have any effect, the improvement is merely mechanical. A dog may hunt this year better than he did last, but it is not therefore in any degree the better adapted for a spiritual and a future world. If the habits of an animal are changed for the better, it is in reference only to sensible objects and to its present sphere

sphere of action.' On the other hand, man lives the life of understanding: his soul is a reasoning soul, which not only receives ideas through the senses, but alters them at will, abstracts them from the sensible objects with which they were connected; forms them into new combinations of an endless variety, and thus opens a field of immeasurable extent for the exercise of its powers. Man too has a feeling, of which he cannot by any reasoning divest himself, of the moral responsibility which he incurs for the quality of his actions; he feels that, by care and self-controul, he may discipline himself to gradually encreasing habits of moral goodness: he feels too that he is susceptible of continual improvement, as well in knowledge as in virtue, and that scarcely any point can be assigned in the scale of attainment beyond which he may not aspire to advance. Mr. Addison finely touches upon this argument of the capacity of continual improvement in man, both to prove his marked superiority to the brute creation, and to shew the strong probability that the soul gifted with these high powers does not perish with the body, but is destined to exist in a more perfect state.

'How,' says he, 'can it enter into the thoughts of man, that the soul, which is capable of such immense perfections, and of receiving new improvements to all eternity, shall fall away into nothing almost as soon as it is created? are such abilities made for no purpose; a brute arrives at a point of perfection that he can never pass: in a few years he has all the endowments he is capable of; and, were he to live ten thousand more, would be the same thing as he is at present.—But a man can never take in his full measure of knowledge, has not time to subdue his passions, establish his soul in virtue, and come up to the perfection of his nature, before he is hurried off the stage. Would an infinitely wise Being make such glorious creatures for so mean a purpose? Can He delight in the production of such abortive intelligences, such shortlived reasonable beings? would he give us talents that are not to be exerted, capacities that are never to be gratified? How can we find that wisdom which shines through all His works, in the formation of man, without looking on this world as only a nursery for the next, and believing that the several generations of rational creatures which rise up and disappear in such quick successions, are only to receive their first rudiments of existence here, and afterwards to be transplanted into a more friendly climate, where they may spread and flourish to all eternity?'

But Mr. Lawrence comes upon us with a pair of scales, speaks of the number of ounces' weight of the human brain, and of 'the prodigious development of the cerebral hemispheres, to which no animal, *whatever ratio its whole encephalon bear to its body*, has any parallel;' p. 195. and, in conclusion, tells us, that 'it is strongly suspected that a Newton or a Shakspeare excels other

* See Spectator, No. 111.

mortals only by a more ample development of the anterior cerebral lobes, by having an extra inch of brain in the right place.' p. 110. Suspected! by whom? by Gall and Spurzheim? by himself?—Mr. Lawrence must pardon us; but in truth we cannot avoid 'strongly suspecting,' in our turn, that he is impelled to these speculations by having some extra inch of brain in the *wrong* place, or some exterior, or, peradventure, posterior lobe twisted into some strange convolution.—In another place he says that, 'unless we allow thought to be an act of the brain and not of an immaterial substance residing within it, this large and curious structure which receives one fifth of the blood sent from the heart, has the easiest lot in the whole animal economy; it is better fed, clothed and lodged than any other part, yet has less to do.' p. 106. Is it possible he can suppose that in all this there is a particle of serious argument in favour of his position? It is fully allowed that the brain is *the seat* of thought and intelligence, the centre in which the nervous system terminates, and the instrument by which the soul performs its functions during its union with the body. When it is considered how very high and important these functions are, it surely cannot be maintained, that the human brain has any inferior office allotted to it, or one which is ill suited to its ample bulk, its curious structure, and the supplies which it derives from the animal system.

Many physiologists, it seems, have endeavoured to shew that the brain in man is larger in proportion to the bulk of the body, than in any of the brute creation; p. 190. and 'the *mental* powers of brutes, (Mr. Lawrence tells us) as far as we can see, are proportional to their organization.' Neither of these facts is true; nor, if both were true, would they prove any thing to his purpose. The following are some of the proportions between the weight of the brain and of the whole body, in man and different animals, given by himself, (p. 191.) from Haller and Cuvier, physiologists of high authority. In a child 6 years old, the brain is $\frac{1}{22}$ part of the whole body, its actual weight being estimated by Haller, to be 2lbs. 28½ drams. In an adult, the brain is $\frac{1}{33}$ of the body. In the orang-outang, the same proportion as the human; in the sapa-jou, or American monkey with prehensile tail, $\frac{1}{22}$ and $\frac{1}{25}$; in the great baboon, $\frac{1}{103}$; the mole, $\frac{1}{36}$; the fox, $\frac{1}{203}$; the fieldmouse, $\frac{1}{31}$; the beaver, $\frac{1}{240}$; the elephant, $\frac{1}{300}$; the ox, $\frac{1}{750}$; the horse, $\frac{1}{1000}$; the ass, $\frac{1}{254}$; the goose, $\frac{1}{380}$; the cock, $\frac{1}{23}$; the duck, $\frac{1}{257}$; the sparrow, $\frac{1}{25}$; the canary bird, $\frac{1}{13}$; the tortoise, $\frac{1}{2340}$. The most transient glance at these proportions shews that nothing whatever can be made out from them. Some of the animals, whose sagacity and powers of instinct are well known to be of a very superior kind, as the elephant, the horse, the beaver, rank among

among the lowest in the scale; while others of an inferior class in point of sagacity, as the canary bird, the mouse, &c. rise very high: man, according to this measure, is about equal in reasoning powers to the orang-outang and the mole, but far inferior to the cock, the fieldmouse, the American monkey with prehensile tail, and many others; to crown the whole, the child of 6 years old has higher intellectual powers than the adult man.

Other speculations of physiologists on these matters follow; but Mr. Lawrence rests particularly on an hypothesis of Soemmering, according to which, on estimating the proportion which the mass of the brain bears to the bulk of the nerves arising out of it, man is thought to exceed all other animals. Independently of weight and size, he informs us, M. Soemmering 'observed fifteen visible material anatomical differences between the brain of the common tailless ape and that of man.' He proceeds to the attempts of others to prove that, in man, the proportion between the cerebrum and the cerebellum is greater than in brute animals, and dilates on the number and depth of the convolutions in the human brain, the great quantity of its medullary substance in proportion to the cortical, &c. (p. 197.) All these are very curious and valuable subjects of inquiry for the physiologist, whose business it is to trace out the resemblances, relations, and uses of the different animal organs. It is only when such speculations are turned to the purpose of proving, what they neither do nor can prove in the slightest degree, that 'medullary matter thinks,' and that man only differs from a brute in the structure of his material brain, that they degenerate into mischievous absurdities.

Among other means of establishing his principles, Mr. Lawrence has recourse to pathology. 'They,' he says, 'who consider the mental operations as the acts of an immaterial being, and thus disconnect the sound state of the mind from organization, act very consistently in disjoining insanity also from the corporeal structure, and in representing it as a disease, not of the brain, but of the mind. Thus we come to disease of an immaterial being, for which, suitably enough, moral treatment has been recommended.' —p. 111.

We fully agree with him that, *suitably enough*, in many cases of mental derangement, moral treatment has been recommended; and, what is more, we believe that it is often the only treatment which is found efficacious. We are clearly of opinion that the causes and the phenomena of these diseases, as well as the remedies devised for them, tend very decidedly to shew at once the distinction between mind and matter, and their immediate dependance on each other during their present union. Many causes of derangement are entirely mental. 'That the first effect

of the disorder may be to affect the structure of the brain, and to produce some morbid action of it, is naturally to be expected from the intimate union which subsists between them. In these cases, medical regimen may be highly useful in restoring the brain to its natural state and tone, and preventing its diseased action from reacting on the disorder of the mind: but, at the same time, the moral regimen is wanting to attack the primary cause of the evil; and we appeal to every person conversant in these disorders, whether after all that can be done by medicine, this treatment of the mind is not often found the only remedy that is effectual. Here then we have distinctly marked diseases originating in the mind, and through that acting upon matter. On the other hand, there are frequent and well known cases of insanity arising primarily from the state of the brain, from the repletion of its vessels, and consequent inflammation, or some violent blow or pressure on a particular part. Here the primary seat of the disorder is in the organ; and medical treatment for the purpose of restoring it to its proper healthy tone is the obvious method of removing the complaint. Mr. Lawrence tells us (p. 113) that he has dissected the heads of many insane persons and has hardly seen a single brain, which did not exhibit obvious marks of disease. ‘Sometimes,—indeed,’ he adds, with what consistency let the reader judge, ‘the mental phenomena are disturbed, *without* any visible deviation from the healthy structure of the brain.’ Allowing, however, the case to be as he first states, that, *generally*, in cases of derangement, ‘the brain exhibits obvious marks of disease,’ what is the conclusion? That the primary cause of the disorder is always in the brain? Assuredly, not; but that, in those cases where the disease is purely mental, it acts upon the structure of the brain, and brings it to a morbid state. Thus the morbid state of the organ is the *consequence*, not the *cause*, of the disease. It is not true, however, that the brain is perceptibly diseased in all cases of insanity. Of thirty-seven dissections made at Bethlehem Hospital, the structure of the brain was in eleven cases firmer than usual; in six it was softer; and in the remaining twenty its consistence was natural.*

Such then are the arguments—we believe we have adverted to all that deserve the slightest consideration—by which Mr. Lawrence professes to prove that it is the medullary matter of the brain of man which thinks, reasons, understands; that there is no conscious being residing within; that all the phenomena of mind result from the organization of matter, and that when this organized matter is dissolved by death, every thing that constitutes the

* Haslam on Madness.

human being becomes utterly extinct. Now we should not be unwilling to leave the matter entirely to the common sense of the reader, and to ask, whether from Mr. Lawrence's own shewing, from the facts which he produces and from the mode of his reasoning upon them, there does not result that degree of probability, which amounts almost to demonstration, against his revolting doctrines, and in favour of those which he opposes.

• But there are some very important medical facts, (independently of the many powerful arguments of another description,) which Mr. Lawrence of course passes over in silence, which mainly tend to prove that the brain is only the instrument, and not the cause of the thinking and reasoning powers. We allude principally to the cases, in which it has been found that every part of the structure of the brain has been deeply injured if not destroyed, without impeding or destroying any of the faculties of the mind, or any part of the process of thought. Instances of this kind are well known to every medical man conversant in such matters, and a great variety of them are on record. Dr. Haller mentions a case in which half a pound of pus was found in the ventricles of the brain, yet the faculties were unimpaired till death. Sir J. Pringle found an abscess in the right hemisphere of the brain as large as an egg, in a patient who had never been delirious, nor altogether insensible. A woman, under Diemerbroech's immediate inspection, whose skull was fractured by the fall of a large stone, lost a quantity of brain equal in size to a man's fist, yet she lived thirty-six days after the accident, without alienation of mind, though paralytic on the side opposite the fracture. Peyronie tells us of a boy six years old, who received a pistol shot in the head; a suppuration followed, during which he lost a great quantity of the brain at every dressing: at the end of eighteen days he died, having retained his faculties to the last. When the head was opened, the portion of brain remaining in the skull did not exceed the size of a small egg. Nor is it only after the destruction of the superior or lateral parts of the brain that the powers of thought have been known to exist; they have survived the injury, and even the destruction of the cerebellum, and of the basis of the brain. Haller mentions several instances of scirrhus affecting the cerebellum, and producing death without previously injuring the faculties. Morgagni gives a particular account of a fatal scirrhus of the cerebellum, slow in its progress, not affecting the patient's sense till the last, and then only at intervals. Dr. Brunner records a case of a blacksmith, sixty-four years of age, a hard drinker and an industrious workman, who expired in a fit of apoplexy, having

having passed the morning in apparent good health. On dissection, the whole brain, even the base of it, was found to be in a most diseased state, yet his faculties had never been impaired, and he had been remarkably acute in his judgment. Bonnet, in a patient who died after an illness of twelve years, without suffering any alienation of mind, found the whole substance of the brain watery, and so soft that it would hardly bear the knife. The pineal gland has been so often found suppurated, or petrified, or full of sabulous particles, without any previous affection of the faculties, that it seems by general consent to be given up as unnecessary to thinking.*

The inferences to be drawn from the numerous facts of this description which might be adduced, are highly important. In the first place, they render nugatory the lucubrations of such ingenious gentlemen as Drs. Gall and Spurzheim; since, if it were true that particular portions of the brain are the organs of particular faculties, then, whenever that particular portion is diseased or destroyed, the faculty connected with it must be deranged, or cease; whereas the contrary is notoriously the case. We never heard of a person losing the passion of anger, by an injury on one particular part of his brain, or being deprived of the talent of invention by an abscess formed in another; still we believe there are to be found, even now, in some of our shops, models of the human skull *mapped out*, with all the regularity of a terrestrial globe, into districts of love, destructiveness, anger, inventiveness, &c. This, however, is only by the way: the facts just adduced press most strongly on our conviction the momentous truth, that it is not the matter of the brain which thinks and reasons. Let it be granted that there is an immaterial soul in which the power of thought resides—a soul which *can*, and at some future time *will*, exercise its faculties without the aid of the material structure now united to it; and the instances of the full exercise of the mental faculties under severe injuries of the brain carry nothing with them that cannot be accounted for. On the other hand, let it be supposed that it is the matter of the brain which thinks and reasons, and it will seem to follow as a *necessary* consequence that all disease of the brain should at once impede and derange the power of thought, and that the loss of a portion of the brain should be an actual loss of a portion of the power of thought. As far as we understand those who maintain this theory, we conceive them to mean that it is the proper action of the brain to think and reason, just as it is of the liver to secrete bile, and of

* See a paper by Dr. Ferriar in the Memoirs of the Manchester Society, Vol. IV. Part I. p. 20.

the other various glands to secrete their particular fluids. Now, as it appears impossible, and is indeed contrary to all experience, that the liver and other glands should perform their functions fully, while their whole mass is diseased or a portion of them wholly gone, it seems much too severe a tax on our credulity, to call on us to believe, that the brain, as the cause of thought, should, when deeply injured or partially destroyed, exert its several powers unimpaired.

There is another physical fact which seems quite conclusive against the material system: and which is thus admirably stated by Mr. Rennell.

‘Experiments and observations give us abundant reason for concluding, that the brain undergoes within itself precisely the same change with the remainder of the body. A man will fall down in a fit of apoplexy, and be recovered; in a few years he will be attacked by another, which will prove fatal. Upon dissection it will be found that there is a cavity formed by the blood effused from the ruptured vessel, and that a certain action had been going on, which gradually absorbed the coagulated blood. If then an absorbent system exists in the brain, and the organ thereby undergoes, in the course of a certain time, a total change, it is impossible that this flux and variable substance can be endowed with consciousness or thought. If the particles of the brain, either separately or in a mass, were capable of consciousness, then after their removal the consciousness which they produced must for ever cease. The consequence of which would be, that personal identity must be destroyed, and that no man could be the same individual being that he was ten years ago. But our common sense informs us, that as far as our understanding and our moral responsibility is involved, we are the same individual beings that we ever were. If the body alone, or any substance subject to the laws of body, were concerned, personal identity might reasonably be doubted; but it is something beyond the brain that makes the man at every period of his life the same: it is consciousness.—The body may be gradually changed, and yet by the deposition of new particles, similar to those which absorption has removed, it may preserve the appearance of identity. But in consciousness there is real, not an apparent individuality, admitting of no change nor substitution.’—pp. 96—98.

We have seen with what earnestness Mr. Lawrence contends that man is only a superior kind of brute as to intellectual endowments, possessing them in common with animals of every description, and differing only in degree; the distinction mainly consisting in two or three additional anterior or posterior lobes of brain, or in the relative number and depth of the convolutions in the medullary matter. Consistently with these ideas it might be expected that he would have placed him, as to corporeal qualifications, in the rank of a better sort of baboon or monkey. It happens, however, that he is very indignant at this opinion, though

though maintained by Monboddo and Rousseau. According to these great philosophers, (who yet must yield to Dr. Darwin,) man, in his natural and proper state, loses the os sublime, goes on all fours, is covered with a clothing of hair, and furnished with a tail (whether prehensile or not has never been stated.) It may still be doubted whether the species will be very highly flattered by the generic and specific characters which Mr. Lawrence, under the auspices of Blumenbach, has substituted in the place of these at which he is so much offended—

‘ Order, bimanum (two-handed); genus, homo; the species, single, with several varieties: characters, erect stature; two hands, teeth approximated and of equal length; the inferior incisors perpendicular; prominent chin; rational, endowed with speech, unarmed, defenceless.’
—p. 133.

—In which it is manifest that he deems the perpendicularity of the inferior incisors and the prominence of the chin quite as important characteristic marks of man, as his powers of reason and his intellectual faculties. He proceeds, however, with no inconsiderable degree of anatomical knowledge, to prove that man is evidently formed to bear an erect attitude, and that he is clearly distinguished in his corporeal structure from every other living creature. He observes, among other proofs of his being designed for erectness of attitude, that the length and strength of the lower limbs are peculiar to man; and, that all the monkey tribe, even those which are thought to approach him most nearly, fall very short in this respect, their lower limbs being short and weak, and manifestly inadequate to sustain the body in an erect posture. He notices the disproportion in the respective lengths of our upper and lower limbs, as clearly pointing out the different offices they are intended to execute; the superior length and power of the latter making us totally unfit to go on all fours. To the long and powerful femur, he says, to the strong tibia, to the broad articular surfaces which join these at the knee, no parallel can be met with in any animal.

The human feet too, he adds, being the ultimate support of the whole frame and primary agents of locomotion, are characterized by a combination of greater breadth, strength, and solidity, in proportion to the size of the body, than those of any animal. The whole surface of the tarsus, metatarsus and toes resting on the ground, and the os calcis forming a right angle with the leg are peculiar to man; even the simia and the bear have the end of the os calcis raised, so that this bone begins to form an acute angle with the leg: the dog, cat, and other digitated animals, do not rest on the tarsus or carpus, but merely on the toes; in the cloven footed ruminants, the os calcis is raised nearly into a perpendicular

cular position. Thus, as we depart from man, the foot is more and more contracted and elongated, the part serving for support reduced, and the angle of the heelbone rendered more acute. The great size of the os calcis, and particularly the bulk and prominence of its posterior projection, to which the powerful muscles of the calf are affixed, correspond to its important office of supporting the back of the foot and resisting force applied to the front of the body. The concavity of the sole is an arrangement rendered necessary by the whole surface resting flat on the ground; providing room for the muscles, nerves, vessels and tendons of the toes, and assisting all the functions of the foot. 'The gradually increased breadth of the foot towards the front, the prominence of its solid and nearly immovable parts, the tarsus and metatarsus, over the more flexible toes, the direction of the metatarsal bone supporting the great toe, its situation and want of mobility, are circumstances of strong contrast with the structure of the hand, plainly pointing out the former as organized for strength and resistance, and adapted to encrease the extent and solidity of its support.'—p. 145.

Mr. Lawrence instances many other peculiarities of the human structure, in the form of the pelvis; the distribution, size, and offices of the muscles; the shape of the breast and thorax, and peculiar formation of the spine, as clearly shewing that man is destined to be erect, and that he is most clearly distinguished by essential characters from all the brute creation.—pp. 146—154. He afterwards considers more particularly the upper extremities of the human frame, shewing that, while they are entirely unsuited to the office of supporting the body, they are admirably adapted to the uses to which we put them, that of seizing and holding objects, and thereby executing, besides all the processes of the arts, many minute but most serviceable actions of constant recurrence. Comparing, too, the structure of those animals which approach nearest to the human form, with that of man, he shews that they are as ill suited to the erect attitude as man is perfectly adapted for it. As the result of his inquiry, he states 'that the erect stature is not only a necessary result of the human structure, but that it is peculiar to man; and that the differences in the form and arrangement of parts, derived from this source only, are abundantly sufficient to distinguish man by a wide interval from all other animals.'—p. 165.

From the forms of the limbs, and the general structure of the frame, Mr. Lawrence proceeds to the head, and the moral and intellectual qualities; and here he reverts to his former speculations, considering that in these most important characteristics of his nature, man is nothing more than an orang-outang or ape,

with ..

with more ‘ample cerebral hemispheres,’ in whom the rotundity of the skull gives room for ‘the more exquisite, complicated, and perfectly developed structure of the brain, and in consequence, for superiority in propensities, feelings and intellectual faculties.’—p. 237. In consistency with these ideas, he maintains that, in those varieties of the human species which have a ‘re-treating forehead and depressed vertex, there is a natural inferiority in intellectual capacity; and that it is as unreasonable to expect that the Americans or Africans can be raised by any culture to an equal height in moral sentiments and intellectual energy with Europeans, as to hope that the bulldog may be made to equal the greyhound in speed, or the mastiff taught to rival in talents and acquirements the sagacious and docile poodle.’—p. 501. We might, and perhaps ought, to reply to this argument, by physiological facts derived from other animals whose percipient powers are not varied by greater changes in the form of the brain in individuals of the same species inhabiting different parts of the globe; and by historical facts respecting various tribes of man himself, experiencing as little change of faculty under like changes of the sensorium: but we are hastening to a conclusion, and cannot therefore stop to inquire the precise degree in which Mr. Lawrence is borne out in this assertion, or to consider how far it is consistent with what he allows in other passages respecting some of the savage tribes of North America, that they are intrepid, ardent, generous and humane; faithful to engagements; ‘that their lofty sentiments of independence, ardent courage, and devoted friendship would sustain a comparison with the most splendid similar examples in the more highly gifted races.’ We content ourselves with remarking that this warm friend of civil liberty and the rights of man supplies the best apology for those who would repress the benevolent attempts to raise the poor African in the scale of civilization; and that if at any time a slave-driver in the West Indies should feel some qualms of conscience for treating the blacks under his care as a herd of oxen, he would have only to imbibe Mr. Lawrence’s idea respecting their being as inferior to himself in mental faculties as the mastiff is to the greyhound in swiftness, and his mind would at once be set at ease on the subject.

To return, however, to the important subject of Mr. Lawrence’s doctrine of materialism. It is not certainly to physiology that we look for the main proofs of the immateriality of the soul, and its continuance after death—we only ask that this valuable science may not be enlisted into the service of infidelity; that, by disguising or concealing its facts, or misrepresenting the inferences to which they justly lead, it may not be brought to invalidate those
other

other proofs of the immaterial and immortal nature of the soul, which, in reality, it is calculated to support. Mr. Lawrence has the confidence to tell his readers, while he is striving with all his power to prove that men have no souls, and that the medullary matter of their brains thinks, that he is only speaking physiologically, and that 'the theological doctrine of the soul and its separate existence has nothing to do with this physiological question.'—p. 8. Nothing to do with it! Is he in his senses, or is he insulting the understandings of his readers? He endeavours to demonstrate from physiological principles, that what he calls the theological doctrine of the soul is *totally false*, and then says that this doctrine has nothing to do with the 'physiological question'! Why will he not be content with endeavouring to rob men of their religious hopes, and to degrade them to the brute creation, without expecting to impose on their simplicity by such assertions!

We are unwilling to draw our readers into metaphysical disquisitions, and shall not therefore dwell upon the argument for the immateriality of the conscious principle in man, urged with great success by Dr. Clarke in his letters to Dodwell, and which is founded on the position, that the perception or consciousness which we have of our existence is necessarily indivisible, since it would be a contradiction to suppose that one part of it could be here, and another there.—But we forbear to enlarge on an argument of this kind, although it is our firm opinion that it has never been satisfactorily answered; and we would rather entreat the reader again to consider whether he can at all reconcile it to his understanding to believe, that the exalted faculties and capacities, moral and intellectual, which belong to the mind of man, can be the mere result of particles of matter disposed and arranged into particular organs?

But, in the capacity of the human mind for moral improvement, and in the adaptation of the course of things in this world to promote it, we surely discern still clearer indications of a destination to some ulterior end. We find ourselves placed in a state which is manifestly a state of trial and of discipline. We have good and evil set before us; we are agitated by passions and affections, exposed to sorrows and anxieties, encircled with temptations of every kind. We feel that, by exercising habitual controul over our passions, and by turning to good account the discipline of sorrow, temptations and disappointments, we have it in our power to make a continual progress towards moral perfection, to exalt our piety, to increase our resignation, to confirm our resolution, to refine our desires. Is it probable, is it possible, that, while this is the manifest tendency of things, there should be no end designed in the appointment of it; that, after a progress towards

wards perfection gradually carried on to a certain point, all should at once be closed, and the whole human creature become as if he had never been?

Again, it is surely not doubtful that every thing in this world is under the superintendence of a Being infinitely benevolent and just. Is it consistent with either of these high attributes, that man should have been formed with faculties, which, as all experience teaches, lead to the anticipation of a future state, and that all this anticipation should be built on error and delusion? How many, in all ages, have nobly sacrificed immediate worldly good; have patiently endured privation, pain and suffering; have even freely yielded up life itself, from the confident anticipation that an availing recompense awaited them beyond the grave? Would a benevolent and just Being permit these sacrifices to be made, and the hopes on which they are founded to end in utter disappointment?

Once more—where, in the course of the present world, do we find the stamp and impress of God's perfect and eternal justice? The pious soul frequently mourns under continued pain and affliction—the wicked is blessed with sound health and alacrity of spirits. The innocent falls into the snares of the guilty, virtue sinks into obscurity, and vice is raised to eminence; the plans of him who is striving to benefit his fellow creatures, end in disappointment, while they who seek only to injure and destroy, go on successfully and attain their purposes. What is the inference from all this?—that God exercises no providence over the world? Is it not rather that there *must* be some state of existence beyond the present, when all that appears now perplexed will be made clear, and all that is imperfect adjusted according to the rule of unchanging and unerring wisdom and goodness?

But, if these are the conclusions of unassisted reason, Revelation gives us the highest possible sanction for their truth. Revelation positively assures us that there is a life, a never-ending life beyond the present, that there is a soul within us, which *can* live distinct from the body, and which *will* live, when the body shall have mouldered into dust. It tells us that there will be a day of resurrection, and of judgment, a day when justice will reign triumphant and all righteousness be fulfilled. Here we have no crude speculations, no ill-digested theories of self-styled philosophers; but the sure word of God himself, confirming our belief, elevating our hopes, and teaching us the true end and destiny of our being!

Nempe hæc quæ cogitat et vult
Mens, haud terrenis consilata est ex elementis.

Verum

Verùm hanc interea Deus hanc extinguere possit:

Esto : Deus possit, si fert divína voluntas.

AT NON EXTINGUET : neque enim vis illa sciendi

Tot res humanâ tam longe sorte remotas,

Nec porro æterni nunquam satiata cupido,

Nec desiderium nostris in mentibus hærens

Perfecti, frustra est. Jam, si fas jusque requirunt

Ut sceleri male sit, bene virtutique, nec illa

Alterutri sors obtingat, dum vivitur istic ;

Restat ut hoc alio fiat discrimen in ævo.

One word more, and we have done. Mr. Lawrence contends (p. 106.) that the doctrines which he promulgates are true, and that truth ought always to be spoken. We beg leave to remind him that, when he affirms the doctrines to be true, the most he can possibly mean is that he *believes* them to be so ; and it is not to be justified, we must inform him, on any sound principle, that a man should, at all times and under all circumstances, give currency to opinions of every description, on the mere ground that, in his private judgment, he believes them to be true. A considerate person will always feel a certain distrust of his own opinions, when he finds them opposed to those maintained by the generality of mankind, including the wisest and the best ; and above all, he will most seriously weigh the tendency and the probable consequences of their general reception. Apply this to the opinions maintained by Mr. Lawrence. Their tendency to impair the welfare of society, to break down the best and holiest sanctions of moral obligation, and to give a free rein to the worst passions of the human heart, is fully admitted even by those who embrace them. Voltaire, it is well known, checked his company from repeating blasphemous impieties before the servants, ‘lest,’ said he, ‘they should cut all our throats ;’ and Mr. Lawrence, we apprehend, would much sooner entrust his life and property to a person who believed that he had an immortal and accountable soul, than to one who believed, with him, that medullary matter thinks, and that the whole human being perishes with the dissolution of the body. What advantage then can he propose to himself, by endeavouring to promote the general reception of his opinions ? Is it possible that he can desire to increase human vice and misery, to degrade his species by sowing the seeds of more sensuality, impiety, profligacy and worldly-mindedness than he actually finds among them ? Or, when he knows that such is the tendency of his conduct, is it possible that his fancied love of truth, or the indulgence of his vanity can outweigh the feeling of what he owes to the welfare of his fellow-creatures ?

We are by no means surprized to hear that Mr. Lawrence has

seriously injured himself in the opinion of the more respectable part of his profession by his late proceedings ; and that he has already experienced from the public some of those consequences which he might have foreseen as the natural result. It has sometimes been said that sceptical opinions are prevalent to a considerable extent in the profession to which he belongs. We hope, and we believe, that this is not the case. Certain we are, that while Mr. Lawrence is an almost solitary instance of a person of any consideration in that profession who has publicly maintained opinions hostile to religion, very many of the most eminent individuals in it have been distinguished for the firmness and the soundness of their religious principles ; and, on the present occasion, the stand which many of them have made against his pernicious and degrading doctrines has been such as do them infinite credit.

But something more is necessary for the satisfaction of the public and the credit of the institution. It appears to us imperative on those who have the superintendence of the Royal College of Surgeons, to make it an indispensable condition of the continuance of Mr. Lawrence in the office of lecturer, not only that he should strictly abstain from propagating any similar opinions in future, but that he should expunge from his lectures already published all those obnoxious passages which have given such deserved offence, and which are now circulating under the sanction of the College.

ART. II. *Mémoires sur la Marine, et les Ponts et Chaussées de France et d'Angleterre, contenant deux Relations de Voyages faits par l'Auteur dans les Ports d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande, dans les années 1816, 1817 et 1818 ; la Description de la Jetée de Plymouth, du Canal Calédonien, &c.* Par Charles Dupin. Paris. 1819.

THE avowed object of M. Charles Dupin's two visits to Great Britain was the improvement of a treatise on Naval Architecture, which he undertook in 1813 ; but which, he candidly confesses, was found to be defective by a commission appointed to examine it at Toulon. To supply those defects, and to make it more generally useful, M. Dupin was induced to visit the principal ports of France, and the other maritime powers of Europe ; and with this view (as we have said) he came to England, bringing with him such recommendations as procured him an easy admission to all the naval and military establishments of the United Kingdom, and other great works and manufactories both public and private.

M. Dupin

M. Dupin is a captain in the corps of Naval Engineers, a member of the Legion of Honour and, we believe, of the Institute, and was formerly superintendant of the Naval Arsenal at Dunkirk. He is undoubtedly a shrewd and intelligent young man, and no bad sample of the produce of Buonaparte's polytechnic schools; having published a good deal on mathematical and philosophical subjects, translated Demosthenes, with an essay on the Eloquence of the Athenian orator, and written, *proh pudor!* 'a letter to *Milady Morgan*' on the comparative merits of Racine and Shakspeare!

Less partial than most of his countrymen to his own nation and less prejudiced against every other, he nevertheless now and then suffers an undue bias to warp his better judgment, and, à l'ordinaire, compliments France at the expense of England and of truth. Our readers probably recollect that, in a former Number of this work,* we noticed the groans of the Institute at the reading of M. Dupin's Report, in which due credit was given to the state of perfection in which he found machinery in general in Great Britain; and they can hardly have forgotten that when the *invention* of all this machinery was claimed for the transcendent genius of Frenchmen, 'the groans ceased, the clouds were dispelled, and all became calm, cheerful, and serene.' This is pretty much the line taken in the volume before us.† While a fair proportion of praise and admiration is bestowed on the great public works, the naval and military establishments, and the machinery employed in the manufactories even of private individuals, there is scarcely an article in which it is not discovered that the inventive faculties of the French had preceded us; though it is admitted that we have left them at an immeasurable distance in carrying their inventions into practice.

'Having exhausted (it is thus that M. Dupin commences) every thing useful and ingenious afforded by maritime France, I turned my eyes towards a people who, for a century past, have wielded the sceptre of the seas, and, without resting on the superiority of their labours, are striving more and more to reach perfection.' His first visit is, of course, to the capital, which presented itself to his observations under three points of view; first, as the greatest port for trade; next as the focus of industry for the maritime arts; and, lastly, as the centre of the operations of the military marine or navy. He finds London to be, by nature,

* No. XXXVII. p. 195. note.

† An abbreviated translation of this work, with Notes by the Translator, has been inserted in the Third Number of a periodical collection of 'Modern Voyages and Travels,' by Sir Richard Phillips. The accuracy and information displayed by the author of this little tract lead us to regret that it did not appear in a more attractive shape, and under more worthy auspices.

what Paris ought to be by art, a sea-port. He describes the tiers of shipping which, in clusters of five, six, seven, and even eight abreast, are anchored in the Thames, and which succeed one another almost without interruption, from the very foot of London Bridge to the distance of some miles down the river. He remarks that these, however, are but a small part of the mercantile marine belonging to the metropolis; for that all the ships which trade to the East Indies have their particular wet-docks or basins, both for imports and exports; that those which trade to the West Indies, in like manner, have theirs; that ships of all nations are received into those called the London Docks; and that the Greenland Dock, originally constructed for vessels employed in the fisheries of that country, has subsequently received a more extensive destination.

‘Twenty years have not yet elapsed, since this last mentioned dock, the smallest of all, was the only one existing. War unexpectedly occurred, and we covered the continent with our trophies. Every where, throughout impoverished Europe, the commerce of England seemed to recede before our victorious banners. We imagined that Great Britain, exhausted, was on the brink of ruin. But, while our sight was darkened by the smoke of a noble incense of glory, unlooked for opulence overflowed with its treasures the British empire; the rivers were not wide enough to contain all the ships, and fewer years sufficed for a few individuals to excavate and construct, at their expense, the docks which receive the trading fleets of the two hemispheres, than it required for the triumphant government of France to erect some of the quays of the Seine. These are the ‘prodigies of the seas!’—p. 2.

These are the ‘prodigies’ of something more—but we will not dispute.

If France had not first been torn in pieces by internal dissensions, which led to a military despotism; if she had prudently applied but a tythe of the sums expended in cherishing the unbounded ambition of a military despot, and flattering the vanity of his willing slaves, she, as well as England, might have erected more useful works than ‘some of the quays of the Seine.’ It is some consolation for us to reflect that, at the very moment this restless passion was not only ruining the nation by which it was fostered, but bringing on our own an accumulation of debt, which no one would have been bold enough to pronounce her ability to incur, much less her strength to bear—that during this eventful and fearful period, the public spirit of the nation should have carried her energies to a height unparalleled in the history of the world; and that, by the improvement and extension of the agriculture, commerce, and manufactures of the United Kingdom, and by the construction of canals, roads, bridges, drains, docks, and
harbours,

harbours, the national wealth should be increased to such a degree, as not only to afford us the means of keeping faith with the public creditor, but of gradually discharging the obligations which now weigh so heavily on the state. We have heard (and we can trust our authorities) that not less than 120 millions sterling, or a sum equal to one fourth part of the whole debt created during the late war, were expended by the government and individuals in the great national works above noticed, and in the application of machinery to the various branches of useful and productive arts.

M. Dupin observes, that the construction of our wet-docks or basins differs essentially from that of theirs, by having the containing walls concave on the exterior side or that next the water, and convex on that next the land; whereas theirs have plain faces, with the stones placed in horizontal courses. It was Mr. Rennie, we believe, who first adopted the plan of cutting off the heads of the piles in an angle inclining inwards or towards the land side, and of laying the courses of stone in the same inclined angle, by which a greater resistance is offered to the pressure of the earth, and the wall prevented from being pushed outwards, as is more or less the case in most of the walls built on the old construction, which is still the practice in France. M. Dupin also notices the superior advantages of building the lock-gates convex, to resist the pressure of the water; of using the steam-engine for draining the works of hydraulic operations; and of iron railways for the removal of stones, sand, and other heavy materials. ‘To these,’ says he, ‘England owes a part of her wealth. Never, without them, could coal, iron-ore, limestone, slate, and other raw materials have been conveyed to such distances, and at such a trifling expense.’ The dredging-machines of the Thames, erected on lighters or barges, and worked by the steam-engine, attracted his attention, from their being altogether unknown in France—It is something at least to be allowed the invention of a mud-raising machine!—and he describes them as being at once very simple, very efficient, and very economical.*

The diving-bell with its apparatus is next described as a machine of infinite use in all hydraulic works. ‘It is,’ says M. Dupin, ‘the geometry of three dimensions applied to the labours of the arts.’ This is not very intelligible as applied to the diving-bell; but its chief uses are, as he observes, building the walls of quays or jetties under water, clearing harbours or roadsteads of rocks, anchors, guns, and remains of wrecks; and mining or blasting sunken rocks dangerous to navigation.

* In a note on this passage, the Translator tells us, that one of these dredging-machines, furnished with an engine of the power of sixteen horses, excavates and raises about three hundred tons of mud and gravel a day.

It has not escaped M. Dupin, that a great change has taken place within a few years in the materials employed by us in the construction of wet and dry docks; by the substitution, in merchants yards, of brick and rubble for wood, and, in the great naval arsenals, of hewn blocks of marble and granite. The capital expended on this improvement is stated to be amply compensated by the saving of repairs, and obviating the constant interruption to maritime operations in docks faced with wood. He also observes, that a change not less beneficial has occurred on land, by substituting iron for wood in almost all public buildings—as roofs, rafters, floors, window and door frames, staircases, &c.; he particularly notices the iron shed for covering one of the quays of the West India Docks, 2400 feet, as he says, in length, and supported by hollow iron columns; the beams, joists, rafters, and laths, being all of that metal.*

M. Dupin next gives an account of the private establishments on or near the Thames, which he visited, as connected with the maritime arts. Of these he mentions Mr. Maudsley's manufactory, where the iron work of Brunel's block-machinery was made, and where were constructed for the English navy seven thousand iron tanks, each capable of containing about sixty-four cubic feet of water. He considers this, and very justly, to be an invaluable improvement, as it enables ships to stow about one-eighth more water in the ground-tier; but he does not appear to be aware that the water is infinitely better preserved, and that one set of iron tanks will outlast at least ten sets of wooden casks.

The rope-manufactory of Huddart, the iron-cable manufactory of Brown, and the circular saws of Brunel, with the peculiar merits of each, have not escaped the penetrating eye of M. Dupin; and though he does not openly avow it, in speaking of our machinery, he seems to feel that France in all these respects is a century behind England.

London, considered as the centre of the operations of the military marine, or Royal Navy, is next discussed. From the Admiralty office, he tells us, a courier may reach the dock-yard at Deptford in half an hour: Woolwich in an hour; Chatham in four hours; Sheerness in six; Portsmouth in eight; and Plymouth in twenty-four: that notwithstanding this rapidity of communication, lines of telegraphic stations afford a facility of correspondence with all the naval arsenals; and that the French Sémaphore has recently been adopted, with some modifications proposed by Sir Home Popham, who is stated to have made several

* In this the translator (to whom we have so often alluded) observes there is a small mistake; the length being 2700 feet; the roof, he says, is of wood; but the shed on the south quay of the same dock, and which is 1314 feet long, has a roof of cast iron.

improvements in it with regard to the art of holding intercourse by signals.* Here M. Dupin observes, that a change takes place in the Board of Admiralty with every change of ministers; whilst the permanency of the members of the Navy Board (which is at the same time independent and subordinate) may be considered, with reference to the Admiralty, as a division between art and authority, which he conceives to be 'a master-piece of the English institutions.'

• In speaking of the Victualling establishment at Deptford, its bakehouses and stores of provisions for the fleet, M. Dupin justly observes—

'The English government would not merely consider as an act of barbarity, but as an act of madness, a saving made at the expense of the health of the men who consecrate their strength and their life to the defence of their country. Every thing is therefore abundant, wholesome, agreeable to the taste, and, I would almost say, delicate, in the provisions of the English sailors. When I shall state that the crews of the men of war have cocoa for breakfast, I shall perhaps make the superficial observer smile; but I shall strike deeply the men who, profiting by the lessons of Hannibal, know how much physical strength, added to moral strength, may decide the loss or the gain of battles.'—p.15.

When M. Dupin calls Deptford the least important of all our naval arsenals, he is evidently not aware that it is the grand repository of the various manufactured stores for the fleet, from which they are shipped to the home yards, out-ports, and foreign stations, to the amount, in time of war, of more than thirty thousand tons annually. Besides the magazines, it has three slips for building ships of the line, three dry-docks, and a basin.

The dock-yard of Woolwich merits, he says, more attention than that of Deptford. 'From the time of the famous *Harry Grace de Dieu*, built by Henry VII., to the *Nelson*, a first rate of 120 guns, the largest ships have been built here.' In this short sentence are two mistakes. The *Henry Grace de Dieu* was not built by Henry VII. but by Henry VIII.; and Woolwich Dock-yard being first established by the latter sovereign, did not of course exist in the time of the former. It was the *Great Harry* which Henry VII. built. In this yard M. Dupin observed a machine invented by Mr. Hooke for bending the largest pieces of timber, of which it appeared to him that too little use was made; he may be assured that all the use of it is

* We have our doubts whether in telegraphic communications we have gone beyond or even yet reached the French; but we are quite sure, that the ingenious translator of M. Dupin's work is mistaken in supposing *Scaphore* to be a new name given to the Admiralty Telegraph by Sir Home Popham. It was adopted from the French long before Sir Home's improvements, as they are called, took place.

made which is found necessary, and we believe that Mr. Hookey has been promoted in consequence of the invention. A new smithery was constructing in this yard under the direction of Mr. Rennè; it is now finished, and is, as M. Dupin predicted it would be, the first of its kind in England, and certainly in Europe;—we are much mistaken, however, if there is not a smithery on the Loire where anchors are manufactured by machinery. In that of Woolwich, the large cylinder bellows, tilt hammers and all the machinery, are put in motion by steam-engines. The roof, and every other part of the building, except the walls, are of cast iron.

M. Dupin has evidently obtained a very imperfect knowledge of Mr. Lukin's attempt to impregnate timber with some extraneous substance, and thereby prevent the disease improperly known by the name of dry-rot: the Translator, however, has set him right by borrowing our account of it from No. XXIII. p. 236—238. This is not the only one of our Numbers that has served his purpose; and we rejoice at it: for the first wish of our heart is to be conducive to the diffusion of useful knowledge.

An introduction from Sir Joseph Banks, whom M. Dupin truly calls the Mæcenas of the sciences in Great Britain, to Colonel Mudge, procured for him an admittance into the ordnance dépôt at Woolwich, of which he speaks in terms of high admiration. The liberality of the Board of Ordnance is commended in the case of Brunel, whose ingenuity was remunerated over and above the terms of his agreement, by a pension for life, which, at his own desire, was subsequently commuted for a gross sum. Our author observes, that this noble and generous manner of treating artists is 'a better panegyric of an administration than the most refined compliments and the most pompous phrases,' which we suspect are the only harvest yet reaped by M. Dupin.

The improvements of Sheerness dock-yards are next described; and the construction of the new naval arsenal is pronounced to be 'one of the enterprizes which does most honour to the experience and the talents of Mr. John Rennie.' The materials employed for the walls and quays, M. Dupin observes, are granite, brought from Cornwall and Scotland, the two extremities of Great Britain. After visiting the Bellerophon, a ship of the line transformed into a hulk for the reception of the convicts employed in excavating the great basin, he notices a fact which we earnestly recommend to the attention of Mr. Bennet, as coming from one, who, though he cannot be suspected of any strong partialities in favour of England, is on this point at least free from prejudice: 'In the fitting up and the interior arrangement of this hulk,' he says, 'every thing that the most ingenious humanity can invent has

has been put in practice, to render supportable and comfortable a floating prison.

The praise thus bestowed on British humanity may, however, be meant to set in a more forcible point of view the *tirade* which immediately follows it against the inhumanity of the English government, in the difference of treatment experienced by a convict and a disarmed enemy; which is exemplified, he says, in placing from eight to twelve hundred prisoners of war in a prison-ship of the same rate as that in which the greatest number of malefactors does not exceed four hundred. We must observe, however, in the first place, that M. Dupin here hazards a statement not founded in fact; and, secondly, that a remonstrance on the treatment of prisoners of war, and an affectation of humanity for prisoners, comes with a singularly bad grace from the creature of a tyrant who, under the most cruel and aggravating circumstances, seized and detained civilians and non-combatants, men, women and children, as prisoners of war; who refused to *open the doors of his prison-house*, or to listen to any terms for an exchange; and who doomed hundreds of unfortunate Spanish and Italian captives to hard labour, on the muddy banks of the Scheldt, and in excavating the basins of Cherbourg.

At Chatham M. Dupin is particularly struck with the good order and regularity which prevail in the dock-yard of that port. Here, he observes, the building slips and dry-docks are faced with wood according to the old system; but a dry dock is excavating intended to be faced with granite and Portland-stone. The most remarkable object in this yard was a saw-mill, with its machinery, recently erected by Brunel. The mill is on an eminence at the upper part of the yard, to which the timber is floated from the Medway through a subterraneous canal or tunnel, into a circular basin; out of which it is afterwards raised by machinery to the level of the mill, taken into it, and placed under the saws; then moved away on iron carriages, and deposited on a long stage: from which, by trucks or carts on iron railways, it is finally conveyed to every part of the yard. M. Dupin finds fault with Brunel for not having levelled the eminence, in order to save the power necessary for raising the timber; and adds, that the same objection was made to him by Dr. Wollaston. We venture to say that if Dr. Wollaston made any such objection, he did so without having seen the works; for the carrying on the operations on the eminence is precisely that which constitutes the chief merit of the arrangement, as thereby the timber, when sawn, is conveyed on iron railways by a gentle slope to all the docks and slips in the yard, without teams of horses, and without interfering with any of the other works.

It was at Chatham, M. Dupin observes, that Mr. Seppings first put in practice the improvements which he suggested in the building of ships: he adds, that to attain his object, he had to triumph over those numerous and venerable axioms consecrated by the pride—he might have added, the ignorance—of our ancestors, and preserved religiously by the self-love of their descendants; that, however, he had powerful friends out of the body of the master-shipwrights; and that he obtained from authority what he could not obtain by persuasion; and thus rendered, as it were by force, to the English navy, one of the most signal services that it ever received. ‘I have endeavoured,’ M. Dupin says, ‘to make known, in France, the real advantages of the system introduced by Mr. Seppings. I met with more obstacles than he did, and, less fortunate, I have not yet triumphed over them. I have given demonstrations; but that was vain like the theory; calculations, and one would have thought that I was treating of imaginary quantities; in short, when I wished to support myself by the authority of experience, I was told that, in England, they were at present abandoning the system which I was desirous of getting adopted in France.’ A second visit to England, however, convinced him of the contrary, and shewed him, in all the dock-yards, new ships building and old ones repairing according to the system of Mr. Seppings.

All this is well enough; but when he tells us that he will maintain, with the proofs in his hand, ‘that the principle has been known and even practised in France and elsewhere,’ we beg leave to join issue with him. He has no proofs in his hand, or elsewhere; nor do the systems or experiments of the builders mentioned by him bear any more resemblance to Mr. Seppings’s diagonal framing than the construction of a velocipede to that of a phaeton. They have both wheels, it is true, and the same materials are found in both. It is also true that Bouguer, Chapman, Snodgrass and others, made frequent attempts to give additional strength to ships by placing wood and iron diagonally, the inefficiency of which we shewed in a former number.* We know nothing of L’Oiseau, which is cited as an example of diagonal bracing; but one precious specimen of French invention we have had an opportunity of seeing in our own ports in the Jupiter, now the Maida, in which the planks of the ceiling are placed somewhat in a lozenge-shape. The object of Mr. Seppings’s plan is to give uniform strength to the fabric, and prevent the ship from hogging or arching, or, in other words, the middle part from rising and the two extremities from sinking; and

* No. XXIV. p. 459.

it has effectually succeeded: while the French Jupiter is hogged to such a degree as to form no bad resemblance of the back of the animal from which the term is derived.

But, says M. Dupin, 'the Royal Society of London, by a favour too little merited on my part, has published, in the first part of the Philosophical Transactions for 1817, the theoretical, practical and historical researches which I have made on the improvements recently introduced in the construction of English ships of war. The honour of the first idea of these improvements has *thus, in an authentic manner*, been rendered to France.' Let him, however, not lay this flattering unction to his soul. The Royal Society, as well as other societies, can sometimes bestow 'favours little merited;'—but it is so far from considering what may find its way into the Transactions as *authentic*, that it expressly declares, at the head of every half-yearly Number, that it is not responsible for any one of the papers contained in it. We cannot help thinking, however, that it would have been as well if the *Committee of papers* of the Royal Society of London had withstood the attempts of a foreigner to deprive a meritorious British subject of his just claims, more especially when those attempts had already been rejected by the National Institute of France.

The Royal Society has, however, rendered tardy justice to Mr. Seppings, by conferring on him the Copley gold medal; and as M. Dupin is a reader of our Journal, we gladly avail ourselves of the medium, to convey to him the sentiments of its venerable president on the merits of Mr. Seppings's plan, taken from the address delivered by him on that occasion to the inventor.

'It cannot (said Sir Joseph Banks) be a just cause for lessening the satisfaction you are entitled to derive from the success of your improvements, that others should have formerly attempted to introduce arrangements of a nature somewhat similar to your oblique braces or riders, but should have done it so awkwardly and unskilfully, as to have failed altogether in obtaining any practical benefit from their imperfect inventions. If indeed the merit of mechanical improvements belonged exclusively to those who first had a vague notion of their possibility, the world would be filled with idle schemers and dreamers, multiplying their crude conceits for the mere chance of hitting upon some accidental combination, which, when the hands of more industrious and skilful men had brought it to perfection, they would be but too happy to claim as their own legitimate offspring. Other countries may be extremely fertile in speculations of this kind; but Great Britain has long been distinguished for practical excellence in arts and sciences; and we may willingly consent to share with others some portion of the glory of original invention, provided that we retain, as our peculiar patrimony, the highest perfection of actual execution.'

M. Dupin is perfectly right in his assertion that the exercise of
authority

authority was necessary to overcome ancient prejudices; it required indeed all the energy and firmness of Mr. Yorke to carry through a system which he clearly foresaw would be the means of renovating the strength and giving permanence to the soundness of the British navy. Some idea may be collected of the manner in which Mr. Seppings was thwarted and opposed, and tormented, by the way in which he writes to a friend.

‘You cannot (he says) be aware of the determined and systematic opposition I have met, and the labour I have gone through both of body and mind, owing to the difficulties and disinclination with which I was thwarted in every step of the progress. The anxiety of my mind broke in on my hours of rest, and prevented sleep, and the want of sleep proved injurious to my health. At length, however, a superior power bore down all opposition; the system was adopted and was found to succeed. Before this I was told that my plan possessed neither sense nor science; but afterwards I was assailed with accusations of having collected my ideas, one day from the French; another from the Russians, then from the Swedes—whereas, God knows! the only assistance I have received was from the plan and drawings of the celebrated bridge of Schaffhausen, and from no other source.’

It would almost appear that professional prejudices among shipwrights have always been more inveterately rooted than among mechanics of any other description. The whole history of British naval architecture abounds with squabbles about innovations and suggested improvements. In the time of that excellent shipwright Phineas Pett, the Seppings of his day, his opponents carried matters to such lengths that King James found himself compelled to proceed to Deptford in person with his whole court, accompanied by certain learned men, to investigate the charges brought against Mr. Pett:—when all of them had been patiently gone through and refuted, except the last, which was that of his having cut the wood cross-grained, the king grew impatient, and turning to his accusers, observed, that ‘the cross-grain was in the shipwrights and not in the wood.’

Mr. (now Sir Robert) Seppings, however, has had the satisfaction of knowing that his services are about to receive their due reward—services which, to use the words of the Finance Committee (3d Report), ‘although they have nothing of that brilliancy which forcibly attracts public admiration, will continue to confer a lasting benefit on the British nation, long after that period when the beneficial effects of victories, however splendid, shall have passed away.’ It was stated in parliament that they were under consideration; and we understand that the Prince Regent, in conferring on this intelligent and distinguished shipwright the honour of knighthood on board his own yacht, expressed

pressed a hope that some more substantial benefit would soon reward his meritorious exertions.

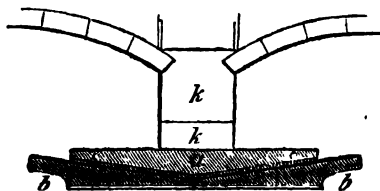
Of the many practical improvements in naval architecture, introduced by this zealous surveyor of the navy, a few have come to our knowledge, which we shall briefly mention.

Foremost stands the new system of diagonal trussing, which in every instance has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectation.* Every ship to which it has been applied continues airy, sound, and wholesome—no decay—no dry-rot—no recesses for vermin—no receptacles for foul air, moisture and mushrooms—no leakage below, nor dripping from above—no racking, nor lifting of the beams, nor working of the joints; but every part equally firm and strong throughout the ship. Unlike those *Forty Thieves*, (as a gallant admiral called them,) which, on the spur of the moment, were built at inordinate prices in the merchants' yards, and which broke down with the rickets and dry-rot in four or five years after they were launched, and some of them even in less time, the ships first built or repaired on Mr. Seppings's plan have come from sea as firm, as sound, and as free from filth as when they left the dock; and as it appears there are now not less than from forty to fifty sail of the line, built or repaired on his system, there can be no ~~doubt~~ of the perfect accuracy of Lord Melville's declaration in the House of Lords, 'that at no former period was the fleet in such a state of efficiency, as to ships, as at the present moment.'

An invention of great utility procured him, while yet an assistant shipwright, the approbation of the Admiralty, accompanied with a pecuniary reward of a thousand pounds. When a ship of the line was taken into a dock for repairs, she rested on a row of square blocks of wood, amounting to forty or fifty in number. In order to get at her bottom, or examine her false keel, it was necessary to *lift* her wholly off the blocks and suspend her in the air, by means of numerous shores and spars of wood. To effect this, wedges were driven simultaneously under the bottom of these shores, an operation that required three, four, and even five hundred men; the ship in the mean time pressing with her whole weight against the ends of the supporting shores, strained every timber, plank, knee and fastening during the operation. Mr. Seppings, by means of a block consisting of three pieces, found a remedy for all the evils attending the old system—by reducing the number of men to about twenty; by removing all weight or pressure against the ship's sides; and by lessening

* A particular description of this system and its advantages will be found in Nos. XIX. p. 27, 28. and XXIV. pp. 444. 451. et seq. of this Journal.

the time to as many hours as it once required days. The annexed figure shews the wedges or inclined planes of which the block is composed, where *a* is the wedge or double inclined plane on which the keel *k* of the ship rests, having its obtuse angle equal to 170° , and *bb* are two inclined planes, each having an acute angle of 5° . The upper wedge is of hard wood shod with iron; the inclined planes *bb* are of cast iron.



When any one of these blocks is required to be disengaged, in order to examine that part of the keel on which it rests, a few smart blows, given alternately on the two sides of the two half-wedges or lower-inclined planes, will cause them to fly out, when the upper wedge drops, and the more easily in proportion to the pressure of the ship upon it. Two or three minutes is sufficient to remove any one block, and the whole series may be taken out in succession in the space of two hours, not only without lifting, but without the least concussion of the ship.

It is customary in the Ordinary of the navy to lift the lower masts of ships every three years to examine into the state of their heels or lower extremities: for this purpose it was necessary to employ sheer-hulks, the first fitting of each of which costs from twelve to fifteen thousand pounds, and the annual expense amounts to more than a thousand pounds. By an apparatus contrived by Mr. Seppings, equally simple with the foregoing, the masts of the largest ships are now lifted upright out of the steps, without the assistance of a sheer-hulk, and by about half an hour's labour of *four boys*; and thus a saving of two or three thousand pounds a year has been effected. But this is the least part. From the ease with which masts were thus lifted, it occurred to Mr. Seppings that by placing the lower extremity on a pig of iron ballast instead of returning it into the socket, it would be preserved from the rot—and as there are perhaps not less than a thousand masts in the Ordinary of the navy, and the main-mast of a first rate costs nearly a thousand pounds, some idea may be formed of the importance of this ingenious and unpretending invention.

The difficulty, and we might almost say the impossibility, of procuring timber of shape and dimensions suitable for ships of the line, would have been attended with the most serious consequences,

quences, had not an effectual remedy been struck out by this intelligent and indefatigable surveyor. This he accomplished by a new mode of putting together the timbers of the frame, so as to give more durability and greater strength, with considerable less expense of timber and workmanship; and at the same time to bring into use those inferior pieces of timber, which, under the old system, served only for the construction of frigates. It would require too much space to enter into a detail of the plan by which all these advantages are gained—namely, by the substitution of what are technically called square heads and heels for chocks, now, we believe, universally adopted; in consequence of which, the pecuniary saving alone is from two to three thousand pounds in each vessel. Instead of these chocks, (which are large wedge-shaped logs intended to connect the timbers of the frame, and which amount in every ship of the line to four or five hundred,) Mr. Seppings cuts square off the ends of the timbers and retains them in their places by means of round coaks in the centre, in the same manner that the fellies of a carriage wheel are put together. And though the timbers of the frame are now frequently made of shorter lengths, and are consequently more numerous, yet the number of pieces in the whole frame are much fewer than in the old system, less grain-cut, and consequently of greater strength. By an experiment made on the frames of two new 74 gun ships, the one with chocks altered from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches, and raked at the ends of the timbers from $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 inch; the other without chocks, altered only from $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch, and no racking whatever at the joints; the timber of the former was found, on calculation, to cost 12,500*l.*; that of the latter 10,420*l.*, being a saving of 2,000*l.* in timber alone, exclusive of a very considerable one in the workmanship.

It is well known to naval men, (indeed it must be sufficiently obvious to all,) that the stern of a ship is by far the weakest part of the fabric, both as it regards the shock of the sea, and the resistance of a cannonade. To obviate these disadvantages Mr. Seppings has suggested an important improvement in the shape and construction of the sterns of ships of war, by converting them from the square to the round form, and substituting upright timbers, as in the bow, for the heavy transom, which gave but a weak support to the superincumbent structure. By this new mode of construction the stern of a ship is of equal strength with the bow; and the battery as manageable and powerful; the ship may scud in a heavy sea without danger of being pooped, and be brought to anchor by the stern as safely as by the bow; the rudder too is better secured. Objections however have been made by naval officers to this form, as less convenient and beautiful; but when the natural
prejudice

prejudice in favour of what we have long been accustomed to look at shall have subsided, we are well persuaded that the present abrupt termination of the fine rounded lines of the body of a ship in a flat surface, will be considered as incongruous and wanting in good taste.

But we must return to M. Dupin. The dock-yard of Portsmouth is described by him as not only the most spacious, but as presenting the handsomest buildings and the most comprehensive display of labour. We do not think, however, that much can be said in praise of 'the skilful arrangement of the dry-docks:' though, when it is considered that they were laid out without any plan, and built and enlarged from time to time, as the exigencies of the service required, forming, like those in the other yards, a collection of expedients resorted to on the spur of the occasion, it may be pronounced as skilful as circumstances would admit. The stores and magazines are all on a grand scale. The wet basin, and the dry-docks communicating with it, are of the utmost importance, and do great credit to the genius of General Bentham, under whose superintendence they were undertaken and completed. The metal-mills are constructed on an excellent plan. Here all the old copper from ships of war is re-melted and re-manufactured: the number of sheets rolled in one year of the war amounted to about 300,000, weighing 1,200 tons, on which alone a saving was effected of more than 20,000*l.*

The block-machinery could not fail to attract the attention of M. Dupin. He observes, and it is true, that it is the creation of a Frenchman; and it is equally true, we doubt not, 'that some offended Frenchman will regret that the inventor had not consecrated his talents to the defence and glory of his own country;' but Mr. Brunel, we suspect, has little occasion to regret his coming from America to England instead of France. M. Dupin, however, endeavours to console his countrymen for the loss they have sustained, by a hope that another Frenchman, in his own person, will be able to add some interesting observations on the advantages and inconveniencies peculiar to each of Brunel's machines, as well as on the results of its manner of working. M. Dupin saw this matchless and complicated system of machinery work but once, and he ventures to talk of improvements!—Is there no limit to the vanity of a Frenchman?

As all foreigners of distinction visit the dock-yard of Portsmouth, with the view chiefly of inspecting this block-making machinery, and as it is really deserving of the most extensive notice and admiration, a cursory description of it may not be unacceptable to those of our readers who have not had an opportunity of witnessing its wonderful effects. To enable them to comprehend fully its construction and mode of working, numerous and accurate

rate engravings would be required; our view, therefore, must be very general.

The block-machinery then, which a single coup-d'œil convinced M. Dupin that he could improve, may be said to consist of a system of no less than *sixteen* different machines all put in motion and in work at the same moment by a steam-engine. Seven of these machines are employed in finishing the shell and nine in completing the sheave. The *first* of them is the saw-mill, which squares the rough tree of ash or elm, generally the latter. The *second* is a circular saw, which cross-cuts it into the requisite lengths. The *third* is a boring-machine, by means of which, while one bit pierces the centre to receive the pin on which the sheave turns, another bores a hole at right angles to it, to admit the first stroke of the chissel that scoops out the mortice in which the sheave turns. This is completed by the *fourth*, which is a most ingenious piece of mechanism, and is particularly remarkable for the force, the rapidity, the workmanlike, we might almost say, the polished manner in which the shell is mortised out. The *fifth* is a circular saw, which takes off the four corners of the shell, and reduces it to the form of an octagon. It is then carried to the *sixth*, or shaping-machine, consisting of two equal and parallel wheels moving on the same axis, to which one of them is firmly fixed, while the other moves in the line of the axis, so that by sliding, the shells of blocks of any size may be admitted between their rims. Ten of these shells being fixed to the peripheries of the two wheels, the machine is whirled round with incredible velocity, and speedily reduces the outer surface of them, by the application of a cutting instrument, to a proper shape and curvature; after which, by reversing the motion of the wheels, the ten shells are simultaneously turned one-fourth part round, and a new surface presented which is cut and shaped as before. The two remaining sides are then treated in the same manner, when the whole ten shells are completely shaped and removed from the wheels. The *seventh* and last operation is the scoring of the shell, or scooping out a groove for the strap by which the block is suspended.

The sheaves are usually made of *lignum vitæ*, and the *first* operation is to cut the log into plates of the required thickness by means of a circular saw. The *second* is to bore the central hole to receive the pin, and at the same time to take off the angles and reduce the piece to a perfect circle, which is accomplished by means of a crown saw. The sheave thus shaped is brought, in the *third* place, to the coaking-machine, which is a piece of mechanism of singular ingenuity. A small cutter, in traversing round the central hole of the sheaves, works out, to a certain depth below the surface, three semicircular grooves for the recep-

tion of the metal coak or bush; and both the grooves and the coaks are so uniformly true and fit each other so accurately, that the tap of a hammer is sufficient to fix the coak in its place. The *fourth* operation is the casting of the metal coaks with grooves, or channels, in the inside of their tubes, for the reception of oil or grease, and the prevention of waste. The *fifth* machine is a drill of a peculiar construction, by which also the pins are inserted to fix the coaks to the sheave. The *sixth* is the riveting hammer; and the *seventh* a machine for broaching the central hole of the sheave by means of a steel drill or cutter. The *eighth* process is that of turning a groove or channel round the outer circumference of the sheave for the rope to work in, which is performed by a lathe so constructed, that while the groove is cutting, another part of the engine is occupied in smoothing the two surfaces of the sheave.* The *ninth* or last operation is the making, polishing, and fixing the iron pins on which the sheave turns, and which completes the block for use.

The quantity of blocks used in the navy, together with their great expense under the old system, renders the present machinery of the utmost importance. Not only has a very considerable saving been effected by it, but an article provided of an infinitely better quality than was formerly made by the hand. A single line of battle-ship requires nearly fifteen hundred blocks of different sizes; and the number which the machinery is capable of supplying was found to be more than adequate to the annual demand of the whole navy and ordnance during the war. To convey an idea of its efficacy, it is sufficient to observe that, with four men, and with less expense of time, as many shells can be completed as required fifty by the old method; and that six can now supply as many sheaves as before required sixty.

In the School of Naval Architecture, M. Dupin conceives it to be a matter not easily credited, that 'the English do not blush to acknowledge their inferiority, when it is clearly demonstrated to them.' It would be well for him and his countrymen to take a lesson from the English in this respect, and not to set up pretensions to superiority when they have not the shadow of a claim. 'For many years past,' says he, "they have been complaining loudly, and perhaps not without exaggeration, that their ship-builders are very far behind the French naval architects in regard to theoretical knowledge." That we admitted this fact, is true; but not—that 'these complaints reverberated to the parliament of England:' neither is it true that 'it was at the suggestion of a committee of this great legislative body, that the school for Shipwrights' Apprentices was established,'—it was proposed by the Commissioners of Naval Revision, approved by the Board of Admiralty,

Admiralty, and established by the King's Order in Council: the good effects of it have already been fully experienced.

We profess not to know exactly the internal economy of a French ship of war; but M. Dupin seems to have been amazingly struck with the arrangement of the *Queen Charlotte*.

‘I was at Portsmouth (he says) when Lord Exmouth returned from his short, but brilliant expedition against Algiers. I visited two, among some others, of the ships of his squadron which bore the brunt of the battle, the *Leander*, armed with sixty guns and carronades, and the *Queen Charlotte*, a three decker, and the flag-ship of the Commander-in-chief. I could not behold, without admiration, the austere simplicity of the Admiral's cabin; furniture where nothing is for show, where every thing, without exception, can be removed, packed up, and carried away at the moment of clearing the ship for action; in short, the apartments are as fully provided with pieces of cannon as the rest of the gun-decks. Hence it may be imagined that the cabins of the captains and subordinate officers of the fleet are neither sumptuous, nor disposed in such a manner as to diminish the military means of the ship; and, nevertheless, the English men of war present every thing that can render pleasant and supportable the rough existence of the seamen.’—p. 40, 41.

Our traveller has seen little, at least he says but little, of the dock-yard of Plymouth, and that is incorrect; but he makes amends by giving, in a separate article, a detailed account of the Breakwater, which is now throwing across Plymouth Sound, and which, when completed, will render it a secure and excellent roadstead for a fleet of ships of war. This great national work was first contemplated by Lord Grey, when at the head of the naval administration; but to Mr. Yorke is due the merit of having adopted the plan and caused it to be carried into execution, notwithstanding the sinister bodings of those who were hostile to it: his own sound judgment, however, backed by the opinion of Mr. Rennie, gave him assurance of the propriety, and of the successful issue of the undertaking. M. Dupin assures us that in planning this work, Mr. Rennie availed himself of all the experience which his countrymen had acquired at Cherbourg. He is mistaken: Mr. Rennie has indeed avoided their errors; but he trusted to the resources of his own powerful mind, and imitated nothing that was done at Cherbourg. He never supposed that a set of wooden tubs filled with rubble could brave the violence of the waves; nor that a dyke of such materials cased with stones of a larger description, could maintain its ground against the continued action of the sea. He was perfectly aware of the total disappearance of Fort Napoleon, which had been erected on the centre of the great dyke of Cherbourg, and fully of that of the dyke itself—a fate which might have been anticipated by reflecting

that the rubble stones, upon the sloping sides of which the casing was let down, would, when once put in motion, act as so many rollers and facilitate the passage of the larger stones beyond the extremities of the base. Mr. Rennie set to work with juster notions. He knew that to resist the force of the heavy sea which rolls in from the south and south-west, a very considerable slope would be necessary, and that great masses of stones from one to ten tons each would be required.

The quarries from which these were procured are situated at Oreston on the eastern shore of Catwater; they lie under a surface of about twenty-five acres, and were purchased from the Duke of Bedford for 10,000/. They consist of one vast mass of compact close-grained marble, many specimens of which are beautifully variegated; seams of clay however are interspersed through the rock, in which there are also large cavities, some empty and others partially filled with clay. In one of these caverns in the solid rock, 15 feet wide, 45 feet long, and 12 feet deep, filled nearly with compact clay, were found imbedded fossil bones belonging to the rhinoceros, being portions of the skeletons of three different animals; all of them in the most perfect state of preservation, every part of their surface being entire to a degree which Sir Everard Home says he had never observed in specimens of this kind before. The part of the cavity in which these bones were found was seventy feet below the surface of the solid rock, sixty feet horizontally from the edge of the cliff where Mr. Whidbey began to work the quarry, and one hundred and sixty feet from the original edge by the side of the Catwater. Every side of the cavern was solid rock, the inside had no incrustation of stalactite, nor was there any external communication through the rock in which it was imbedded, nor any appearance of an opening from above being closed by infiltration. When therefore, and in what manner these bones came into that situation, is among the secret and wonderful operations of nature which will probably never be revealed to mankind.

M. Dupin gives an animated description of the working of these quarries, and thus concludes.

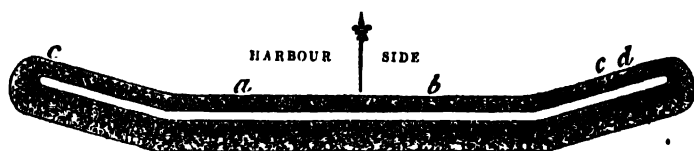
‘The sight of the operations which I have just described, those enormous masses of marble that the quarry-men strike with heavy strokes of their hammers; and those aerial roads or flying bridges which serve for the removal of the superstratum of earth; those lines of cranes all at work at the same moment; the trucks all in motion; the arrival, the loading, and the departure of the vessels; all this forms one of the most imposing sights that can strike a friend to the great works of art. At fixed hours, the sound of a bell is heard in order to announce the blastings of the quarry. The operations instantly cease on all sides, the workmen retire; all becomes silence and solitude; this universal silence renders still more imposing the noise of the explosion, the splitting

ting of the rocks, their ponderous fall, and the prolonged sound of the echoes.'—p. 248.

These huge blocks of stone are conveyed from the quarries on trucks, along iron-railways, to the quays, and from thence into the holds of vessels built expressly for the purpose: on their arrival over the line of the Breakwater, they are discharged from the trucks by means of what is called a *typing-frame*, at the stern of the vessel, which, falling like a trap-door, lets the stone into the sea. In this manner a cargo of sixteen trucks, or eighty tons, may be discharged in the space of forty or fifty minutes.

The following sketch of the ground-plan and transverse section will best explain the form and dimensions of this important national work.

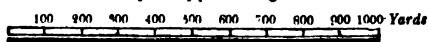
PLAN OF THE BREAKWATER,



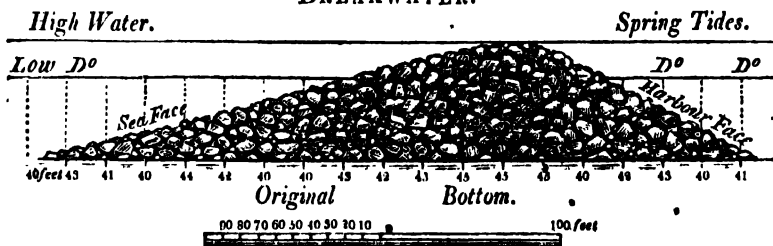
N. B. The space between *a* and *b* describes the part finished.

Do. between *a* *c* and *b* *c* appears from 5 to 15 feet above low-water of spring-tides.

Do. between *c* and *d* the part approaching the surface.



TRANSVERSE SECTION OF THE FINISHED PART OF THE BREAKWATER.



The first stone was sunk on the 12th August, 1812, and at the conclusion of the year 1816 upwards of one million of tons had been deposited. By the month of July, 1819, the quantity sunk exceeded a million and a half; and the money expended was about 500,000/. The original calculation was two millions of tons of stone; and the expense about one million sterling; but as this estimate was made on the war prices, which are now very considerably diminished, there is every reason to believe that it will be completed for 800,000/.

54 Dupin—on the Marine Establishments of France and England.

‘Such,’ says M. Dupin, ‘are the establishments of the military marine, or navy. In visiting them, I was every where struck by the order that reigns in the arrangement of the different articles of stores, as well as by the silent activity with which all the individuals employed seem to be animated. Every where are seen the signs and the effects of economy; *but of economy well understood, which knows how to make sacrifices bordering almost on prodigality, in order to reap afterwards with usury the fruits of its advances.* Nevertheless, such a degree of perfection is not the result of a great many years; it may be dated no farther back than the last war. In the midst of danger, and in the embarrassments of a convulsive activity, some determined characters contrived to vanquish all obstacles, triumph over prejudices, and give birth to an order of things which might be considered as the result of long and peaceful meditations. This example shows us how little time suffices for authority to work miracles, when, by chance, it falls into the hands of superior men.’—p. 45—46.

M. Dupin next visits the two great seaports of Bristol and Liverpool, and expresses his astonishment at the progress of the arts in these two cities, and the facilities afforded to commerce in their wet and dry docks, canals, quays, draw-bridges, magazines, &c., interspersing remarks on such objects as appeared to him worthy of imitation in his own country. On digesting these remarks, however, he candidly admits that he could not submit them ‘to close examination and profound criticism;’ and determined therefore on a second visit to supply what was defective. On this visit he extended his excursion to Scotland and Ireland, calling at Hull, Sunderland and Newcastle, at all of which he observed many things that arrested his attention; but a machine for making paper of an indefinite length, at a mill on the banks of the Tyne, causes him some regret, as being the invention of M. Didot, the brother of a printer of that name in Paris. ‘By what fatality,’ he exclaims, ‘does it occur, that our most ingenious mechanics thus carry to a foreign country the treasure of their industry?’ ‘The answer is simple enough—because they bring it to a better market than their own country afforded them.

Edinburgh he dignifies, like the people on the spot, with the epithet of the ‘Athens of the North;’ and, he adds, that the Scotch people ‘join the urbanity of the Greeks to the hospitality of the Arabs.’ As M. Dupin is doubtless familiar with both, we shall not question his assertion; but he must excuse us if we could not suppress a smile at the solemn simplicity, with which he rather periphrastically designates the ‘literary tribunal’ (meaning, we presume, the Edinburgh reviewers) ‘which Edinburgh has erected in its own bosom, which makes despotism turn pale, and the decrees of which are sufficient to exalt or to overthrow many an European reputation.’ How proud will this make Mr. M‘Culloch!

Dundee,

Dundee, Arbroath, and the Bell Rock are successively visited; and something worthy of notice is found at each of them. The keepers of the light-house, we are told, have a library, small, but composed of sound books on literature, moral philosophy, and the natural sciences; and they subscribe to one of the monthly journals, which treats of those subjects. From this, and other observations of a similar kind, our traveller is convinced of the general knowledge and information possessed by the Scotch people.

At Aberdeen he met with a currier and last-maker, who, in the leisure left him by his humble calling, constructs barometers, thermometers, and large reflecting telescopes, which appeared to M. Dupin to be very perfect; and it is added, by the translator, that one of the Professors of King's College considers a telescope of Herschel, which cost two hundred guineas, to be inferior to those made by this ingenious leather-dresser.

From Fort William M. Dupin proceeded to the banks of Loch Lomond, Dumbarton, and finally to Glasgow, whose establishments and manufactories, from the liberal spirit of the inhabitants, it is stated, are more easy of access than those of any other town in the British empire.

‘If the ingenuous detail of particulars which pourtray the mind of a people, and the intelligence of the inferior classes of society, do not too much alarm delicate readers, in order to give to persons of that description an instance of the education of the common journeymen of Glasgow, I shall here speak of two brothers, bakers by trade, who, in the interval between one baking and another, employ themselves in making machines and philosophical instruments. They have cast, turned, and fitted all the pieces of a little steam-engine, the humble boiler of which derives its heat from being placed by the side of the oven for baking pastry. The engine is of the power of about two men; its mechanism is very ingenious; it serves for working a turning-lathe, by means of which our two artists turn metals, and shape lenses for optical instruments. They have constructed a small apparatus for lighting with gas their shops and their apartments. The tubes for the conveyance of the gas have flexible joints, which allow of transmitting the light to the places where it is wanted for the moment. These young men are well acquainted with the physical and mathematical principles of the instruments and machines which they construct. Some day they will quit their profession, in order to cultivate the natural sciences, and, I venture to predict, with success. But their fortune depends on an uncle, who infinitely prefers the business of a baker and pastry-cook to gasometry and astronomy, and who, jealous of the hereditary title of his family, wishes to transmit to the sons of his nephews the kneading-trough of his ancestors. Alas! how many men among us are, without suspecting it, like the uncle of the two bakers and pastry-cooks!’—p. 68—69.

The gas-works and the water-works for supplying the city are next described; and he made an excursion to the grand canal which joins the Clyde to the Firth of Forth. Here we are introduced to the celebrated James Watt, ‘an old inhabitant and civil engineer belonging to Glasgow.’ ‘It was with a respect,’ says M. Dupin, ‘mingled with admiration, that I saw this fine old man, of eighty-three years of age, preserving the vigour of his mind, as well as his physical strength; he informed me of a variety of particulars relative to the progress of English industry, of which, more than any other inventor, he has accelerated the advancement. *It is to Mr. Watt that England, in a great measure, owes the immense increase of her wealth within the last fifty years.*’

‘To every word of this we most cordially subscribe, and to more. Not to England alone, but to all Europe and the western world, Mr. Watt may be considered as the greatest benefactor. In strength of intellect, in original genius, in sound judgment, and in the application of all of these to the useful sciences and the practical purposes of life, Mr. Watt (now, alas! no more,) stood eminently alone and without an equal. His steam-engine, which has been pronounced ‘the most perfect production of physical and mechanical skill which the world has yet seen,’ would alone immortalize his name.—But the vigour of his genius was not satisfied with bringing to perfection what he found defective; it took a bolder flight in the wide field of invention, and shewed, in a variety of instances, what powerful effects were capable of being produced by the most simple and easy means when properly applied. Among other amusements of the latter days of this venerable man, was the invention of a machine for multiplying copies of busts and other pieces of statuary, which, though brought to a considerable degree of perfection, was not deemed by him sufficiently near it to be produced to the public. By his death, it may be truly said, England has lost one of its most useful and brightest ornaments; and we cannot but regret that a nation’s gratitude was not evinced by some mark of distinction, ere he was snatched away to a better world; which, though it could have added nothing to his reputation, would not have sullied the purity of that fountain from which all public honours are held to derive their source.

We cannot follow M. Dupin in his farther progress through Scotland, and must content ourselves by extracting his concluding paragraph.

‘If I had been able, in so short a narrative, to give not only a general idea of all the institutions, and of all the works undertaken within these few years, for the prosperity of Scotland, I should have presented one

one of those pictures the most calculated for exciting the admiration of all men, and for affording an object worthy of the meditation of sages. It is highly gratifying to behold a poor people exerting their activity, their perseverance, and their genius, to triumph over rugged nature, to conquer the climate, and render sterility itself productive; and, thinking of the riches of the mind as well as those of the senses, causing agriculture, commerce, and industry; instruction, morality, and liberty, to flourish at the same period.'—p. 77, 78.

M. Dupin returned by the way of Liverpool, and speaks with enthusiasm of the improvements of that second capital of the British empire, which had been carried into execution since his first visit. From hence, passing through Wales, he crossed from Holyhead to Dublin, and describes the undertaking of Howth harbour, 'one of those operations which the Irish call a *job*.' This piece of false information we have no doubt he collected from the master of the packet who carried him over,—these people, having, as we understand, for reasons best known to themselves, set up a clamour as senseless as unjust against this useful undertaking. But M. Dupin is as much out of humour with Ireland as the packet men are with Howth harbour. The only establishment in all Dublin, he tells us, 'which presents a character at once honourable to humanity and to industry, is an immense drying-house, in which the poor mechanics are admitted to dry their dyed wool, &c.' The following paragraph, which with the drying-house is all that relates to the capital of Ireland, is sufficient to account for, and, (we regret to say,) in some measure, to justify the querulousness of our traveller.

'Although in Ireland individuals are free in their manners, and rank hospitality among the virtues of which bondage has not been able to deprive them, yet all the establishments of Dublin bear the stamp of illiberality. Their regulations are so drawn up as to be useful to the smallest possible number of individuals. No stranger is admitted to enjoy the benefit of the scientific repositories, nor to read the periodical publications in the great reading-rooms, established by subscription, nor to consult the books deposited in the libraries. In the library of the University, which I visited, introduced and conducted by a doctor belonging to the said University, and which I went over, according to the rules, *not stopping any where*, I wished to approach a window from which a tolerably fine prospect was to be enjoyed; but the doctor, who accompanied me, held me back; in his presence, and in that of a door-keeper who did not lose sight of us, there was a possibility of my putting a book in my pocket.—There are countries where men are first rendered despicable, in order that a right may afterwards be assumed to treat them as such.—p. 88, 89.

We have now, in a cursory manner, gone over those parts of M. Dupin's volume which relate to Great Britain, and more particularly

particularly to its naval establishments; these, however, form but a small part of it, which is chiefly composed of detached subjects relative to the fine arts, to a marine academy, to his grand work on naval and military architecture, and a variety of other matters which have very properly engaged the attention of the savans of France, but which would afford very little to interest or entertain the bulk of our readers.

Just as we had put the last hand to the treatise of M. Dupin, we received, from Paris, another work of a similar kind, which has recently issued from the royal press. It is a large quarto volume, with numerous plates, intitled, '*Mémoires sur les Travaux publics de l'Angleterre*,' by a M. Dutens, who styles himself *Ingénieur en chef, Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées*, 'Knight of the royal order of the Legion of Honour.' On opening the book we found it to be a wholesale compilation of various articles from the English and Scotch Encyclopædias, on the roads, bridges, canals, iron railways, docks, diving-bells, &c. of this country, which M. Dutens strongly recommends to the attention and imitation of the French. Aware, however, (from the example of M. Dupin) that such a recommendation would not be well received without some preparatory sacrifice to the national vanity, the author assures them, in an Introduction of some length, that in arts and science the English are far inferior to the French; that all their grand works, even the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, are due to Frenchmen; that the bridge of Neuilly, 'that chef d'œuvre of the first engineer of France,' is fully equal to the Waterloo bridge over the Thames; and that the (*invisible*) breakwater of Cherbourg is four times as large as that of Plymouth Sound! Lest this should be insufficient, they are further consoled with the assurance that, if the English have excelled them in *iron bridges*, it is only because they (the unhappy English) have neither wood nor stone to build others; and that they may thank that 'precious combustible which they have discovered under their soil,' for the perfection to which they have brought their machinery. If such statements can gratify the good people of France, we cannot have the least objection; but as this is the only notice we mean to take of M. Dutens's ponderous volume, we avail ourselves of the occasion to invite his attention to the plate No. 14, for the excellent execution of which, under M. Bérigny, he expresses such lively gratitude. This plate is a chart of Plymouth Sound, with the breakwater, &c. *traced* from that which is given in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica; unluckily, however, for the reputation of the '*Directeur des Ponts et Chaussées*,' and the skill of M. Bérigny, the chart is turned topsy-turvy, so that Plymouth Dock takes the place of Plymouth town,

town, and Hamoaze that of Catwater; while the beautiful seat of Lord Mount Edgcombe, on the left of the Sound, is perched on the barren quarries of Oreston on the right. Now although it may not be very material whether, in the engraving of a pump or a portrait, the nose look east or west, yet the reversing of a chart and placing the East where the West should be; or, as in the present instance, making the shores of the two counties of Devonshire and Cornwall change places, is a very different matter, and appears to us no less pregnant with mischief than absurdity. Alas, for the poor Frenchman who attempts to enter Plymouth Sound by such a chart! his unfortunate bark will inevitably be wrecked on the *Tinker* or the *Shovel*. The same ridiculous blunder occurs in the Chart of Cherbourg, copied from the same work—but this we leave to the critics of the Institute.

ART. III.—*British Monachism, or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England; to which are added, 1. Peregrinatorium Religiosum, or Manners and Customs of Ancient Pilgrims.—2. The Consuetudinal of Anchorets and Hermits.—3. Some Account of the Continentes, or Persons who had made Vows of Chastity.—4. Economy of Monastic Life, &c. &c.* By Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, M.A. F.A.S. London. 4to.

IN the system of philosophy, which after-ages, if they remember the portentous abortions of these distempered times, will designate by the name of Jeremybenthamism, the author proposes (as our readers know) to abolish the universities, distribute the fellowships among half-pay officers, and convert the colleges into invalid barracks,—by way of improving the morals, enlightening the ignorance, and increasing the happiness of the people.*

The difficulty which continually presses upon civilized society is that of finding fit occupation and adequate maintenance for all its members according to their respective classes, and this increases precisely in proportion with the general improvement of the country. In what manner it affects the labouring part of the community is shown by the state of the manufacturing population, and by the poor-laws;—yet it will be found that the miseries which arise from this cause in the higher classes are greater in degree, and in their tendency more dangerous to the commonwealth. The establishments which this Root-and-Branch Reformer (who is as

* Well may the verses of old Skelton be applied to this notable writer!

He wotteth never what
Nor whereof he speaketh;
He cryeth and he creaketh,
He pryeth and he peketh,
He chides and he chatters,
He prates and he putters,

He clytters and he clatters,
He meddles and he smatters,
He gloses and he flatters,
Or if he speak plain
Then he lacketh brain.'

little English in his feelings as in his phraseology) proposes to overthrow are the great palliative of the evil as it affects these classes. Part of the property which our ancestors in the darkest days of Roman superstition bequeathed for pious purposes was thus appropriated, and it may justly be regretted that the whole of it had not been equally well applied at the dissolution of the monasteries; for it may safely be affirmed that no other establishments have produced so much unmingled good. But we have rather to wonder that in the calamitous and stormy age of the Reformation so much should have been saved from the wreck, than that so much was plundered and lost.

The monastic institutions were in the first ages merely superstitious; they became eminently useful, and they ended in being eminently corrupt and wicked. An historical sketch of this natural progress may be deemed not uninteresting, and will lead us to a subject which we are anxious to bring before the public, as of essential importance to those classes of the community among whom this Journal may be expected to circulate.

Without travelling farther into antiquity, it suffices that Christian Monachism originated in Egypt. That country, from the earliest ages, had been the scene of the most abject and absurd superstition, and the people, when they were converted to Christianity, rather changed the fashion of their faith than the materials. Like many other great institutions, monachism may be traced to accidental circumstances. Men fled into the wilderness to escape from persecution, and some of them remained in solitude till they had lost all appetite or aptitude for social life. There are few incidents in romance more beautiful than the legend of the personage who is supposed to have been the first Christian hermit, and who usually leads the van in the army of monastic saints. Paul the Egyptian, at the age of fifteen, is said to have been versed in the learning both of Greece and of his own country, and deeply imbued with principles of the severest piety. He lived with a married sister, whose husband was a pagan, and who, in order to get possession of Paul's property, informed against him as a Christian, during the terrible persecution of Decius. The youth discovered the treachery in time and withdrew into the desert. His intention had only been to remain there till the danger had gone by; but the villany of one with whom he was so nearly connected had disgusted him with mankind, and as time passed on, instead of being wearied with solitude, he acquired a love for it. Thus wandering farther into the uninhabited country, he came to some ruined dwellings, which, according to the legend, had been the mint of Egypt in the days of Anthony and Cleopatra. Near these ruins was a cave, the entrance of which was closed by a stone; removing this rude portal he entered,

ed, and found within what his biographer, St. Jerome, calls a large vestibule, open to the sky; an old palm-tree was growing there, forming a canopy with its broad head; under the palm a clear fountain welled from the ground, and presently was absorbed again. Believing that Providence had brought him to this place, he determined to remain; the dates supplied him with food, the fountain with drink, and from the fibres and net-work with which the branches of the Egyptian palm are interlaced he made for himself a coarse covering. If the legend had ended here, no suspicion could have been entertained of its truth,—the circumstances are perfectly possible—they are probable, considering the age and country to which the tale belongs, and the story itself is of that kind which there is a pleasure in believing. But what follows is palpable and must have been wilful falsehood, though related by the original writer on the authority of St. Antony the Great. St. Antony, fancying himself the most retired of all monks, was humbled by being told in a dream, that there was a better than himself who resided farther in the wilderness. Accordingly he set out in search of him, and meeting no other persons on the way than a Satyr and a Centaur, arrived at the cave and saw an hyena go in. Paul, hearing a human footstep, closed the portal, but Antony entreated that the holy man, who had allowed a beast to enter, would not exclude a brother. Overcome by six hours perseverance on the part of his visitor, the hermit removed the stone, and asked Antony wherefore he had taken that trouble to see a poor decayed old man, who would speedily return to dust? The next question was a natural one—how the affairs of the world were going on?—*narra mihi quæso, quomodo se habeat hominum genus? an in antiquis urbibus nova tecta consurgant? quo mundus regatur imperio? an supersint aliqui qui demonum errore rapiantur?* This perhaps is part of the true tale. The fabler by whom the legend has been larded to the taste of his age, insensible to the beauty of the tale, and forgetting even to adapt his fictions to their groundwork, supplies his solitary every day with half a loaf, which is regularly brought him by a crow,—the considerate crow on this day brought a whole one,—a dispute, worthy of two mandarines, ensues between Paul and Antony which shall be helped first, and they compromise the point of etiquette by splitting the loaf. Antony is sent back to fetch a vest which Athanasius had given him, and in which his new friend desires to be buried. On his return to the cave he is apprized of Paul's decease by seeing his soul ascend in glory: he finds the dead hermit on his knees, his body erect, his hands and head and eyes upraised, in the attitude of prayer; two lions attended as grave-diggers, and Antony buried him in the cave: from thence the corpse was translated first to Constantinople, secondly to Venice, and, finally, to Buda,

Buda, where La Brocquiere saw it in a state of perfect preservation four hundred years ago, and where probably it may still be seen.

Whatever truth there may be in the possible part of this legend, it is certain that about this time, and chiefly in consequence of the persecution, the monastic life began to be in vogue in Egypt. When the danger was over, and the fugitives came from their retreats, there were many of them in whom enthusiasm had ripened into madness; in the solitude of the desert, or in the caves of the mountains, dreams had appeared to them like realities, and the continued excitements of fear, hope and passionate superstition, had induced a state of permanent delirium. There were others whose minds had become indurated like their bodies; they had lived in solitude till they had lost all relish for society, and in casting off the habits of social life they had rid themselves of its feelings also. But the age and country were favourable to men in this diseased state; they became objects of admiration and reverence, and the glory which they obtained by persevering in ascetic courses encouraged others to follow their example. The madness spread, and Egypt again became the scene of superstitions not less abject than those which had prevailed under the Ptolemies and the Pharaohs. The doctrine of the two principles, with all its practical consequences, was grafted upon Christianity; the war of those principles was supposed to exist in every individual; and in the struggle between matter and spirit, the latter, conscious of its own weakness, and of the wickedness inherent in the former, if it gained the ascendancy, could only maintain it by a system of the severest discipline. No points of faith, no axioms of morality, were more firmly established than the belief that every indulgence was sinful; that whatever gratified the senses, however apparently innocent, must be injurious to the soul; that the ties of natural affection weaned the heart from God; that the duties of social life must be abandoned by those who regarded their own salvation, and that in proportion as man inflicted privations and torments upon himself, he pleased his Creator.*

The extravagancies which grew out of this system might appear incredible if they were not as well authenticated as any facts in history. Some aspirants shut themselves up in cells so low that they could not stand upright in them, and of such dimensions that they could neither lie at length, nor place themselves in any but painful positions. Others took up their abode in tombs, like the demoniacs; or dwelt in dens with wild beasts; or made dens for themselves, and burrowed in the ground. Men and women lived promiscuously in the deserts, with no other covering than what mere decency required, bare to the sun, and the wind and the sand showers. These persons renounced all such food as was used by their fellow-creatures, and
grazed

grazed and browsed upon herbs and shrubs; for which reason they were called *Βορνοι*. They even affected to appear like beasts, by going upon their hands and knees; and like beasts they fled from the sight of man, and betook themselves to the most inaccessible places for concealment. If this system had continued a few generations, it might have been seen how far it is possible for man to degrade his physical as well as his intellectual nature; he would have degenerated into an animal little superior to the ape or baboon, and more loathsome than either.

There was another class who counterfeited madness for the purpose of living loose upon the world. These men partook more of roguery than fanaticism—qualities which are frequently connate, and generally so congenial that they assort lovingly together; nor is it always easy to distinguish the one from the other. From the account which has been transmitted of these, they appear very much to have resembled the Yogues of Hindostan. They took up their lodgings as willingly in the stews as in any other place; they made no scruple of bathing in company with women; and they are said never to have betrayed the slightest sense either of concupiscence or of modesty. Yet these wretches were for a time regarded with reverential admiration! ‘Contrarieties,’ says Evagrius, ‘are in them so tempered, and the grace of God maketh in them such an union of discordant things, that life and death, which are in essence so opposite to each other, seem to join hands and dwell together in them,—happy are they while they live, and happier when they depart!’ He adds with great simplicity, that when a stranger came among them they mortified themselves by entertaining him liberally and partaking of the good cheer, so that they had invented a new kind of fasting, he says,—that of eating and drinking against their will.

Before the abuses of this kind of life became notorious and intolerable through the scandal which they occasioned, it was discovered that for spiritual reasons it was not good for man to be alone; and that men who defied the enemy to single combat in the wilderness were in danger of being deceived by him in a manner of which they had no anticipation; for being alone, and continually thinking of themselves, and of the degree of holiness to which they had attained, this self-contemplation was likely to end in pride and vain-glory; and ‘woe to him that is alone when he falleth, for he hath not another to help him up!’ It was besides not consistent with true Christian charity that a man should retire into solitude for the sake of his own salvation alone, without the slightest regard for that of his neighbour. Therefore, both for the improvement of the individual, and for general edification, the cœnobite, it was argued, was preferable to the solitary life. St. Antony the Great is believed to have

have been the first person, who, in conformity to this opinion, collected a body of devotees, and induced them to live together under his superintendence. This personage still retains a certain kind of celebrity, even in reformed countries, for his various encounters with the foul fiend, who assailed him with a host of imps, in all imaginable shapes. He could neither read nor write, and this ignorance is imputed to him as a virtue, because it proceeded from an early and pious contempt of profane studies. One of his sayings was,—He who abideth in solitude is delivered from the threefold warfare of hearing, speaking and seeing, and has only to support the combat against his own heart. This combat, however, he himself found it so difficult to sustain, that in an hour of distress he cried to the Lord, asking how he should be saved? ‘Presently, says the legend, he saw one in the likeness of himself, who sat at work, and anon rose from his work and prayed, and then sat down again to twist a rope of the fibres of the palm, and after a while rose and prayed again. It was the angel of the Lord: Do this, said the angel, and thou shalt be saved.’

But in the first ages of monachism the legends seldom contain any thing so useful as this recommendation of industry. They generally present the silliest extravagancies of superstition, and the most pitiable and loathsome excesses of ascetic rigour. St. Pior always walked while he was eating; because (to use his own words) ‘he did not consider eating as a business for which time was to be set apart, but as a thing to be done when it did not interrupt his avocations.’ St. Pachomius, in order that he might sleep as little as possible, and with the least possible comfort or convenience, never allowed himself to lie down, nor even to recline against any thing which might support him, but sat upon a stone in the middle of his cell. And among the rules, which, according to the historians of this lying Church, were given to him by an angel, and are the first code of monastic laws, is one whereby the monks are enjoined in like manner to sleep sitting, and not recumbent. Beradat used for his clothing a close sack of skins, which had no other opening than one small one for his mouth and another for his nose. The female saint, Eufraxia, belonged to a convent containing an hundred and thirty nuns, not one of whom ever washed her feet, and the very mention of a bath was an abomination among them:—*de balneo verò superfluum est loqui: audientes enim vehementer vituperabant, confusionis et opprobrii plenam censescentes, vel solam illius mentionem, et tamquam rei abominabilis nec auditum quidem volebant tolerare.* St. Macarius (for all these madmen are saints!) having one day killed a gnat which had bitten him, was struck with compunction at the sight of the insect’s blood, and by way of atonement went into the marshes, and there for six months

months exposed himself to all winged and creeping insects, till every part of his flesh was swollen and ulcerated with their bites. Sozomen relates of him, that he had so hardened his body by austerities that the very beard could not make way through his skin.— This personage, when in the full odour of filth and rags, returned one day to his convent, humbled and mortified by the sense of his own inferiority, exclaiming, I am not yet a monk, but I have seen monks!—for he had fallen in with two of these wretches stark naked.

The English reader is familiar with the extraordinary history of St. Simeon Stylites. ‘ This godly man, while yet in the flesh, imitated the life of the angels, withdrew himself from earthly things, forced nature, which ever inclineth downwards, aspired to things heavenly, and placing himself between earth and heaven, he, together with the angels, praised the Lord, lifted up the prayers of men and offered them to God, and brought down the mercy of God to make men partakers thereof.’ Such is the language of Evagrius! And such was the influence which this madman possessed during his life, that when the Emperor Theodosius had given order to reinstate the Jews of Antioch in their synagogue, and Simeon rebuked him for it as an impiety, Theodosius acknowledged his sin, deposed the magistrate by whose advice he had acted, ousted the Jews again, and humbly besought the prayers of ‘ the living and aerial martyr’ in his behalf! His celebrity long survived him. A church was built round the pillar upon which ‘ this earthly and incarnate angel led his heavenly life, and every year, on the Saint’s day, a star was exhibited, playing about the pillar.’ Evagrius says he himself has seen it, and does not intimate the slightest suspicion of the easy trick. Women were not allowed to enter the church,—they might only stand at the door, and peep at the miracles. His body was removed to Antioch, from whence the Emperor Leo would have translated it to Constantinople; but the people of Antioch represented that the fortifications of their city had been thrown down by an earthquake, and therefore they had brought thither the holy body of Simeon, that it might be to them ^{instead of a wall!} The Romish Church records the history of Simeon for edification, but not for example; and the fashion of the Stylitæ never obtained in the Latin world, unless it were in Ireland, where a guess that the Round Towers may have been erected for fanatics of this description seems to be as plausible as any other explanation that has been offered.

The austerities of the Egyptian and Syrian saints have been held forth to the admiration of the Catholic world as flowers of the Spiritual garden,* whereas, in truth, they were rank weeds of the Egyptian soil. With whatever ingenuity they may be varnished, it

is impossible that they should not always excite the pity, and sometimes the contempt of a sane mind. Nevertheless we know from the testimony of the earliest ecclesiastical historians, that the success of these men in converting the neighbouring idolaters was wonderful. Something must be attributed to their intrepid madness, which excited awe as well as astonishment, but still more to the sincerity of which their lives displayed such painful but indubitable proof. The absolute dominion which they exercised over themselves, trampling all worldly enjoyments under their feet, and divesting themselves of every human affection, as if their very nature had been changed, evinced a strength of principle which might indeed have been attained in the schools of philosophy by a few rare spirits, but which became contagious when it had religion (however grievously perverted) for its cause. And pitiable as the monks were during their lives, their belief made them look forwards to death with desire, and meet it with rapturous hope; whereas all that philosophy could do for its votaries was to enable them to regard the end of life with resignation and composure.

Superstition has always lost something of its grossness as it proceeded from east to west. The mythology of Egypt was less grotesque and monstrous than that of Hindostan,—the mythology of Greece less so than that of Egypt. And thus, in later times, the Stylitæ, and the other heroes of the desert, fell as much short of the Hindoo pénitents in their extravagancies and practices of self-torture, as they exceeded their followers in Europe. Monachism, being transplanted there, became eminently useful in its second age, which commences with St. Benedict. Many monasteries had been formed before his time;—the earliest is believed to have been founded about the year 350, at Vercelli, by St. Eusebius, bishop of that city. St. Ambrose supported a community of solitaries near Milan,—an incongruous association of words which may probably be explained by supposing that their establishment was like one of the eastern *Lauras*,—an assemblage of separate cells, each inhabited by a recluse. St. Martin of Tours introduced the monastic life from Italy into France; and the order of Regular Canons who disputed the ascendancy of the Benedictines, and may be said to have defended the liberties of the English church against them, claim St. Augustine for their founder. But though monasteries had multiplied there was no monastic order till the appearance of St. Benedict..

The life of St. Benedict has been written by no less a personage than Pope St. Gregory the Great, from the information, as he affirms, of four disciples of the saint. It is one of the worst that ever was written; for though the lives of the saints in general are as richly larded with lies, there is not perhaps a single one, with
any

any foundation in truth, from which so little information can be obtained. He was born in the province of Nursia about the year 480, and was sent to Rome to study the liberal sciences, but fearing lest he should lose his soul in the vain pursuit of knowledge, *recessit scienter nesciens, et sapienter indoctus*, says St. Gregory. He left his family as well as his studies, became a monk, and was chosen abbot; but being too strict for those who were under him, they attempted to poison him. After escaping this danger he retired for a while into solitude, till, 'increasing wonderfully in virtues and miracles,' the noble Romans began to bring their children to him for instruction, and he acquired sufficient influence to establish twelve monasteries with twelve monks in each. Here also he provoked either envy by his reputation, or hatred by his austerity; a priest in the neighbourhood is accused of endeavouring first to poison him, and afterwards to debauch his disciples; and Benedict thought it prudent once more to withdraw. He took with him a few of his monks, and was accompanied by—two angels and three tame crows—a circumstance unaccountably omitted by his papal biographer, but related here upon the equally valid testimony of Pietro Damiano, a cardinal and a saint. With this remarkable retinue he arrived at Mount Cassino, formerly, it is said, the residence of the Roman author Varro. There he destroyed a temple of Apollo, converted the pagans in the neighbourhood, founded a convent, wrote the Rule of his Order, and died in the year 543.

To these few facts the life of Benedict may be reduced when stripped of its embellishments. Few and meagre as they are, they appear to warrant the inference that, notwithstanding what Pope St. Gregory says of his wise ignorance, he was not an illiterate man; and that the tenor of his conduct was not such as to induce a suspicion of insanity or imposture, ingredients which oftentimes enter largely into the composition of Romish saints and protestant leaders of sects. The machinery with which it has been garnished is not, as in sundry other legends, (those of St. Francis and of our Dunstan for instance,) so inseparably connected with the events, that admitting of no other possible solution, it must either be plain miracle or downright fraud. Allowing something to enthusiasm in the saint himself, the folly and falsehood of the rest may be shared between the infallible biographer, his veracious authorities, who were all abbots, and his equally veracious followers, each, after the manner of Romish hagiographers, adding something to the legend which he repeated. That the devil appeared to him sometimes in the shape of a blackbird, sometimes in his proper shape with hoofs and horns, sometimes tempted him, and sometimes abused him, is what Benedict may very likely have believed. But when it is asserted that he worked miracles habitually, raised the dead, and sang

psalms before he was born,* the merit of these fables may justly be assigned to his historians. The true character of St. Benedict, as St. Gregory has himself observed, must be sought for in his Rule.

This Rule has been compared to Aaron's rod, because it swallowed up all the others. At the second Council of Douzy in 876, it was declared to be an inspired work, of equal authority with the canonical Scriptures, and—the writings of the catholic doctors. Leo, Archbishop of Ravenna, calls it a divine rule, dictated by the Holy Ghost, and leading infallibly to heaven. The Grand Duke Cosmo de' Medici studied it, that he might there learn how best to govern his estates; and Calmet affirms, that in this work St. Benedict has presented an ideal of the most excellent monarchy and the most perfect government. More than two hundred works have been written upon it, of which the best and perhaps the last, is a Commentary in two quarto volumes by Calmet himself. The original rule, an autograph of Benedict, was burnt in the year 897, in the monastery of Theano, when that edifice was consumed by fire. Some far more curious relics were destroyed at the same time,—the sacks in which food used to be sent to the saint from heaven—*sacci, in quibus jussu Dei, cælitus eidem Patri Benedicto escæ delatæ sunt*; such are the words of the Chronicon Cassinense.

A translation of the Rule by C. F. priest and monk of the order of St. Benedict, was printed at Douay in 1638, and dedicated 'to the honourable mistress, Mrs. Anne Carie, daughter to the Lord Viscount of Faulkland.' We use the language of this old translation, with the original and Calmet's Commentary before us, and correcting it where it requires amendment. The prologue opens thus, 'Hearken, O son! to the precepts of a master, and incline the ear of thy heart, and receive willingly the admonition of a pious father and effectually accomplish it, that by the labour of obedience thou mayest return to him from whom by the sloth of disobedience thou hast departed.' The Rule itself begins by saying, there were four kind of monks,—'The first is of Cœnobites, that is monasterial or conventual, living under a rule or abbot. The second kind is of Anachorits, that is hermits, who not by a novitiate fervour of de-

* This notable incident is thus gravely narrated by the Cistercian poet F. Nicolas Bravo, in his Benedictina.—

'—encarcelado en el lugar materno,
Alegres muestras el infante dava,
Articulando con un son superno
La voz que claro afuera resonava;
Ya en esto el niño delicada y tierno
El gozo celestial pronosticava,
Pues, aunque en carcel tenebrosa y negra
Con celestiales canticos se alegra.

Que pudo ser la vida de este infante,
Sino contento, jubilo, alborozo,
Pues sin mira del sol la luz radiante,
Antes que sepa el llanto, muestra el gozo!
Ya da indicios alegres de triunphante
Del infernal y Tartaro destrozo,
Semejante al Baptista en gloria tanta,
Pues donde danza Juan, Benito canta.

The reader must not suppose this to be an invention of the Spanish poet; he refers to the grave authority of Bonifacius Simoneta, an abbot of his order.

votion, but by long probation in a monastical kind of life have learnt, with the assistance of others, to fight against the devil; and being well armed, are able now, without the support of any other, by God's help, to fight hand to hand against the vices of the flesh and evil cogitations, and so proceed from the fraternal army to the single combat of the wilderness. The third and foulest kind of monks are the Saraibaites, who not having been tried under any rule by the experience of a skilful master, as gold is tried in the furnace, but being soft as lead, and still adhering by their actions to the world, are known by their tonsure to be liars unto God; who two or three together, or perhaps singly, without a shepherd, are shut up, not in the Lord's sheep-fold, but in their own; and the pleasure of their desires is to them a law; and whatsoever they like or chuse, this they will have to be holy, and what they dislike that not to be lawful. The fourth are they who are called Gyrovagi, who all their life wander through divers provinces, and guest-wise stay two or three days in one monastery and then in another, and are always strolling and never settled, and giving themselves altogether to their own pleasures and to the enticements of gluttony, are in all things worse than the Saraibaites; of the most miserable conversation, of all which it is better to be silent than to speak.' The institutions of St. Benedict tended greatly to put an end to these vagabonds. It was for the cœnobites alone that his rule was intended.

The abbot was to remember what he was called, for in the monastery he is believed to represent the person of Christ, seeing he is called by his title, as the Apostle saith, 'ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, *abbâ*, father.' He was to administer instruction by his life as well as his lessons; to know no distinction of persons in those under his command, not preferring a free man, or one of good parentage, before one of servile condition, or low degree, except for some other and reasonable cause. He was not to dissemble offences, but to admonish those who were likely to be amended by admonition; but harder dispositions he was charged, even in the very beginning of sin, to chastise with stripes. Upon any business of importance all the brethren were to be called to council, because God often revealeth to the youngest that which is best; the abbot was to hear all, and then act according to his own judgment, to which all were to submit. One of the first duties was obedience, and this was to be immediate, without the slightest delay. Silence also was so generally to be observed, that leave of speaking was seldom to be given, even to perfect disciples, though upon good and holy subjects, tending to edification; and for idle words and such as might move laughter, they were utterly condemned and forbidden in all places. Humility is like Jacob's ladder,

der, a way from earth to heaven, and it has twelve steps or degrees, of which the last is, for a monk not only to have humility in his heart, but also to show it in his exterior to all that behold him in the monastery, in the oratory, in the garden, in the field, in the way, or wheresoever he may be, sitting, walking, or standing, that he have always his head inclined and his eyes fixed on the ground, thinking himself ever guilty for his sins, and ready to be presented before the dreadful judgment of God.'

Some chapters follow concerning the divine service to be observed in the monastery.—Benedict is the earliest writer who has given a detailed account of the service of the church, which, according to Calmet, before his time was not performed according to any fixed rules in the greater churches. He also first appointed the seven canonical hours, lauds, prime, tierce, sexts, nones, vespers, and complines. If the services were too frequent they were not of an inconvenient length; Benedict left much to the discretion of the abbot, provided that every week the psalter were gone through. He was careful that the service should be performed with becoming solemnity; and the fine chaunting in our cathedrals has descended from his followers, who, in this respect, bore the palm from all other orders.* His good sense was shown also in discouraging long prayers; 'we shall be heard,' said he, 'not for our many words, but for our purity of heart and our compunction: and, therefore, prayer ought to be short and simple, unless peradventure it be prolonged by the influence of divine inspiration. But in public let it always be short.'

Every ten monks were to be under the superintendence of a dean, or decurion, (*decanus*.) And if the dormitory were not large enough to hold them all, they were to sleep by ten or twenty in a dormitory, with their respective deans, each in a separate bed, the young not next each other, but mixed with the elder. They were to sleep clothed and girded so as to be always ready to rise, but not with their knives by their side, for fear of accidents. A light was to be kept burning through the night.

The punishments were, that, for lighter offences, the culprit should take his refection alone, and at such time and in such measure as the abbot might think fitting; for greater faults he was to be suspended from the oratory as well as the table, and none of the brethren were to hold any intercourse with him, nor even to bless him as they passed by, but he was to perform the task en-

* 'Dans son ordre on s'est toujours distingué non-seulement par la ponctualité à réciter l'Office Divin; mais aussi par la manière de le chanter, qui a toujours été noble, majestueux, grave et méthodique; c'est comme l'héritage et le dépôt que Saint Benoît a laissé à ses enfans; son esprit à cet égard s'est toujours conservé dans son ordre, même dans le tems où le relâchement s'y est introduit.'—CALMET.

joined him, alone, in penance and in sorrow ; some of the elders however were to be sent secretly to advise and console him. If no amendment were produced, he was to be more severely corrected, and punished with stripes ; finally, the incorrigible monk was to be expelled. He might, however, upon humble and contrite supplication be re-admitted once again ; but after a third expulsion, the gate was closed upon him for ever. No one was to call or think any thing his own ; and if any were detected in this most odious vice, he was to be admonished once and again, and then subjected to correction. None were to be excused from the service of the kitchen, unless they were hindered by sickness, or were more usefully employed. This work was taken in rotation, by weeks ; and the officers of the week were allowed a draught of wine and a piece of bread an hour before refection. Dinner was at sexts, that is, about noon, and supper in the evening ; on fast days dinner was at nones, about three in the afternoon, and it was then the only meal. Two dishes were allowed, in condescension to the infirmity of many brethren, that they who could not eat one might be satisfied with the other. Both these dishes were hot, *cocta duo pulmentaria*, the one consisted of pulse, the other of herbs ; a third dish of fruit was allowed. The ratio of bread was a pound for each person. The flesh of all four footed creatures was prohibited, except to the sick and weak. ‘ Every one,’ said St. Benedict, ‘ hath his proper gift from God, one thus, and another thus, and therefore we appoint the measure of other mens’ food not without some scrupulosity. Yet considering the imbecillity of the infirm, we think a *hemina* of wine daily will suffice for each. But to whom God gives the gift of abstinence, let them know they shall receive their proper reward. And if either labour, heat of the summer, or situation of the place, require more, let the prior do what he thinketh good, having ever a care that superfluity or drunkenness creep not in. And although we read wine to be in no sort the drink of monks, yet because in these times they will not be so persuaded, let us at least consent to this that we drink not to satiety but sparingly.’ After supper, or after even-song on fast-days, (Wednesdays and Fridays,) the brethren were to assemble and some one was to read aloud from the Collations of Cassian, the lives of the Fathers, or some other edifying book, but not the Heptateuch, nor the other historical books of the Old Testament : these might be read at other times ; but at that hour* Benedict thought

* ‘ Mais pourquoi défendre la lecture de ces livres avant complenes ? C’est apparemment parce qu’il s’y rencontre certaines histoires qui peuvent laisser dans l’esprit des impressions qui pourroient revenir et inquieter les Religieux pendant le sommeil. Peut-être aussi parce que ces histoires des guerres de Josué, des Juges, et des Rois frappent trop vivement l’imagination, et remuent trop les passions. C’est, dit on, pour cette dernière

thought it would not be profitable for weak understandings to hear them.

During Lent, Benedict recommended, but did not command, that the monks should add something to their daily tasks and prayers, and forego part of their allowance; but the permission of the abbot was necessary, otherwise whatever was done would be imputed to vain-gloriousness, and merit no reward. Guests were to be hospitably received and welcomed with the kiss of peace, but not till after prayer, by reason of the illusions of the devil; for Benedict believed that the devil was very likely to visit them in disguise, and even Calmet, in commenting upon this passage, found it necessary to treat the supposition as probable. Let poor people and strangers, said the rule-giver, especially, be diligently entertained with all care, because in them Christ is more truly received; for fear itself exacts honour for the rich. The clothes of the monks were to be adapted to the place and climate, as the abbot might please to appoint. Every one was to have two tunics and cowls to wash and wear, and upon a journey they were to be better than those which he used at home. When travelling they were also to be allowed breeches (*femoralia*), which, on their return, they were to wash and replace in the wardrobe. For bedding, they had a mat, a blanket, a quilt, and a pillow, (*matta, sagum, lena et capitale.*) The abbot was frequently to search the beds, and if he found any thing concealed there, which the monk had not received from the convent, the offender was to undergo a severe punishment.

The abbot's table was always to be with the guests and strangers, if there were none he might invite some of the brethren to eat with him; but for the sake of discipline, one or two of the censors were always to be left with the monks. Such as were artificers might exercise their respective crafts with the abbot's permission, but that permission was to be withdrawn if the workman affected to consider himself a benefactor to the community. Whatever they made for sale was to be sold something below the common price, and they who managed the sale were warned to remember the fate of Ananias and Saphira. One who applied for admission was not to be received lightly; after he should have persevered in waiting at the gate four or five days, he might be admitted into the apartment of the guests, and from thence, after a like delay, into that of the novices, where he was to remain two months. At the end of that time the rule was to be read, and he was to be addressed thus,—
‘Behold the law under which thou desirest to fight: if thou canst

raison, qu' Ulphilas, Evêque des Goths, ne voulut pas traduire en sa langue les Livres des Rois, de peur d'allumer de plus en plus la passion de ces peuples, qui n'étoit déjà que trop grande pour la guerre.—CALMET.

observe

observe it, enter ; if thou canst not, freely depart.' After six months more the rule was to be read to him a second time, and a third at the expiration of four more, making the full time of a year. He was then to profess publicly in the oratory, promising obedience before God and his saints, that if at any time he should do otherwise, he might know that he should be condemned by him whom he had mocked. This profession he was to write, (or sign if he could not write,) calling to witness the saints whose relics should then be present, and, laying the writing on the altar with his own hand, to say, O ! stablish me according to thy word, and let me not be disappointed of my hope. He was then to prostrate himself at the feet of the brethren while they prayed for him ; after which they were to take off his secular garments and clothe him in the habit of the order. His secular garments were to be deposited in the wardrobe, that they might be returned to him if at any time, by the devil's persuasion, he should quit the monastery : but the writing which contained his profession was not to be given up,—that doubtless was regarded as a bond upon which he was to be sued at the day of judgment.

A strange monk who came as a guest and behaved well was to be entertained as long as he chose to stay ; and if he reasonably and with humility and charity reprehend or admonish any thing, let the abbot, says the rule-giver, prudently consider what he sayeth, for peradventure our Lord sent him for that end. If his conduct be relaxed, they were civilly to bid him depart, lest he should corrupt others ; if it were edifying, they were then to intreat him to remain. But the abbot was cautioned not to receive a member of any other known monastery without dimissory letters from his superior.

The brethren were to take precedence according to seniority, dating not from their birth, but their entrance into the monastery. The seniors were to address the juniors by the title of brothers ; the juniors were to call the seniors *Nonni*.* The abbot as representing the person of Christ was to be called Lord and Abbot (*Dominus et Abbas*), not because he attributed to himself these titles, but from the honour and love of our Saviour. He was to be chosen by the whole Convent, for his good desert of life, learning and discretion, though he should be the lowest among them ; an election made even by a minority was to be good when the choice was discreet : but if the whole convent should unanimously elect a bad subject, the election was to be set aside by the bishop

* This word *Nonnus*, from which Nun is derived, is believed to be originally Egyptian ; but, perhaps the word from whence the Italians derive *Nonno*, a name given to grandfathers and thence to old men in general, may have been in use in St. Benedict's time.

of the diocese, or the neighbouring abbots and Christians. ‘It behoveth the abbot always to prefer mercy before justice, that he himself may obtain mercy. He must hate vice and love his brethren; and, in correcting let him not be rigorous or excessive, lest while he seek to scour the vessel, he break it. And let him always suspect his own frailty, and bear in mind that a bruised reed must not be broken.’

Such was nearly the famous Rule of St. Benedict: the author himself speaks modestly of it in his conclusion. ‘By observing it in monasteries,’ he says, ‘we may show that we preserve good manners, and have at least the beginning of a good life. But for him who hastens to the perfection of holy conversation, there are the precepts of the holy Fathers, the observance whereof bringeth a man to the height of perfection. For what page, or what precept in the Old and New Testament but is a perfect rule of human life? or what book of the holy Catholic fathers but proclaims to us the right way by which we may attain to our Creator? moreover the Collations of the Fathers and their institutes and lives, and the rule of our holy father Basil, what else are they but examples of obedience and instruments of virtue? but to us, slothful ill-livers and negligent as we are, they are a shame and a confusion. Whosoever therefore thou art, who hastenest to the heavenly country, observe by the help of Christ this little Rule for beginning; and then at length by the protection of God thou shalt come to those heights of doctrine and virtues whereof we have spoken.’ •

Judging of the saint by this Rule alone (and it is the only evidence which can be admitted, for all that Pope Gregory the Great has written of him may be rejected as fabulous) it appears that Benedict is to be ranked among reformers, not among the knaves, fanatics or madmen of a fraudulent church. His institutions are not to be estimated by themselves, but by comparison with those from which they are derived, and there is then more cause to admire their moderation than to wonder at their severity. And upon a comparison with all subsequent rules (till the time of the Jesuits) a like inference in his favour must be drawn. He intended a mitigated system, such as might render the monastic life eligible by men who were desirous of religious retirement, but were at the same time in full possession of their intellects. And he carefully entrusted the abbots with a discretionary power of mitigating the discipline still farther as occasion might require. If we bear in mind the extravagancies of the eastern monks, who were regarded as the beau idéal of holiness and whose rules were before him,—the picture which he himself has drawn of the Sarabaites and Gyrovagi, and the circumstances of his age, we must acknowledge that the founder of the Benedictines deserves to be remembered

bered with respect, even if the services which his order has rendered to civilization, arts and literature, were not taken into the account. He himself, like many other men who have produced great effects in the world, was not aware of the importance of what he had done. His success was greater than his ambition. He had no views of becoming the head of an order, nor even of incorporating several monastic houses into one association or congregation under a superior-general. But the popes, who perceived the good sense of his code, (Gregory praises it as *discretione præcipuam*,) perceived also the advantage which they might derive from making it general, and thus organizing the great multitude of enthusiasts and fanatics with which all ages and all countries abound, into a disciplined body in the service of the papal church. Thus by the good policy of the popes, the decrees of provincial councils, and the favour of princes, which at that time was well deserved, in the course of two centuries the Rule of St. Benedict superseded all others, and became the sole rule of the west.

It was then that the Monastic Institutions became eminently useful. They attracted, regulated and directed the zeal and the fanaticism of the times, making beneficial what would else have been injurious, as waters which would produce devastation in torrents, or render the air poisonous by stagnating in marshes, serve for the use of man when collected in reservoirs and proper channels. The disorderly and vagabond monks ceased to be heard of after this time. And while every generation produced some new schism in the east, founded upon some new subtlety, the western church was in great measure delivered from the pest of heresiarchs and heretics; for the spirits which might have taken an eccentric course were brought under the yoke of obedience; and if the monastery failed to produce its intended effect as a school, it served as a Bedlam, where the maniac was indulged in all his humours, if any advantage to the community could be drawn from them, and authority was always at hand to restrain him from every thing hurtful. The monastery was a home for the studious, a refuge for the weak, and an asylum for the unhappy. Queens when divorced or widowed, and princesses for whom there was no establishment, could retire there with dignity and with comfort. Kings who in possession of worldly power had learned the late lesson that all is vanity, or who were stricken with compunction for their crimes, retired to the convent to pass the remainder of their days, the one in peace, the other in penitence. Even ambition was rendered less inhuman by these institutions: the searing irons were disused, and the usurper or the successful rival contented himself with compelling his victim to receive the tonsure and take those vows by which he became dead to the world. Here were to be found

statesmen

statesmen who were capable of directing the affairs of princes, and missionaries to go among the fierce heathens by whom the Roman empire was subverted, ready to act their part well as martyrs if they failed, or as politicians if their efforts were successful. Here, and here only, were the schools of education:—the discipline indeed was severe and even cruel, and the instruction was barbarous; still this education, such as it was, saved the world from total ignorance. The light of knowledge was kept burning, not like the fabled lamps of the sepulchre to be extinguished when daylight and free air were admitted,—it was carefully trimmed and preserved for happier generations: and were the present age divested of all that it owes to the patient and humble labour of the Benedictines, we should be poor indeed.

Thus eminently useful, monasteries obtained favour among the people in general. Superstition contributed largely to endow them; relaxed morals and a relaxed observance of the Rule were the consequences of their wealth; and those retreats which were intended for the nestling-place of meek and holy creatures like Bede, who, while they prepared themselves for another world, seemed scarcely to belong to this, became the eyrie of such high-flying spirits as Dunstan. The great body of the monks however were commonplace men, who went through the routine of their profession, filled their respective offices in the convent with decorum, and when they were gathered to their predecessors left no memorial behind them. Besides these there were the patient men of letters, to whose solitary labours we are beholden for what we know of the history of the middle ages—these persons were in their proper places; born neither too early nor too late, they were happy in their generation, and earned for themselves a durable remembrance, not dependant upon any change of times and taste, but which will last as long as the records of history endure. How insignificant while they lived—perhaps even in their own estimation—were they to the worldlings of monachism, the Lords-Abbots, who vied with temporal barons in the splendour of their retinue, and exceeded kings in the magnificence of their abodes!—but their names are forgotten, and their monumental brasses, if they have escaped the foundry, are trodden under foot, while the writings of the poor unambitious annalist are published at the national expense, and edited and illustrated by the ablest antiquarian scholars of the age.

When the monasteries were in this state the easy course of life into which their inhabitants had settled was frequently disturbed, sometimes by enthusiasts, sometimes by sour spirits, or turbulent and ambitious ones. The puritans of the day, regardless of the change of times and circumstances, and in their blind zeal for the letter of their institutions, mistaking or perverting the spirit, were
not

not merely for extirpating the abuses which had crept into the order, and restoring the vigour of the Rule, but for going farther than the founder, and raising it to the standard of Egyptian perfection. Reformers of this description often started up with more or less success. They made the unlucky monks of their generation miserable, by imposing upon them the yoke of a strict observance, as far as their authority or their influence extended; they obtained a renewal of popularity for the order by the reputation of their austere virtues, and drew into it a number of those ardent recruits who are always ready to enlist under the banners of fanaticism: but in the next generation the reformed convents began to relapse into the convenient and comfortable system from which they had been reclaimed; new reforms became necessary, and thus, in the natural course of things, reforms and relaxations succeeded to each other, in regular ebb and flow.

The improvements which had been made in the system in perfect conformity with the intentions of the founder, and the changes which change of circumstances had gradually and necessarily caused, were attacked by these reformers with more inveteracy than actual abuses. When Benedict composed his Rule it was necessary that the monks should labour for themselves, because they had no endowments, and there were none to labour for them. But extensive estates had now been given to the monasteries, and in those days the husbandmen were transferred with the soil. Whole families also, either by their own act or that of their feudal masters, had been dedicated to the service of these institutions. Thus the monks were relieved from that agricultural toil to which no merit was attached by the prejudices of monachism, and which it never could be considered as a duty upon them to perform for themselves, when the necessity had ceased to exist. And for such manual employments as were carried on within doors, every convent had now its own artificers, humble brethren, who under the title of *Donati*, were attached to the order; having devoted themselves to its service, for the sake of being admitted to participate in the stock of its good works. It accorded with the spirit of Benedict's Rule that the leisure thus obtained for the regular brethren should be employed by the more pious in religious meditation, by the more thoughtful in theological or scholastic studies; that those, whose inclinations led them to more active literature, should compose books, that others should perform the humbler, but not less useful task of copying them, and that the arts of architecture, sculpture, painting and music, as connected with objects of religion, should be cultivated in his convents. To the patient industry which was thus directed we owe the preservation of most of the classics, and a large portion of history which would otherwise have been

been lost; and to the genius which was thus brought forth we are beholden for those cathedrals which vie with the noblest monuments of the ancient world, if they do not indeed surpass them. But the monastic reformers were hostile to all this. They regarded all time as lost which was not expended in the routine of divine service, or in the good works of monkery. In direct contradiction to the letter of the rule, which warned them not to exhaust their devotion by over-tasking it, they lengthened the services and multiplied them, as if, in the lively language of Mr. Fosbrooke, 'the best man were only a barrel organ set to psalm-tunes.' And this was carried to such excess that in some places they reached the astonishing extravagance of establishing what was called *Laus Perennis*, an infinite series of psalmody, to be kept up without intermission by relays of monks, or nuns, day and night, for ever and ever, without coming to Amen!

Benedict admired the Egyptian monks, and perhaps believed that his own lot had fallen in evil times and among a degenerated race; but abstaining from their extravagancies he so far regulated his institutions with regard to health, that he allowed meat to the sick, and dispensed with fasting when extreme heat or extraordinary labour produced an unusual exhaustion. Estates were sometimes settled on a monastery for the purpose of supplying the brethren with a daily pittance in addition to their rations; there was this difference observed, that when the pittance came upon the table it was not blessed like the regular dishes; but this omission gave little inconvenience to the conscience, and none to the stomach. By a pitiable superstition linen was thought sinful, as being luxurious; but flannel shirts were added to the monks wardrobe for the convenience of washing, and this was a great advance in cleanliness. The fanatic reformers regarded these mitigations with contempt or abhorrence—whatever tended to utility, to convenience, comfort or cleanliness, they held in abomination. Some of them declaimed against the pomp and beauty of ceremonial worship, and the splendour of the churches;—and with characteristic inconsistency the same books which exhibit the magnificence of the Catholic shrines and temples, record miracles wrought in compliance with an enthusiast who would have had churches as mean in their appearance as meeting-houses.

The same freaks and follies of the human mind,—the same diseases of the moral and intellectual nature have shown themselves in all ages; the Romish church has had the dexterity to turn them to account. In her service there was a place for every one, saint or sage, the painful student, and the expert sophist, the haughtiest temper and the humblest, knave, madman and idiot, all had

had their uses, and were employed with excellent advantage to the papacy. When by some lucky combination of events a monk had attained that sort of influence which enabled him to institute a reform, it suited the policy of the church and of his order also, to accredit the fables forged by himself and his accomplices, and propagated by vulgar credulity; to canonize the fanatic who during his life had been an object of hatred or contempt to all his brethren, and to publish for edification the strangest pranks and the most disgusting actions of insane and grovelling superstition.

The most remarkable fanatic of this age was the personage known by the name of St. Dominic the Cuirassier, because of an iron cuirass which he wore next his skin, and which was never taken off till it was necessary to replace it by a new one. Dominic had been intended for an ecclesiastical life; but when he received priest's orders his parents presented a furred robe to the bishop who ordained him, and Dominic, conceiving that he had thus incurred the guilt of simony, not only refrained from performing mass, but resolved to do penance for the crime as long as he lived. For this purpose he entered into the congregation of Santa Croce de Fonte Avellana, the most extravagant of all the orders which had been produced by reforming the system of St. Benedict. The monks of this congregation never touched either wine or oil, and during five days in the week only bread and water; they were never allowed to speak, except for a short time on Sundays, and then only concerning spiritual things; they went barefoot, and every day, after every service, they flogged one another. In those days it was believed that a sinner might be flogged into a saint, as it has been supposed, within our own memory, that a dunce might be whipped into a scholar.—But besides the general utility of flagellation as a means of obtaining the favour of heaven, the actual value of stripes,—the price at which they were taken by the score in the treasury of Good Works, had been settled, according to the most minute and accurate calculation. This well deserves to be explained.

It is a point of faith, say the Catholics, that every mortal sin deprives the sinner of the grace of God, and makes him liable to eternal punishment; but if he repents and confesses, the mercy of God is so great that he restores the grace which had been forfeited, and commutes for temporal punishment that which should else have been eternal. How long a time a soul has to remain in purgatory for one mortal sin, or for many, whether for one year, ten, twenty or more, is what the divine majesty has revealed to none. The popes, however, have granted indulgencies by some of which they remitted a certain number of years of purgatory, by
others,

others, half the term, and by others the whole.* The monks of Fonte Avellana had determined that thirty psalms said or sung, with an accompaniment of one hundred stripes to each psalm, making in all three thousand, would be received as a set-off for one year of purgatory; the whole psalter with the full complement of fifteen thousand stripes would redeem five years from the same vast crucible, and twenty psalters with three hundred thousand stripes, fairly entered in the recording angel's book, would be equal to a receipt in full for an hundred years of fire and torments in the world to come. This scale was sanctioned (if not formally approved) by the popes.

Dominic the Cuirassier was ambitious above all men of laying up treasure of this kind in heaven; and to a man of his temper it was a great excitement to know that he was working by the piece. He tasked himself ordinarily at ten psalters and thirty thousand lashes a day, at which rate he would have redeemed three thousand six hundred and fifty years of purgatory per annum,—and as Dominic is said never to have committed any other sin in his life than that of consenting to the present of the furred robe, one year of such discipline might have been thought full measure and overflowing for that offence. But in addition to this regular allowance he used to petition his superiors in Lent for a supplementary task of an hundred years; and then his day's work was two psalters and a half, with thirty-four thousand five hundred stripes.

Even all this did not satisfy the ambitious Dominic. He was already creditor to a large amount in the angel's books,—but no good works can be lost; all that were over and above the sum necessary for his own redemption from purgatory would go to the great sinking-fund of the holy Catholic church, and Dominic therefore continued to flog himself with more spirit than ever, for the good of his fellow-creatures. He entreated and obtained during another Lent the imposition of a thousand years; and St. Pietro Damiano affirms, that in these forty days he actually recited the psalter two hundred times, and inflicted upon himself sixty millions of stripes, working away during the recitation with a scourge in each hand. This was in addition to his regular task,—and I neither know, says Yepes, how his head should have been capable of repeating so many psalms, nor how his arms could have had strength to give him so many blows,—nor how his flesh, not being of iron, could have endured so inhuman a battery.—In him, however, increase of appetite grew by what it fed on, and like our pedestrians, who go on walking hour after hour, till they ascertain the utmost exertion which their abused strength is capable of en-

* This is in strict and literal conformity to the book before us,—the work of a Benedictine of great learning, who held the office of Chronicler of his order.

during,

during, he, in an heroic mood, determined once to flog himself, in the jockey phrase, *against time*. In this noble feat, he so far outdid all his former outdoing, that beginning in the evening, and singing and flogging through the day and night, at the end of twenty-four hours he had gone through the psalms twelve times, begun them a thirteenth time, and proceeded as far as *Beati quorum*, the 32d psalm;—the quota of stripes being 183,100, thereby reducing purgatory stock to the amount of sixty-one years, twelve days and thirty-three minutes, to a fraction.

With regard to the authenticity of this account, it rests upon the authority of Pietro Damiano, saint and cardinal, and he relates it from his own personal knowledge, in an epistle to Pope Alexander II. It is laid down as an axiom by Ambrosio Morales, that whatever one saint relates of another, is to be implicitly believed. And Calmet, living in a less credulous age and country, premising that the statement appears incredible, says that, after seeing it affirmed by S. Pietro Damiano, there ought to be no further hesitation—*la chose ne doit faire aucune difficulté*. It seems, however, that certain awkward doubts respecting the possibility of Dominic's exploits obtruded themselves upon the minds of those who were very desirous of believing them if they could. It appears, upon calculating his great achievement of the four-and-twenty hours, that if during the whole of that time he had given himself two blows (that is, one with each hand, for he always used both) in every second, the number would have been 172,800, being 10,300 short of the stated amount! Padre Maestro Castaniza supposes that Dominic's cats had ten tails each, and that every tail was reckoned: but this mode of reckoning would savour so much of vain-glory, not to say deceit, that other writers reject the solution, as derogatory both to the saint and his canonized biographer: they therefore agree with Castaniza, that 'the divine grace which the Almighty imparts to his servants produces in them marvellous effects, however weak they may be by nature;' and so they take the sum total without scruple. But the saying *Credo quia impossibile est*, will not pass current out of the pale of Catholicism; and a Protestant may be allowed to ask how Dominic contrived to reckon the stripes while he was singing the psalms?—Another question will already have occurred to the reader, was Dominic in his cuirass all the while?—if he were, he might have laid on as lustily as Sancho upon the trees, and kept a whole skin. But the cardinal mentions that he stript himself for the work.—What, then, becomes of the assertion that the cuirass was never taken off till it was worn out? The story bears the stamp of fraud as well as of folly and madness, and the church which has accredited it by canonizing the man, whether knave or

maniac, or both, thereby encouraging the grossest superstition and the most absurd practices, is implicated in the imposture.

But this was the age of imposture; and it is not difficult to discover by what means it had become the system of the Romish church. At whatever time miracles ceased, (probably with the age of the Apostles,) many persons continued to expect them. This also is certain, that there must have been many, even in the earliest ages, who called themselves Christians from worldly motives,—for however poor a sect may be, experience has shown that there are always some who find their interest in joining it. Such men were likely to pretend to miraculous power when, like Simon Magus, they found it was not a secret which could be purchased; and they were liable to be deceived themselves when they deluded others; for, in that state of knowledge, cases in which the imagination operates a cure, and others of natural phenomena which are now perfectly explicable, would appear to be miracles. Of the wonders with which books of hagiology are filled no inconsiderable portion belong to one or other of these classes;—the facts may be true, (and many of them no doubt were so,) but not miraculous. It followed as an obvious consequence, that displays were frequently made for the sake of obtaining credit and custom; that cases were forged as well as feigned;—and a great number of these cases betray their falsehood,—for the miracle-mongers, paying no regard to the extent of physical possibility, furnished a clue to their own detection, by inventing circumstances which would be miraculous, if they were true. Such practices became more common as the superstition concerning relics gained ground. No feeling is more natural in its origin than this, and none has ever been more grossly abused. It was natural that the early Christians should visit the graves of their friends and teachers who had sealed their faith with their blood, and in torments and death borne triumphant testimony to the truth of the Gospel. It was natural that they should be moved to prayer upon the spot where a martyr was laid to rest; and it might reasonably be expected, that on such occasions the strong emotion of the mind might sometimes suspend, and sometimes throw off a remediable disease. Such things were sometimes felt, more frequently feigned. The possession of an accredited relic became as good property to a church or convent, as the secret of a patent medicine to the proprietor in our days; and a list of miracles wrought at a favourite shrine was as easily procured as a string of affidavits in favour of the metallic tractors, the worm-lozenges, or the balm of Gilead. Relics were divided and subdivided, and in proportion as the superstition became more gross and abject, the miracles became

became more numerous and portentous. Pope St. Gregory* explains why more and greater wonders were generally wrought by a small relic,—(a toe, or a finger, or the rag of a garment,)—than by the whole body of a saint; and the reason is quite satisfactory,—it is, that more faith is required of the supplicant, and that the saints for their honour were bound to exert themselves when their power might be called in question. Fraud and credulity kept pace with each other,—till at length, in the memorable instance at Cologne, the contents of a whole cemetery were removed into a church, and palmed upon the catholic world as the undoubted relics of eleven thousand British virgins, for the existence of any one of whom there was not the slightest foundation in fact.

Such fables and impostures were in full vogue when the bishops of Rome arrogated to themselves a supremacy over the whole Christian world, and what had been carried on by individuals or associations for private and selfish purposes, became a part of the system of that corrupt and wicked church. It is just, as well as charitable, to believe that among the heads of that church there were some who partook of the weakness of the age, and were deceived themselves; but it is certain, that for many of them no such excuse can be advanced. Men whom we know, from the concurrent evidence of history, to have been, not simpletons or fanatics, but ambitious and plotting statesmen, solemnly sanctioned the most extravagant falsehoods, the most abject superstitions, the most palpable deceit and nummery, and laughed the while at the credulity of mankind. The middle ages are indeed characterized by falsehood. The few persons who recorded their travels interlarded them with wonders till they contained more lies than truth; the chronicles were half filled with miraculous legends, invented in the monasteries; and natural history and natural philosophy were made up of wilful and impudent falsehoods, a few of which had been transmitted from the ancients, but the greater part were of monkish growth. With regard to the monastic legends which obtained belief, it is very possible that some of them may have been written as innocent and edifying works of

* The original passage is curious, not merely for its reasoning, but as containing an important fact in the history of Romish impostures, and proving the inference in the text. Peter asks him in the dialogue—*Quidnam esse dicimus, quod plerumque in ipsis quoque patrocinis martyrum sic esse sentimus, ut non tanta per corpora sua, quanta beneficia per reliquias ostendant; atque illic majora signa faciant, ubi minime per semetipsos jacent?* GREGORIUS: *Ubi in suis corporibus sancti martyres jacent, dubium, Petre, non est, quod multa valeant signa demonstrare, sicut et faciunt, et purâ mente querentibus innumera miracula ostendunt: sed quia ab infirmis potest mentibus dubitari, utrumque ad exaudiendum ibi presentes sint, ubi constat, quia in suis corporibus non sunt, ibi necesse est eos majora signa ostendere, ubi de eorum præsentia potest mens infirma dubitare. Quorum vero mens in Deo fixa est, tanto majus habet fidei meritum, quanto illic eos novit non jacere corpore, et tamen non desse ab exauditione.*

imagination, without any intention of palming them upon the people as true history; but when they obtained belief, the papal church set its stamp upon them; and latterly it is certain that they were invented with the deliberate intention of deceit; and the heads of convents, orders, and the church itself first winked at these impostures, and afterwards adopted them, and gave them currency, in a manner which the tricks and tactics of a faction in England may assist us to understand.

Thus superstition was continually increased by knavery, and knavery grew bolder by continued success, till a gross and idolatrous polytheism had been substituted in place of Christianity. These flagrant corruptions at length provoked inquiry and resistance, and in the language of a monastic historian, the church would have succumbed under the attack of its enemies in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, if He who promised to the prince of his apostles that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, had not sent new succours to its defence. From the institution of the mendicant orders, which is thus imputed to divine interposition in behalf of the church, the third age of monachism may be dated,—its age of consummate wickedness.

There is so much impiety connected with the history of the Franciscans, so much cruelty with that of the Dominicans, and so much flagitious and blasphemous imposture with both, that the founders of these several orders can hardly be seen in their true characters. It becomes difficult to regard the men themselves apart from the mythology in which they are enveloped, and the indignation which is due to their villainous followers. Both were fanatics in their outset, and perhaps it is not possible to ascertain how far either of them proceeded in the natural progress from fanaticism to imposture; but all previous legends were modest in comparison with those which were invented to their honour. Some of the miracles related of St. Dominic may be seen in one of our former Numbers,*—those of St. Francis are neither less numerous, nor less monstrous. The Romish church has in most cases, with its usual policy, left its religious orders to lie at their own discretion, and defend their fables as they could; thus profiting by the fraud while it lasted, and always ready to disclaim any participation if it should be discovered and exposed;—but in the case of the Franciscans, it departed from its usual caution, and two of the most audacious impostures of that most impudent order have received the sanction of the church, the one tacitly the other directly, but both so decidedly that the Bollandists in their latter years, when they gladly rejected as many fables as they could ven-

* No. XII. pp. 321—325.

ture to impugn, thought it necessary to maintain the authenticity of these, and having gulped the camels themselves, endeavoured to persuade the reader to shut his eyes, open his mouth, and swallow boldly, after their example.

The first of these miracles relates to the Indulgence of Portiuncula. The legend is thus related: On a certain night, St. Francis, being fervently employed in prayer, was informed by revelation that our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, with a multitude of angels, were at that moment in the church of Portiuncula, which he had rebuilt from its ruins. The saint hastened to the place, and seeing the celestial assembly, prostrated himself before Christ and the Virgin. Our Lord then said to him, Francis, ask what thou wilt for the salvation of the people, for thou art given to be the light of the nations, and the restorer of the church on earth. Francis, after lying awhile in ecstasy, requested for all persons who should visit that church a full pardon and indulgence for their sins, all and several, which they should have properly confessed to a priest; he then turned to the Virgin, and intreated her to intercede with her Son that this petition might be granted. She did so, and Christ replied, Brother Francis, you have asked a great thing, but you are worthy of greater, and greater you will have. I admit your petition; but you must go to the Pope, Honorius the Third, who is at Perugia, and on my part ask him for this indulgence.—To Perugia accordingly Francis went. The Pope offered to grant the indulgence for one year at first, then successively for three, six and seven. Holy father, replied the saint, it is not years I ask, but souls,—I desire, if it may please you, because of the benefits which God hath done there, that every one who shall come to that church contrite, and absolved by his priest, may be absolved from punishment, in heaven and on earth, for all the sins he may have committed from the hour of his baptism to that of his entering the aforesaid church. The pope assented, but by the advice of certain cardinals, who represented to him that this would put an end to all hopes of recovering the Holy Land, and destroy the credit of the indulgence of St. Peter and St. Paul, he restricted it to four-and-twenty hours annually. Francis was then departing, well satisfied, when the pope called after him, O Simpleton (*O Semplicone*)—what do you carry away with you as proof of this indulgence? The saint answered, your word is enough. He then set out on his return to Assisi, and on the way heard a voice saying that what had been granted to him on earth was confirmed in heaven. The day, however, on which this sweeping indulgence was to be obtained had not been determined. One evening, when the saint was in a cell in the garden behind the church of Portiuncula, a strong temptation came upon him,

him, and in order to subdue it he threw off his clothes, forced his way through the hedge into a wood, and there rolled himself, naked as he was, among the brambles. Behold! a great light shone around, the brambles were converted into rose trees, covered with flowers and without thorns, a multitude of angels were seen, who summoned him to the church:—gathering twelve white roses and twelve red ones, he went there, and found the same celestial company as before. Our Saviour asked him why he did not pay the Virgin the dower which he owed, and Francis understanding that by this the souls who were to be saved by the indulgence were meant, entreated them to name the day; and the divine Majesty then appointed from the eve of the first of August to the eve of the second, promising entire forgiveness to all persons who should enter the church within those twenty-four hours for all their sins which they had repented and confessed.—And now, added our Lord, go thou to Rome, to my Vicar, that he may publish it. As Francis expressed a doubt that the pope might not believe him, he was directed to take some of his companions who were present at this miracle as witnesses, and some of the miraculous roses (for it was winter) as proofs.—The pope made no more difficulty than on the former occasion, and so the day of the indulgence was fixed. More than sixty thousand persons have sometimes flocked to Assissi on that day to obtain this cheap pardon for their sins. Every year some of these poor superstitious wretches were crushed to death in crowding to the church. The press was increased by an opinion that the visit might be performed by deputy; and many persons, therefore, who had entered the church once on their own account, had to force their way back a second and a third time for some friend or relation, dead or alive, ‘for many miracles and mysterious visions had certainly proved that souls were delivered from suffering by these means.’ The number of friars of the order who attended and walked in procession often exceeded sixteen hundred, and the pilgrimage to Portiuncula might at one time have vied with the pilgrimage to Mecca or to the temple of Jagganaut.

The other miracle is of a more atrocious cast. The Franciscans affirm that two years before the death of their patriarch, Christ appeared to him in the form of a seraph extended upon the cross, and imprinted upon him five wounds in the hands and feet and side, that, as Francis in all other things had been his living image, the resemblance might be made perfect. The assertion has received the full sanction of the Catholic church; for although it was not specified in the bull of canonization among the miracles for which the saint received his apotheosis; yet Pope Gregory IX., by whom he was canonized, severely reprehended a Moravian bishop for treat-
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ing the story as a fable.—Alexander IV. excommunicated all who should preach against the images of St. Francis with the Stigmata, and finally, the 17th September was set apart in the Romish calendar, and still holds a place there as a holiday in commemoration of this most blasphemous imposture.

The Mendicant orders accomplished for the time the service for which they were intended. They embodied, in the service of the papacy, much of that fiery fanaticism which is always to be found in the world, and which, if it had not been thus dexterously brought to the support of the church, might probably have taken the other side, and appeared in arms against it. They decided the wavering, partly by the success of their impostures, more by the enthusiasm which they kindled and diffused, and most of all by the persecution with fire and sword which they excited and directed. By their efforts the heretics were crushed and apparently extirpated, and the Reformation was deferred for three whole centuries. It was, perhaps, the policy of the popes to countenance two rival orders at the same time, and thus, by balancing the one with the other, to secure the easy management of both; but their rivalry produced a consequence which had not been foreseen. Being competitors for reputation and popular favour, they vied with each other in all the abominable arts by which the people were to be deceived. Thus, because the Franciscans boasted that their founder exhibited in his life a perfect parallel with the life of our Redeemer, (the subject of the famous, or rather infamous, *Liber Conformitatum*,—a copy of which is now before us,) the Dominicans affirmed that the Virgin Mary adopted Dominic for her son, and fed him at her breast! And that their rivals might not boast of the Stigmata as the peculiar and exclusive glory of the Franciscan order, the Dominicans pretended that the same honour had been conferred upon their patriarch, but because of his great modesty and profound humility he kept it a secret, and the truth had not been known till it was revealed in a vision to *Benedicta of Florence*, and affirmed to a friar by the Virgin Mary herself. They even played off the trick with success upon some of their female associates, (for such women as *Anne Moore* and *Joanna Southcote* were exhibited as saints in those days,) till growing too bold at last, some of them were detected in this villany at *Berne*, and burnt alive there, about twenty years before that city received the Reformation, a change to which the exposure of this atrocious deceit is believed to have greatly contributed.

While the friars were thus rivalling each other in extravagant fables, the elder orders of the Benedictine family (brave liars in their day) found themselves outdone, and the spirit of emulation set their inventive faculties at work. It was revealed to *St. Dominic*, in a

vision, that the place of his friars in heaven was under the Virgin Mary's robe. The Cistercians, on the contrary, maintained stoutly, on the faith of a revelation equally well attested, that this was their place, consequently, the Dominicans could have no right to be there. *Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.* The Bollandists treat the case with exemplary candour, and for an excellent reason: they state the pretensions of both parties, and declare that, undoubtedly, they can see no cause why the same vision might not have been vouchsafed both to a Cistercian and to a Dominican, because, they continue, the blessed Virgin has condescended to bestow the same favour upon our humble society: *certè non videmus, tur similis visio monacho Cisterciensi, et S. Dominico offerri non potuerit, cum beatissima Virgo minimam nostram societatem eodem favore dignata est.*

But it must not be supposed that there was no good connected with monachism even in its most flagitious age, nor that the guilt of the foul practices which have been here exposed attaches to the individuals of these orders indiscriminately. The number of dupes, as in all cases, was far greater than that of knaves; and the political advantages which arose out of these institutions would not have been overlooked at the Reformation had it not been for the rapacity by which that event was forwarded and disgraced. They offered a respectable provision for the younger branches of good families, a calm and dignified retreat for the elder, when they were weary of the world. They afforded an encouragement to literature which no other establishments have yet supplied; men who loved laborious research for its own sake, and for the pleasure which they found in preserving old records from obscurity for the information and use of future ages, were enabled to follow their meritorious pursuits: it was for the credit of the order, and all meaner considerations were disregarded. Cases which in our days are consigned to a mad-house found a better asylum in the convent; a wicked purpose indeed was sometimes answered by pampering insanity, but more frequently the disease was considered as something divine, and the sufferer was soothed by sympathy and indulgence, and enjoyed all the comfort of which he was capable in a bedlam of his own choice. Enthusiasts and fanatics of every description found their place: if they were desirous of preaching, they were sent to travel; if they chose to torment themselves, an assortment of whips and cilices was ready for their accommodation, and the order was sure to publish and magnify their merits; if they aspired to martyrdom, even in that ambition they were gratified, and were shipped off as missionaries among the Moors, Gentiles, and savages. Moreover they did this service for humanity, that they offered an asylum for ruined fortunes and for broken hearts,

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a religious retreat for repentance and affliction which was sanctified by public opinion.

It was not possible to preserve the Franciscan and Dominican orders in reformed countries; they were founded for the express purpose of opposing the principles of reformation; they had involved themselves in a web of fable from which they could not be extricated, and it was necessary that their abominable impostures should be stigmatized for deserved abhorrence. The Benedictines might perhaps have been continued; they had well-founded claims upon the gratitude of Christendom, their institutions might have been revised, and when the follies and falsehoods of later growth had been rooted out, alterations so slight as scarcely to be deemed a departure from their original constitution, might have adapted them to the spirit of a protestant country. 'Of all the retreats,' says St. Evremond, 'that a man can chuse when he is old, I should infinitely prefer that of a convent, if their rules were less severe. 'Tis certain that old age shuns a crowd, out of a nice and retired humour, that cannot endure to be either importuned or tired; and yet it avoids solitude with greater diligence, where it becomes a prey to its own black disquietudes, or to sullen vexatious imaginations. The only remaining relief against all this is the conversation of a virtuous society. Now what society can better agree with it than a religious one, where one would think all manner of human helps should be afforded with more charity than elsewhere, and where their prayers should be united to obtain those succours from heaven which cannot reasonably be expected from men? It is as natural for old people to take up with devotion, as it is ordinary with young men to abandon themselves to pleasures. In the latter, nature, full charged, throws out of herself her superfluity of vigour, hunting after voluptuousness in external objects; in the former, languishing nature seeks in God what she has lost, and adheres more closely to Him to provide for herself a kind of resource in her decay. Thus the same spirit that leads to society in our wants, conducts us to God in our languishings, and if convents were instituted as they ought to be, we should find in the same place both the support of heaven and the assistance of men; but, after the manner they are settled, instead of an alleviation of our miseries, we find there the hardship of a blind obedience, either in the performance of unprofitable things, or the forbearance of innocent ones: we find there an habitual sacrifice of reason; laws more difficult to be observed than the divine and political ones; ordinances scandalously broken by libertines, and impatiently borne by the most submissive. The penance which a man would willingly undergo is made necessary; the sin which he designs to avoid must be shunned by injunction, and the good which he would

would do is to be pursued by constraint. Common slavery goes no farther than to force us to what we are unwilling to do, but that of convents lays a necessity upon us, even in things that we are willing to perform. I could wish,' he adds, 'we had established societies where men might commodiously retire after they have done the public all the service they were able. When they were once entered, whether out of a consideration of their future state, a dislike of the world, or a desire of tranquillity after so many different agitations of fortune, they might taste the delight of a pious retreat, and the innocent pleasure of virtuous and agreeable conversation. But in this place of repose I would have no other rules than those of Christianity, which are generally received every where. And indeed we have ills enough to suffer and sins to commit, without creating new torments and new crimes by new institutions.'

Such societies as St. Evremond wished for might easily have been established by reforming the Benedictines; convents without the vows, without the mummeries and superstitions of monachism; colleges not for youth and those who have their fortune in the world to make, but for men in mature or declining life, who desire to pass the remainder of their days in retirement. Literature might have gained much, and religion something by such establishments. It may justly be regretted that nothing of the kind was done; nor is it less to be regretted that no attempt was made to substitute something for the Mendicant orders, and to incorporate an auxiliary force for the service of the national church: perhaps if this had been done, the puritans would never have set these kingdoms in a flame; certainly, Wesley and Whitefield would, like Francis and Dominic, have found their place, and methodism would have kept within the bounds to which the founders, notwithstanding their sincere wish, were not able to confine it.

In the wholesale extirpation of monastic institutions, the nunneries were swept away. The good which would have resulted from converting them into protestant establishments is so obvious, that few persons can have regarded the present state of society in these kingdoms as it affects women, without regretting that an opportunity for alleviating so much evil should have been neglected.

Women in the lower classes take their full share of occupation, and there is always occupation for them. But in all the intermediate stages between low and high life they feel the effects of a crowded population far more severely than the other sex, and more in England than in other countries, for many reasons. Great part of the shop-business on the continent is carried on by women, in England very little; partly because of that reserve which is the grace of the female character with us; partly because the spirit wherewith trade is carried on requires, in most branches, an exertion

tion of strength and activity which they are not able to sustain ; and partly also because men have intruded themselves into those branches in which women might more fittingly be employed. In no other country is the general character of society so ambitious as in this, nor the general habits so expensive. They have become so during the present reign in consequence of the extraordinary impulse communicated to industry and enterprize by the calls which the state has made upon them, and by the improvements in machinery. As the value of money lessened and the demand for it increased, owing to the exigencies of the state, it was both a heartless and a hopeless attempt for individuals to accommodate their manner of living to the altered circumstances of the age by retrenchment ; the severest economy was insufficient for this. The whole pressure of the times fell upon those who had no other resource,—persons who had retired from business with what had been a fair competence when they withdrew, widows and single women who had no opportunity of improving their limited means, the most suffering but always the most uncomplaining part of the community. Upon the stirring and active members of society who had hope to aid them, the effect was like that of task-work upon the willing labourer ; every man increased his exertions, widened his views, and extended his concerns. The natural consequence of this was a liberal, or rather a profuse expenditure. Frugality is the virtue of a quiet age, when men are contented with small and regular gains. Speculation leads to extravagance, and when expensive habits become prevalent, and the rank which individuals hold in society is chiefly determined by the appearance which they make, many persons from policy as well as from pride, think it necessary to make an appearance beyond their means. In this state of things throughout the middle and lower classes of society, children have been educated for a stage above that in which they were born. And now when the peace which we have won so bravely has put an end to our extraordinary exertions, as well as to the dreadful expenditure of human life, the evil of a redundant population in the educated classes becomes every year more and more apparent, and the consequences more and more distressing ; every profession and every way of business is overstocked, nor is there nor can there be any other remedy than colonization. But modern governments have not been accustomed to consider colonization as a necessary part of their economy ; and it cannot be expected that the best means of relieving the country from its surcharge should be devised at once, nor that the public feeling should accommodate itself immediately to regular migrations of this kind, which are absolutely indispensable for the general good.

All these changes have had an unfavourable effect upon the condition

dition of women. They also, throughout the intermediate classes, have been educated for refined life. But it is in refined life that the moral checks to population operate with full force,—with such force indeed as to make celibacy the lot of far the greater number of females who have little or no fortune. Foreigners used to say of England that it was the paradise of women and the hell of horses. It is more the hell of horses at this time than it could possibly have been before mail-coaches were invented, and it is less the paradise of women. For though domestic happiness is both higher in kind and greater in degree than it can possibly be in countries where morals are at a lower standard, manners more frivolous and minds less cultivated, that happiness is comparatively the lot of few; and the condition of unprotected women is perhaps the greatest evil in our present system of society. The man who is cast upon the world has many chances; he can bestir himself to better his fortunes, or, at the worst, *Omne solum forti patria*, ‘the world is all before him where to chuse;’ if he fail of success in his own country, other countries are open which want inhabitants, where he may find sure subsistence for himself, and reasonably hope to form an establishment for a family. But how many daughters of the clergy, of military and naval officers, of that numerous class who derive their support from life-incomes, and of those whom the vicissitudes which are always occurring in commercial countries have reduced from affluence to distress, are yearly left with a scanty provision, or with none! All the circumstances and all the prejudices of society are against them. Of the few employments which are left for them, there is not one to which they can betake themselves without a certain degree of degradation, and all are overstocked. They are fallen from the rank in which they have grown up, and they wither on the stalk, not in single blessedness, but in forlorn desertion; with no other joys than what religion can bestow, and no hope in this life except the prospect of the next, and the belief that an allwise and almighty Creator, who has made none of his creatures to be miserable, will reward them in a better world for the privations and trials which are their portion in this!

As a remedy for this evil, though it was far less in his days than in ours, Richardson suggested the establishment of protestant nunneries in every county, ‘in which single women of small or no fortunes might live with all manner of freedom, under such regulations as it would be a disgrace for a modest or good woman not to comply with were she absolutely on her own hands; and to be allowed to quit it whenever they pleased.’ ‘The governesses,’ he would have had ‘to be women of family, of unblameable characters from infancy, and noted equally for their prudence, good-nature, and gentleness of manners. The attendants, for the slighter services, should

should be the hopeful female children of the honest industrious poor.' 'Do you not imagine,' he continues, 'that such a society as this, all women of unblemished reputation, employing themselves as each (consulting her own genius) at her admission shall undertake to employ herself, and supported genteelly, some at more, some at less expense to the foundation, according to their circumstances, might become a national good; and particularly a seminary for good wives, and the institution a stand for virtue, in an age given up to luxury, extravagance, and amusements little less than riotous?' In reply to the question how it could be supported, he says, 'Many of the persons of which each community would consist, would be, I imagine, no expense to it at all; as numbers of young women, joining their small fortunes, might be able, in such a society, to maintain themselves genteelly on their own income; though each, singly in the world, would be distressed. Besides liberty might be given for wives, in the absence of their husbands, in this maritime country; and for widows, who, on the death of theirs, might wish to retire from the noise and hurry of the world, for three, six or twelve months, more or less, to reside in this well-regulated society; and such persons, we may suppose, would be glad, according to their respective abilities, to be benefactresses to it. No doubt but it would have, besides, the countenance of the well-disposed of both sexes; since every family in Britain, in their connexions and relations, near or distant, might be benefited by so reputable and useful an institution; to say nothing of the works of the ladies in it, the profits of which perhaps will be thought proper to be carried towards the support of a foundation that so genteelly supports them. Yet I would leave a number of hours in each day for the encouragement of industry, that should be called their own; and what was produced in them to be solely appropriated to their own use. A truly worthy divine, at the appointment of the bishop of the diocese, to direct and animate the devotion of such a society, and to guard it from that superstition and enthusiasm which soars to wild heights in almost all nunneries, would confirm it a blessing to the kingdom.'

Richardson's scheme proceeded no farther than this suggestion; but even this, as coming from a man of such deserved celebrity, is interesting. Among the attempts which have been made to institute something like a protestant nunnery, Mr. Fosbrooke mentions the curious establishment of the Ferrar family at Little Gidding. He is mistaken* in calling it a nunnery, because it contained persons of

* Let us here notice a more remarkable mistake into which Mr. Fosbrooke has fallen. He refers to Solorzano as saying that 'idolatrous customs were mere inventions of the Devil, the Monkey and Fool, whom the Almighty kept for his amusement,—a Diabolo sum-

of both sexes; and he is mistaken also in saying that 'this protestant nunnery was no other than the old *beguines*,'—the house at Little Gidding bore no resemblance whatever to a beguinage. The only Catholic institutions to which it can be compared are the domestic convents, which at a very early age were prohibited. But it is certain that Nicholas Ferrar followed no model, and it was not likely that he should find any imitators; it required no small fortune to form such an establishment, and no little enthusiasm to go through the useful tasks, and the burthensome ceremonies, to which he subjected himself and his family. A more plausible scheme was proposed in 1671 for 'an academy or college, wherein (says the *programma**) young ladies may, at a very moderate expense, be duly

mi Dei simiâ et improbo histrione excogitata.' But the irreverence of this language arises wholly in his misconception of Solorzano's meaning, who calls the devil an ape and actor, upon the Catholic notion that the idolatrous rites which he suggests to the heathen are intended as imitations of the ceremonies of the church. Having thus noticed some errors in Mr. Fosbrooke's work, it would be highly unjust were we not at the same time to state that it contains a great store of curious and recondite information, and that wherever the subject permits, the author gives proof in the liveliness of his expression of a vigorous and original mind.

* The intended institution was explained in a quarto pamphlet of ten pages, printed by Thomas Newcomb in the Savoy. The unknown writer begins by stating that English women, who before the troubles were the most modest, chaste and pious in Europe, had become worse than those of any other country, in consequence of their general relaxation of manners; that the maiden schools in and about London grievously disappointed the expectations of those who sent their children there; that the girls who were sent abroad to convents were generally tainted with popery during their stay; and that those who were placed in the families of nonconformists, 'where perhaps a stricter education may sometimes be found,' had schismatical and rebellious principles instilled into them. A collegiate life was therefore recommended to be instituted, 'that thereby may be founded, not only excellent seminaries and nurseries, out of which persons of honour and worth may at all times make choice of virtuous wives, but where provision (whereof there is great want in England) may be made, for sober, pious, elder virgins and widows, who desire to separate themselves from the vanities of the world, and yet employ their talents to the benefit of the public. These are therefore to give notice, that near London, in a pleasant healthy soil and air, there is provided a large house, with a chapel, fair hall, many commodious lodgings, and rooms for all sorts of necessary offices, together with pleasant gardens, orchards and courts, all encompassed and well secured with strong high walls. Also there is a reverend, learned and pious divine in the same parish, ready to officiate daily, morning and evening, as chaplain; a grave discreet lady to be governess, with divers others matrons, who having taken up a resolution to live a retired, single and religious life, are to assist in the government of the college without expecting any gain, profit, or emolument to themselves, but to bestow *gratis* all their care and pains in governing the college and the young ladies in their education. Moreover there will come at due times the best and ablest teachers in London for singing, dancing, musical instruments, writing, French tongue, fashionable dresses, all sorts of needle works; for confectionary, cookery, pastery; for distilling of waters, making perfumes, making of some sort of physical and chyrurgical medicines and salves for the poor, &c. If therefore any honourable and worthy persons desire that their daughters, or any trustees that their orphans, should be admitted commoners or pensioners of this college, or any devout widows or elder virgins who intend not to marry, desire to be admitted fellows and assistants in this government, and to lead the rest of their days without cares and troubles of the world—to live with honour and reputation—to devote themselves to the service of God and the good of their country, by contributing their

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duly instructed in the true protestant religion; and in all virtuous qualities that may adorn that sex; also be carefully preserved and secured till the day of their marriage, under the tuition of a lady governess, and grave society of widows and virgins, who have resolved to lead the rest of their lives in a single, retired, religious way, according to the pattern of some protestant colleges in Germany.'

This well-intended plan has escaped Mr. Fosbrooke's notice;—we know not by whom it was devised, and probably it did not meet with sufficient encouragement for the institution to begin. The next attempt seems to have been that of Mary Astell; her scheme excited so much attention that, it is said, Queen Mary intended to give ten thousand pounds towards erecting a college, which was to serve both as a place for female education, and an asylum for such ladies as might wish to retire from the world. It is said also that Bishop Burnet frustrated this good intention, by stating that such an institution would too much resemble a nunnery. The objection is altogether unworthy of so tolerant and so good a man; it is moreover in direct contradiction to his own recorded declaration that 'something like monasteries for women would be a glorious design; and might be so set on foot as to be the honour of a Queen on the throne.' The reproach therefore may be removed from Burnet. But both the scheme and the authoress were libelled by Swift, in the *Tatler*, in a manner most disgraceful to the libeller. Mr. Fosbrooke adds, that Lady Masham, about the year 1700, appears to have meditated a similar plan as far as it regarded education; and that 'a rich and fashionable group of *bas-bleus* were assembled upon a conventual plan, in a rural retreat, by the accomplished Harriet Eusebia Harcourt, who died in 1740. According to nature,' he continues, 'as the feminine duties are pointed out by her, and sensitive timidity and soft grace rendered woman's chief attractions, fine taste, delicate sentiment, and tender feelings are more appropriate than philosophical habits, which produce masculine disputations and deterring characters, certainly unsuited to the conjugal or maternal station. Monasteries of learned women would be injurious to society, because they might be much better employed.' The objection would be valid if any such institutions had ever been proposed; but we know not that any wild intellect ever dreamt of them. And with regard to the sort of establishment which is easily practicable, in all respects unobjectionable, and most desirable as affording some palliation for one of the sorest

advice and assistance in the training up of young ladies and gentlewomen, and securing their persons and fortunes till the time of their marriage, let them repair either to Mr. Horn, a Stationer, at the South Side of the Royal Exchange, to Mr. Martyn, a Stationer at the Bell in St. Paul's Church-Yard, &c. &c. and they shall be farther informed.'

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evils in society, Mr. Fosbrooke gives it his unequivocal approbation when, in speaking of Mary Astell's plan, he says, that Burnet and Swift, in opposing it, 'succeeded in robbing posterity of much probable benefit.'

Such an establishment was instituted in 1816, under the sanction of her late Majesty,—nor has there ever been any institution more worthy of the attention and the liberal patronage of the public.

'In the spring of 1815, the Dowager Dutchess of Buccleuch, Lady Carylfoot, Lady Anson, Lady Willoughby, and Lady Clonbrock, having taken into consideration the plan of an institution calculated to afford the comforts of life at a moderate expense to ladies of respectability and small fortunes, agreed to form an association for the purpose of promoting establishments of that nature.' Lady Isabella King is the person to whom the merit of having originated this association is due, and the still higher merit of having hitherto superintended the institution which by her means was formed. Should its success be answerable to the trial which has been made, and to the real and paramount utility of the scheme, she will deservedly be remembered as one of the greatest benefactors of her country, and the greatest to her sex that any country has ever yet produced. The most frequent objections which she had heard advanced against her favourite object were 'that a society of women—*English* women, belonging to the Church of England,—could never be expected to live together in peace: That their love of variety and change, their impatience of restraint, and above all the absence of any religious bond, would render it impossible to give stability or happiness to such associations, and that therefore endowments for them would be useless. With the fervent hope of proving that these reflections on her sex, her country, and her religion were unfounded,—with an ardent desire of forming a society united by the best bonds of Christian love, its members differing in fortune only, but equally gentlewomen in principles, education and manners,—with an intention of rendering the institution not only a means of protection, but also of improvement, to those whose virtues recommended them for admittance, and whose loss of friends or of fortunes placed them in want of such a home, Lady Isabella quitted a life more congenial with her taste and inclinations, and engaged in this undertaking.'

The general object of the plan as first proposed, was 'the promotion of societies so regulated that the larger payments of one part of the community, thrown into a joint stock, should reduce the payments of the remainder to a convenient limit, without subjecting them to any unpleasant feeling of pecuniary obligation; and that all should engage themselves, as far as their situation would admit,

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in benevolent and useful occupation, their agreement in such pursuits serving as a bond of union. It was thought, however, upon further consideration, that no institution ought to rest wholly for support on an arrangement which would expose it to great inconvenience, perhaps total failure, on the removal of the richer members. It was agreed therefore that a sum of from ten to fifteen thousand pounds should be raised by the association as an endowment for the primary establishment; and that, as an additional support, a limited number of apartments should be allotted to such ladies, friends of the undertaking, as would agree to reside there, paying a high yearly rent for their rooms to the funds of the establishment, and conforming equally with the other inmates to the rules of the institution.' Accordingly a statement of the plan was printed, and a subscription set on foot. The Queen contributed 300*l.* and signified her intention of subscribing 100*l.* annually. The late Princess Charlotte, and the other princesses, contributed 50*l.* each. But notwithstanding this distinguished patronage, the whole sum which could be collected in the course of a year fell considerably short of five thousand pounds, whereas it had been hoped that from 10 to 15,000 might be raised, and less could not suffice for putting the institution upon a permanent establishment. Anxious however that the execution should no longer be delayed, and hoping that when its practicability should have been tried and proved, the good would be so manifest as to ensure success in a future appeal for public support, Lady Isabella King offered to take upon herself whatever risk or responsibility might attend it, and proposed to give 200*l.* a year for a furnished house in Derbyshire. Lady Willoughby was of opinion that it would be better to have the institution in the immediate vicinity of Bath, and offered to pay the difference of rent which this arrangement would occasion. Accordingly a lease of Braybrook House, near that city, was taken for three years, at a rent of 400*l.* a year. 1350*l.* was laid out by the committee in fitting up and furnishing apartments for ten lady associates, and for the servants of the institution. 60*l.* was paid for printing, and the remainder, amounting to about 3000*l.*, was placed in the funds in the names of the Earl of Shaftsbury, Earl Manvers, the Hon. George Vernon and Sir Benjamin Hobhouse—the four trustees of the association; and Lady Isabella King, devoting her whole time and thought to the establishment, took up her abode in it as superintendent.

It had originally been designed that for each 50*l.* accruing yearly to the institution from the interest of the collected fund, one lady should be admitted, paying on her part 50*l.* annually for her apartment and board. But the first step taken by the residing managers was to make known their determination of not drawing upon the

fund, but leaving it to accumulate for three years, during which time the society engaged to defray every expense of the establishment, rent and taxes included. It was hoped that 'before the expiration of that term there might be a sufficient sum to enable the guardian committee to place the institution on a more permanent footing, by the purchase of a house. The contributions of the lady president, and the other ladies, renters of apartments, would then cease to be so absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the establishment, and should any circumstance occasion their assistance to be withdrawn it would not have the immediate effect of breaking up the society. Should they, on the contrary, continue to make it their residence, a further advantage would arise. The sum paid half-yearly for their apartments would, during their stay, enable the society to *rent* the house from the Ladies Association instead of accepting it gratuitously—the rent so received to be added to the general fund; and thus the patronesses, after having fulfilled the promise of support made to the primary establishment, would still find a sum accumulating to enable them to assist in the formation of other societies on a similar plan.' 'The next object was to form such regulations as (when known) might tend to prevent the institution from being a mere accommodation to the sordid and selfish, or one of the temporary resting-places of the discontented or the whimsical. In an institution open to characters of that description, the society would be continually fluctuating, no bond of union would exist, nor would the establishment have a chance of becoming the residence of the class for whom it is best suited, namely, ladies of cultivated minds, religious principles, and domestic habits; who having been deprived of their nearest connections would feel desirous of the protection and social comforts of such an asylum, provided there was a prospect of finding the society select, well regulated, and, as far as circumstances might permit, unfluctuating.' In forming these regulations, 'the feelings and habits not only of a protestant, but also of an English community were consulted; no rules or restrictions being admitted but such as appeared indispensable to the maintenance of good order.

The three years devoted to the experiment have elapsed; 'to those who consider the formation of such institutions as desirable, it will be gratifying to learn that all who are personally concerned in promoting this undertaking, all who have actually visited the establishment and made themselves thoroughly acquainted with its arrangements, are cordially desirous of its continuance.' The experiment was fairly tried, and it succeeded perfectly. No lady quitted the society who was elected after the first year, that is, after the principles of the society were more generally known, and its regular and retired habits fully understood. It has been proved that
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such a society of ladies may live in harmony; that they can consider themselves fixed, though bound by no vows; and be contented and happy in their retirement, though 'not upon compulsion.' The late excellent Queen inspected the establishment in person during the last year of her life. She expressed the most unqualified approbation of its principles and regulations, and emphatically pronounced it 'a blessed asylum.' Though nothing was drawn from the fund, eight lady associates had been received on the original plan. The establishment was enabled to afford this by the ladies president and vice-president residing in it at considerable expense; but it is observed that such a mode of upholding it cannot be rested upon as permanent; and it was soon found that many ladies looked with an anxious but hopeless eye to this retreat, because their total want of fortune precluded their admission, though for all circumstances of manners, birth, education and principles, they would have been peculiarly desirable as inmates. A few official situations in the establishment were therefore instituted within the last year for ladies thus circumstanced, and they were admitted gratuitously.

The views of the excellent persons by whom the Institution had been formed, and thus far successfully conducted, enlarged with their experience. They had seen that three different classes in point of fortune might live happily together, when all were equally gentlewomen in principles and in manners,—for it is only where there is inequality in these respects that other differences become painful: but they perceived the propriety of affixing yearly salaries to the official situations, which by enabling the ladies who should be elected to them to contribute a stated sum toward the general expenses, would give them both the feeling and the reality of independence, and thus add to their happiness in the society. They proposed to continue their support to the establishment for a second term of three years, if a house of sufficient size could still be secured; and they enlarged the plan, that the original view of benevolent and useful occupation might become a more leading object, and that the benefits might be extended to those who possessed every title to admittance except that of fortune. They have appealed therefore again to the public, and solicit subscriptions for endowing with competent salaries a certain number of situations in the establishment, for the better management of its concerns—in memory of their exalted Patroness by whom the blessing of such an asylum was so justly appreciated, and in further honour of that regretted and excellent Personage, they propose to engraft upon it (as soon as the funds will admit) as a charity congenial with her Majesty's known feelings, a school for female orphans of that class for which the original institution was designed, who by the death of their parents are left destitute,—to be situated as near

as possible to the primary establishment, and under the immediate guardianship of the Lady President and the Resident Society, to be more particularly superintended and managed by some of the ladies who fill the endowed situations.

‘The institution thus improved by the addition of a regular system of rational and benevolent occupations interwoven with its arrangements, will remain in other respects the same. The resident society will still consist of a lady president nominated as usual by the guardian committee from among its own members: two or three other ladies of sufficient fortune, elected by the resident society, paying a high yearly price for their apartments to the funds of the establishment: a stated number of lady associates, whose more limited income entitles them to apartments free of expense, and from two to perhaps four assisting ladies holding the endowed situations, and devoting their time to the interests of the institution, and to the inspection and management of the orphan school, in which employment, it must be observed, every member of the society will be expected occasionally to lend her aid.—It is assuredly desirable that the ladies who compose a society of this peculiar nature should feel on the whole inclined to habits of retirement and of domestic occupation; but seclusion from their friends, or from society, is neither necessary, nor intended. There is no limitation as to age, for it is hoped that the establishment may be at once a protection to the young, and a peaceful retirement for declining years.’ The widows and daughters of clergymen, and of officers in the army and navy have a preference over other candidates. Each member is to pay 50*l*. a year toward the household expenses, the assisting ladies excepted, whose contribution will in justice be limited in proportion to their salary. Each member possessing a yearly income of more than 120*l*. is also to pay a stated yearly price for her apartments, and to furnish them.

Such have been the rise and progress of the Ladies Association, and such is the present state of the institution at Braybrook House. Should funds sufficient for its permanent establishment be raised, it cannot be doubted but that, with this example to look to, other institutions of the same kind would be formed,—it might be hoped that they would become as extensive as the necessity for them, and how extensive that is every person may estimate by the cases which have fallen within his own knowledge for which such an institution would indeed have been a ‘blessed asylum.’ But if the present attempt be suffered to fail for want of due encouragement, we cannot expect that it should ever be revived under better auspices, nor with wiser management, nor with fairer prospects. This danger there is,—for it has had no adventitious assistance; no passions or interests have been identified with its success and notoriety;

riety; no party or sectarian spirit has been busy in its service. The excellent persons who designed and supported it have been employed in doing good, not in making it known. And if Braybrook House for want of due support should cease to be an asylum for English ladies, educated in the pure principles of the gospel, and employed in training up others in the same principles, which are the foundation of our public prosperity and our private happiness, it will immediately pass into the hands of the papists and be converted into a regular nunnery. We have already many such establishments in England—'black, white and grey with all their trumpery.' The premises have been offered for sale, an abbess from Yorkshire has inspected them in company with a Catholic priest, and the nuns are ready to remove and set up a Catholic school connected with the nunnery, the work of proselytism will go on in the neighbourhood, (as it does in the vicinity of all Catholic establishments,) and young women will be perverted and inveigled from their parents, to become tenants of the Bedlam which is designed for them. Woe be to that protestant family wherein a Romish priest finds admittance, for these men are indeed wise in their generation! the first lesson of monachism is to disregard your parents. St. Benedict, when he repeats the substance of the commandments in his Rule, *changes the fifth*, and instead of saying Honour thy father and thy mother, makes it, Honour all men, as if, says Calmet,* to denote that his disciples must consider themselves as having no longer father or mother or relation upon earth. This principle the Romish priest inculcates in its utmost extent when he has obtained the ear of a young woman, and perplexed her with his sophistries. And when he has turned her brain, and separated her for ever from her parents, he congratulates himself upon having one good work more added to his account in the next world, and shuts up the poor victim of delusion for the remainder of her days, to say prayers by the score which she cannot construe, to rise at midnight and attend a service which she cannot understand, to address her supplications not to her Creator and Redeemer, but to Saints, of whom some were madmen and some knaves, and many are nonentities; to put her trust in crosses and in relics; to practise the grossest idolatry; to believe that the food which is innocent on Thursdays, becomes sinful on

* *Honorare omnes homines* is the text, and Calmet's comment is so important that it must here be annexed in his own words: '*il est remarquable que Saint Benoît, après avoir inséré ici les premiers préceptes du Décalogue, semble avoir expressément ômis celui-ci, honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, &c. pour mettre à la place le conseil de Saint Pierre, omnes honorare; comme pour marquer qu'un religieux doit se regarder sur la terre comme n'ayant plus ni père, ni mère, ni parens, et qu'il doit tellement oublier le monde, et tout ce qu'il y a laissé, qu'il ne songe plus qu'à rendre à Dieu seul le service qu'il lui a voué, comprenant ses parens même dans le sacrifice qu'il lui a fait de toutes choses.*'

Fridays, and, if her devotion aspires to the higher honours of her profession, to torment herself with whipcord, and a horse-hair shift!

There is no want of money among the Catholics for any object connected with the propagation of their corrupt and mischievous doctrine. They can erect colleges and purchase estates for their support. Means are never wanting where there is zeal. And can there be none excited for this protestant institution because it has no alloy of folly, nor of extravagance, nor of superstition, —because its purport is rational, its intention pure, its principles just,—because it is so excellently adapted to its object, so worthy of an enlightened age and country? It is no doubtful benefit which is proposed, no untried theory, no project of visionary benevolence, no narrow or confined advantage. And when we consider the crying necessity for such institutions, and the great and certain good which they would produce, we cannot but feel that we are performing a public duty in thus endeavouring to excite public attention to the subject.

ART. IV.—*Radical Reform, Restoration of Usurped Rights.*

By George Ensor, Esq. London: Printed for Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. 1819.

MR. Ensor has long been one of the most active of that class of writers, who set themselves in opposition to all established laws and government. His services to the cause which he has espoused have, however, been but ill requited. His works have been ungratefully suffered to fall still-born from the press, neither read nor praised by the friends of reform; and it must be grievously mortifying to him to reflect, that while Cobbett and Wooler have formed the political creed of thousands, he has not yet been able to alienate from his sovereign, or from the constitution of his country, the affections of a single individual.

Several causes have contributed to prevent Mr. Ensor's rise to that bad eminence among the advocates of anarchy, to which he has so long aspired; and of which none would be more worthy, if a rancorous hatred of kings and priests were the only requisite. But the candidate for supremacy in the line of composition, which our author has chosen, must possess higher qualifications. It is not enough for him to entertain the feeling and the spirit of the lowest scribes of sedition, and to place himself on their level. It is not enough to adopt their tone and language; he must copy their merits as well as their defects, and with their coarseness and their ignorance unite their plainness and their strength. Above all, he must be careful not to wound the self-estimation
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of his readers by any pretensions to superior knowledge or endowments. The supporters of political equality are in general alike independent in their notions of literature and of government. Each trusts to his own powers alone; and suffers neither his thoughts nor his actions to be guided by others. Mr. Ensor has gone into the opposite extreme of apparent deference to authority. Proud of a mass of ill-digested literature, and anxious to exhibit it, 'he lets his reading and writing appear where there is no need of such vanities,' and pours forth upon every occasion cumbrous illustrations and inappropriate quotations.

This ostentatious display of useless knowledge, while it thickens the natural dullness of our author's works, frightens away those for whom he chiefly writes: many are deterred by his pedantry, whose feelings are in unison with his own, and who would sympathize in the hatred, and delight in the abuse of their superiors. Nor is he more fortunate in adapting himself to those whose education enables them to form a just idea of his worthless acquirements: the general spirit of his writings must shock every man of refinement or liberality; and those who would only smile at his vanity, will turn with loathing from his malignity.

Of the superiority which Mr. Ensor fancies learning confers on him, he is too proud. It is not surprising that he should look down upon some of those worthies who are engaged with him in what they term the cause of liberty, and speak lightly of their merits; but we recognize the workings of jealousy when we read that that very eminent radical reformer, Mr. Jeremy Bentham, 'in treating reform in Parliament, sunk instantly into a shallow demagogue, who uttered the druff of the lowest doers of the daily press.'

O the good gods,
How blind is pride! what eagles we are still
In matters that belong to other men,
What beetles in our own!

It is melancholy to see that even the sanctity of the cause to which these two great patriots have devoted themselves does not prevent the intrusion of the green-eyed monster. We should be happy to effect a reconciliation between them, for to us it appears that they resemble one another more closely than our author seems willing to admit. They fight the same battle against the same enemy, and with nearly the same weapons. Neither can boast of excelling the other in rancour of feeling or expression against their superiors; and although Mr. Bentham may lie under some disadvantage from being a trifle less grammatical than Mr. Ensor, yet this is fully compensated for by the greater originality of his phraseology. We know not the precise force of the word

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‘draff,’ by which Mr. Ensor characterises the writings of his opponent; but judging of its meaning from the context, we should apprehend it to be equally applicable to the effusions of both.

In his general views of the defects of our constitution, Mr. Ensor follows the steps of others with whose declamations the public is sufficiently familiar. He diversifies their charges with a few additions of his own; and adopting the ideas of various persons, he contradicts himself without any hesitation, and imputes to our government every species of opposite and inconsistent faults. Thus a chapter is devoted to proving that property ought not to be the basis of representation; and to pointing this out as one of the errors of the English system. The folly of such a system is thus neatly exemplified: ‘Plutarch (Moral. p. 93) remarks, that Æsop said he saw a man solder a piece of brass to a man: but our election laws solder a man to forty pieces of silver.’ Lest however the possessors of property should think they have reason to be well satisfied with the portion of power allotted to them, the former accusation is abandoned, and we are told, in another part of the work, that ‘so small a share of property enjoys this consequence (that of conferring a vote) compared to the whole disfranchised mass, that property, colloquially considered, is excluded from ministering to the right of suffrage.’

To convince us of the imprudence and incompetence of those to whom he attributes the exclusive possession of all power, he tell us that ‘almost all the great corporations of the state are in debt, in distress, penniless and without credit;’ and ‘the old aristocracy’ are, it seems, ‘uniformly immersed in bankruptcy.’ They are, however, not so improvident as to neglect themselves, for in the next page we find them ‘preying on all around them;’ their poverty is gone, their debts are paid, they are ‘rich in the sum of all opulence,’ and they ‘monopolize all legislation!’

Mr. Ensor’s mind seems equally adapted to entertain extensive views of policy, and at the same time to contemplate minuter objects. Thus, amongst the many vices of our government, he notices the lateness of the hours to which the members of the House of Commons protract their sittings. Departing from the simplicity of former manners, they foolishly sacrifice for the concerns of the nation the usual hours of meals and rest, and make laws at the most unseasonable periods.

‘In Clarendon’s time the House met at eight in the morning (Hist. vol. ii. p. 76). It also sat forenoon and afternoon (Whitelock, p. 590). Nor is this half the evil. That the public business should be deferred for private affairs is not singular; but I believe it is unique that the sovereign questions of law and policy should be cast into the depth of night; certainly it is contrary to ancient custom in this country.

Whitelock

Whitelock remarks as a thing unusual, and the reason was unprecedented, "sitting up to nine at night, in expectation of an answer from the king, who was at Uxbridge." (Mem. p. 128.)'

He is not alone in his complaints of the time occupied by the labours of the house, but he has found one argument in favour of annual parliaments, the merit of which, we are inclined to think entirely his own. 'A seat for seven years—which nearly equals a man's probable life—must be contested at greater expense, and with greater acrimony than one whose duration is limited. A seat for a year is but a seventh part as valuable to him who does not succeed, while his defeat is cheered by his hopes reviving with the returning year.' He has somewhat miscalculated the duration of life; for however much we may suffer from the oppression of septennial parliaments, our lives are certainly worth more than seven years purchase; nevertheless we cannot but commend that amiable solicitude for the unfortunate which would alleviate the afflictions of a disappointed candidate by shortening the period of his rival's triumph.

It seems to be a maxim of Mr. Ensor, that in England whatever is, is bad, and that whatever is bad is to be attributed to what he is pleased to term 'the exclusion of the people from their political rights.' His ideas of this system are appropriately illustrated by the following comparison. 'We are informed by Van Egmont in his *Travels*, (vol. ii. p. 201.) that Paul Lucas brought from Egypt a mummy to Paris, which he exhibited as the remains of a very beautiful queen of that country. This is virtual representation.' In what particulars our representation resembles a mummy is not explained; but it is not in being inactive and harmless, for we find that to this system is to be traced all crime, all pauperism, all war and misery, and in short all moral and physical evil: virtual representation even exercises (like the moon) a baneful influence upon the intellects of those who are subject to its power; after an enumeration of our misfortunes, we are told that 'madness too is added to the sum of misery, for lunacy and suicides have greatly increased.'

The remedy that is to raise us from that 'aggravation of ruin' in which we are involved, is the radical reform of parliament. Reform is 'the light, the air, the common want of our political being.' Let but this light and air be administered and all will revive. The mummy will start into life; war, tythes, madness, and pauperism will exist no more; members of parliament will go to bed at nine o'clock; and we shall no longer hear of sinecures or suicides. In a word, the golden age will return, and 'all be once more sympathy and affection.'

Happily for our author he is convinced that this reform is as inevitable

inevitable as it will be beneficial. 'I tell those who oppose reformation, that they must reform.' But certain as this is, it is nowhere explicitly stated by what means or through whose agency the improvements are to be effected. 'The house of Commons,' we are told, 'cannot reform itself.' From the crown and the aristocracy nothing is to be expected, nor are there apparently any greater hopes of assistance from those 'talking patriots,' the former Whig friends of reform. They are charged, and not without some reason, with having deserted the cause, and abandoned the doctrines that they once cherished; and 'the apostacy of those who presumed to all the talents and all the virtues of the state,' may well shake all confidence in such professions. No party seems likely to meet Mr. Ensor's views, and least of all the moderate reformers. They, in fact, are no better than 'hypocrites, who talk of reform and mean deterioration.' 'Moderate reform is a mere subterfuge, it is the cant of slaves and tyrants.' 'Moderation and mediocrity are terms of the same ignominious parentage. Moderate men are the neuters whom Solon punished by his laws, and whom Dante placed among unmeaning sights in the last sad receptacle of fantastic mortality.'

Thus it is not by the ordinary legislative means, that the threatened reform is to be accomplished; and to be consistent with himself, Mr. Ensor must have in view some more violent process. We know not whether he would recommend to our imitation the revolt of Jack Straw, or the French revolution; each of which is honoured in its turn with his most cordial approbation. But whatever be the scheme, the object is sufficiently apparent, and it would be worse than blindness not to perceive that what he calls reform is revolution.

It is the misfortune of that spirit of dissatisfaction, which so many employ themselves in disseminating, that those who habitually rail at the constitution of their country, learn to exaggerate its faults and to depreciate its excellencies. They are determined to be miserable, and reject all evidence that does not coincide with their own notions of national degradation and misfortune. Their breasts cease to glow with generous exultation at any acquisition of honour to their country, and they collect with industry whatever may diminish the lustre of British valour or British talent. It is hence that the battle of Waterloo, the most glorious event in our military history, is so often made the subject of their invidious remarks. Our author is not wanting in this amiable and patriotic feeling, he talks of that 'braggart and chance-medley field,' and sneers, in his best manner, at those who give any share of credit to the victors.

The feelings in which such remarks originate are disgraceful
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to him who entertains them; but it is in a worse spirit that Mr. Ensor directs his venomous attacks against our beloved monarch. The age and infirmities which close and sanctify a life of virtue should have protected it from reproach; and, for the sake of human nature, we are glad to see that the heart which prompted his brutal insults upon his afflicted sovereign is not associated with a better head, than that from which this most despicable far-rago emanated.

There is one passage in Mr. Ensor's work which we would recommend to his attention. He tells us, that the people are peaceably disposed. 'Their enmities and antipathies are derived from those who ignorantly suppose they are interested in deceiving them.' Writers of Mr. Ensor's cast may perhaps have some success in exciting their enmities; they may aggravate discontent into disaffection, and disaffection into revolt, but they are ignorant indeed, if they suppose that by the accomplishment of their plans they can elevate themselves. If they should raise the storm, a short experience would shew them, that they would not be permitted to 'ride in the whirlwind,' and to direct it. The scribbling instigators of revolution would be superseded by bolder spirits, and, if they should not fall the early victims of their own doctrines, would be hooted back with ineffable contempt to their pristine obscurity.

ART. V.—*Narrative of my Captivity in Japan, during the years 1812 and 1813; with Observations on the Country and People.* By Captain Golownin, R. N. *To which is added An Account of the Voyages to the Coasts of Japan, and of the Negotiations with the Japanese for the release of the Author and his Companions.* By Captain Rikord. 2 Vols. 1818.

CAPTAIN Golownin has given us rather a prolix and tedious account of the treatment which he, and six of the crew of the Russian ship *Diana*, met with from the Japanese government during their imprisonment among that strange people, of whom we know but little, but to whose general character (always excepting those connected with the government) the little we do know is not unfavourable. Wearisome, however, as the details are, it must be admitted that they embrace a variety of matter sufficiently curious to compensate in some degree the heaviness of the narrative. There is besides so much *nuiveté* and *bonhomie* in the description of the pitiable condition in which he and his comrades were cooped up for two years in Japanese cages, and so good and kindly a disposition to palliate and find excuses for the scurvy treatment which they received, that it is hardly possible to be out
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of humour with the author, or not to take an interest in all the little concerns of himself and his fellow prisoners.

To account for the extraordinary conduct of the Japanese towards Captain Golownin, it will be proper to take a brief retrospect of the connection, if it may be so called, which has subsisted between Russia and Japan. About forty years ago a Japanese vessel was wrecked on one of the Aleutian islands: the crew were saved and conveyed to Irkutsk, where they were detained about ten years; well treated, and instructed in the Russian language. On sending them back to their native country, the Empress Catharine instructed the governor of Siberia to endeavour to establish such friendly relations as might tend to the mutual benefit of both countries. For this purpose, he was directed to dispatch an envoy, in his own name, with credentials and suitable presents, taking especial care to employ no natives either of England or Holland. The governor fixed upon a lieutenant of the name of Laxman, who, embarking in the Catharina transport, sailed from Okotzk in the autumn of 1792, and landed on the northern coast of the island of Matsmai, where he passed the winter. In the following summer he entered the harbour of Chakodade, on the southern coast of the same island, and travelled from thence to the capital, which also bears the name of Matsmai, and is situated at the distance of three days journey to the westward.

Here he entered into negotiations with the officers of the Japanese government, and (as the sole result of his labours) obtained from them a declaration in writing to the following effect—

1. That although their laws inflict perpetual imprisonment on every stranger landing in any part of the Japanese empire, the harbour of Nangasaki excepted, yet, in consideration of the ignorance of these laws, pleaded by the Russians, and of their having saved the lives of several Japanese subjects, they are willing to wave the strict enforcement of them, in the present instance, provided Lieutenant Laxman will promise, for himself and his countrymen, to return immediately to his own country and never again to approach any part of the coast, but the harbour aforesaid.
2. That the Japanese government thanks the Russians for the care taken of its subjects; but at the same time informs them, that they may either leave them or carry them back again, as they think fit, as the Japanese consider all men to belong to whatever country their destiny may carry them, and where their lives may have been protected.

With this document Laxman returned to Okotzk in the autumn of 1793. During his stay in Japan he had been treated with the greatest civility; at his departure he was gratuitously provided with every thing necessary for the voyage, and finally dismissed with a
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variety of presents. Catharine did not think fit to pursue this opening for a restricted intercourse, but nevertheless kept her attention fixed on Japan, and encouraged the cultivation of the language, which the shipwrecked Japanese had afforded her people the means of acquiring. No further communication took place during her reign, or that of her successor; but Alexander, desirous of renewing the intercourse, sent the Chamberlain Resanoff on a formal embassy, in 1803, with credentials and valuable presents to 'his good brother the Emperor of Japan.'

In our review of Captain Krusenstern's Narrative of that Expedition, the reader will have seen the ungracious and undignified manner in which Resanoff conducted himself; and the tameness with which he suffered himself to be first insulted by the Japanese government, and then dismissed with a notification that they had no wish for any Russian ships to approach any part of the coasts of Japan. 'Though Resanoff took all this very patiently while he was cooped up within the bamboo paling on the beach of Nangasaki; yet it appears that he meditated vengeance; and, on his return to Kamtschatka, applied to two persons of the name of Chwostoff and Davidoff, each of whom commanded a small vessel in the service of the American-Russian Company. These officers readily entered into the views of the ambassador, whose instructions they considered as emanating from the throne; and proceeded to retaliate the treatment which he had experienced at Nangasaki, not indeed on the offending party, but on the innocent natives of one of the southern Kuriles belonging to Japan, whose villages they plundered, murdering some, and carrying off others, of the inhabitants. Resanoff died on his way to Petersburg, and the two officers, whom he seduced to this outrageous enterprize, met an untimely end, by falling into the Neva, where they both perished.

That the expedition of Captain Golownin had any thing beyond the ostensible object of making a survey of the Kurile islands, there is no reason to believe; but it must have been obvious that, in the performance of this duty, he could not well avoid coming in contact with the Japanese authorities, and thus incur the hazard of exciting the jealousy and alarm of a people so easily susceptible of both. This chain of islands consists of twenty-three, divided between the Russians and the Japanese; Nippon, containing the capital of Japan, being the southern extremity of the chain, and Shiom Shoo, close to the point of Kamtschatka, the northern; but where the dominion of one power ends, and the other begins, is not known, at least not avowed, by either. The poor Kuriles, who feel the yoke of both, are a mild and inoffensive people, evidently sprung from some of the numerous branches
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of the great Tartar family, to which both the Russian and Japanese empires owe their origin.

Captain Golownin sailed from Awatscha Bay on the 4th May, 1811, in the imperial sloop of war the *Diana*, and on the 17th June had made observations on the islands, from the 13th in the chain, down to the 18th, when he found himself very near the western coast of the northern extremity of Eetoorpoo, which he supposed to be inhabited by independent Kuriles. On landing, however, he was accosted by a Japanese chief, attended by some soldiers, who immediately demanded if the Russians meant to treat them as Chwostoff had done; and indeed they soon learned, that the inhabitants were firmly persuaded they were come on the same errand. Thus suspected, they determined to take their departure, having procured one of the native Kuriles, named Alexei Maximovitsch, who spoke the Russian language, to accompany them as an interpreter. They then made sail towards the island of Kunaschier (the twentieth link in the chain) where, Alexei informed them, they might be supplied with wood and water. This island is only separated from Matsmai by a narrow strait, and may be said to be a constituent part of the Japanese empire. On entering the harbour two guns were fired at the *Diana* from something resembling a fort, hung round with blue and white striped cloth: sentinels were seen posted in various places, near painted embrasures, and flags waving in different parts of the town. The *Diana* anchored at a safe distance, and Captain Golownin went in his boat towards the shore, when the guns opened upon him again; finding it dangerous to proceed, he returned on board, the Japanese continuing to fire long after the boat was out of their reach. Thus precluded from all oral communication, Captain Golownin, who had probably heard of the significant symbols which his countrymen, the Scythians, once presented to Darius, now tried his hand at a similar conundrum. He sawed a cask in two, in one half of which he placed a glass of water, a piece of wood and a handful of rice, to express his wants; in the other a few piastres, a piece of yellow cloth, and some beads and pearls, to shew his readiness to pay for them. These casks were floated towards the town, and two days after another cask was observed on the water. It contained a little box, in which the Japanese, who seem to have preferred the hieroglyphic mode of correspondence, had inclosed a letter (which, however, the Russians were unable to read) and two drawings, both of which represented the castle, the vessel, a boat towing the cask, and the rising sun; but with this difference, that, in the one, the guns of the castle were firing, whilst in the other, their muzzles were turned backwards. These ingenious devices mightily puzzled the crew, and each explained them after his own way,

way, agreeing however in one point, that the Japanese declined holding any intercourse with them. The interpretation, we humbly conceive, lay on the surface—we read it thus—If, after receiving this letter, you depart before next morning, we will not molest you; if you continue till after sunrise, we will turn the guns of the fort against you.

The *Diana* now stood to a distant part of the bay near a village, where the Russians helped themselves to such provisions as they could find, leaving in money and other articles what they judged to be an equivalent. At length a boat with Japanese officers and a Kurile interpreter ventured from the shore, and was met by Captain Golownin. They excused themselves for firing at the vessel, on account of Chwostoff's conduct a few years before; but they were now satisfied, they said, of the peaceable intentions of the present visitors, whose wants they were ready to supply; and intreated the captain to go on shore to communicate with the governor, which he promised to do the following day. He did not, however, keep his word, but continued to fill his water casks. A day or two after, another cask was observed to be dropped out of a boat; it was found to contain all the articles which had been left by the Russians at the village as payment for what they took. The Japanese on shore now beckoned them with white fans, and made indications of their wishes that the Russians should land. Captain Golownin seized this opportunity of communicating with the governor, and taking with him Alexei and a sailor, landed on the beach, ordering the rest to keep the boat afloat, and not to permit any Japanese to go into her. The Japanese received him with every mark of civility, and desired him to wait on the beach till the governor should arrive. Presently a strange figure came stalking down in complete armour; 'his eyes fixed on the earth, his hands pressed close to his sides, proceeding in a pace so slow that he scarcely extended one foot beyond the other, and keeping his legs as wide apart as if a stream of water had been running between them.' This sedate personage began, as the others had done, by apologizing for having fired upon the *Diana*; but said it would not have happened had the boat they sent out on her arrival been met by one from the ship—a ridiculous falsehood, but asserted with the most inflexible gravity. He then invited Golownin to partake of tea, sacchi, caviar, and tobacco, the circle in the mean time thickening with armed Japanese. They smoked, drank tea, and joked together, asking a variety of questions on both sides, through the Kurile interpreter. It was now discovered that the man in armour was not the governor after all—that great man had remained in the castle expecting the strangers: the captain, however, prudently declined
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the visit, and after an exchange of presents and mutual civilities took his leave. In the evening a boat was sent on shore for some fish which had been promised, and returned with an invitation to the captain to bring with him some of his officers on the following morning.

Accordingly, the next day he landed with Moor, the midshipman, Chlebnikoff the pilot, and four seamen. Three Japanese officers came down to meet them, begging them to wait a little until every thing was prepared for their reception at the castle. To shew his confidence (as he says) in the good faith of the Japanese, Golownin, with a degree of infatuation for which we find it difficult to account, ordered the boat to be hauled upon the shore, and one sailor only to be left with it. On entering the gate of the castle, he was astonished to behold at least 400 soldiers with muskets, bows and arrows, and spears, and near a tent a countless multitude of Kuriles. Within this tent sat the governor, in a suit of armour, with two sabres under his girdle, and three men near him, with his spear, his musket, and his helmet. Several officers were sitting on the floor, all of them armed. After tea and tobacco had been served, a multitude of questions were put, and the answers carefully written down. It was casually observed that the soldiers without the tent had their sabres drawn, and that, at this time, the second in command whispered the governor; this caused a momentary suspicion of treachery, but it was done away by his ordering dinner to be served up; and the party was again tranquillized. When the dinner was ended, and the Russians were about to take leave, the governor intimated that it would be necessary for one of them to remain in the castle, as an hostage, until the return of a messenger from the governor of Matsmai with an answer to the report he was about to transmit to him. Golownin, startled at this intimation, asked how long it might require, and was answered about a fortnight. He then said he must consult with his officers on board the ship, but that none of his people could be left as hostages.

The governor now suddenly altered his tone; spoke loud and with warmth, mentioned the names of Resanoff and Chwostoff, and struck several times on his sabre. Golownin inquired what he had been saying. 'He says,' replied the terrified Alexei, 'that if he lets a single one of us out of the castle his own bowels will be ript up.' On this the Russians sprang forward, and ran for it. The Japanese did not venture to close upon them, but set up a loud cry, threw billets of wood after them, and pursued them to the beach.—Here the Russians perceived with horror that the tide had ebbed, and left their boat dry on the strand. The Japanese seeing this, and that the Russians were unarmed, became
more

more confident, and surrounded them. 'I cast a look upon the boat,' says Golownin, 'and said to myself, our last refuge is lost; our fate is unavoidable—and I surrendered.'

They were now conveyed back to the castle, thrown on their knees, and bound with thick cords; lest these should not be sufficient, smaller ones were added and drawn painfully tight, so that their elbows nearly touched, and their hands were firmly bound together. Their legs were also tied together above the knees and above the ancles; from the fastenings behind proceeded the end of a cord, by which, on the slightest attempt to escape, the elbows could be drawn in contact, and the noose about the neck tightened to such a degree as to produce strangulation. The rope's end proceeding from the neck was then thrown over a beam and drawn so tight that it was impossible for them to move. In this position their pockets were searched, and every thing taken out of them; after which the Japanese sat down coolly to smoke their pipes. The lieutenant-governor, however, very kindly pointed to his mouth, 'to intimate, perhaps, (says Golownin) that it was intended to feed, not to slaughter us.' They remained an hour in this state of suspension both of body and mind, not knowing whether it might not be the good pleasure of the Japanese to hang them outright as a retaliation for Chwostoff's conduct; but they derived, the captain christianly admits, some consolation from fancying that if such was to be their fate, the execution would take place on the beach in sight of their countrymen on board the *Diana*, 'which would augment the desire of vengeance, and bring down the wrath of Alexander on the heads of the whole Japanese nation!'

At length they were loosened from the beam; and with all the fastenings kept tight, except those of the legs, were led out of the castle and through a wood, each having a conductor holding the end of the cord, and an armed soldier by his side. 'On ascending a hill,' says Golownin, 'we saw our ship under sail. This sight lacerated my heart. When Mr. Chlebnikoff, who was immediately behind me, exclaimed, "*Wassily Michaelovitch!* take a last look of our *Diana!*" it seemed as though a deadly poison had shot through my veins. Good heaven! thought I, how much do these words comprehend?—take a last look of Russia, of Europe. We belong to another world!' In the midst of these reflections they heard a cannonade which they knew to proceed from the ship. These sounds served to add to their misery, as, if any accident should befall her, their fate would remain unknown in Russia.

In the midst of these melaucholy bodings, their bodily sufferings were so far forgotten that they were only recalled to a sense of them by Golownin being actually choked with the

tightness of the cord about his neck; his face was swollen and discoloured; he was nearly blind, and could scarcely utter a word. He made signs to the conductors; but the cannonade had so frightened them that they only urged on their prisoners the faster, looking continually behind them, towards the quarter whence the noise proceeded.

At length Golownin fell senseless to the ground, and on recovering found the Japanese sprinkling him with water, and the blood gushing from his mouth and nose; on slackening the cords he recovered. In the evening they arrived at a small village, and being carried into an empty apartment, were offered some boiled rice; they were then stretched on the floor, and the ropes, by which they had been led, attached to iron hooks driven into the wall. Their conductors then sat down to regale themselves with tea and tobacco. In this situation they remained all night. The seamen now began to reproach the captain for want of prudence, but were reprimanded by Moor and Chlebnikoff, who did all in their power to console their unfortunate commander, whose bodily suffering was aggravated by anguish of mind, which induced him to pray for death as the greatest of blessings.

At day-light a plank was brought into the room, having ropes attached to the four corners, the ends of which were tied together above it. On this Golownin was placed, bound as he was, and carried away on the shoulders of two men, he knew not whither, after taking a last farewell, as he thought, of his unfortunate companions. In a short time, however, he found himself in a boat, into which all the rest were brought one by one in the same manner, with an armed soldier between each of them. They crossed the strait to the island of Matsmai, where they were placed in other boats and dragged along the shore the whole of that day and the following night. They observed that every part of the coast was thickly strewed with buildings;—at every third or fourth verst were populous villages, in which extensive fisheries appeared to be carried on.

Though the Japanese paid no attention to the sufferings of their prisoners from the tight ligatures, they were most attentive to their wants in all other respects; they fed them with rice and broiled fish, putting the meat with little sticks into their mouths; and constantly flapped away the gnats and flies which annoyed them. On their arrival at a village, a venerable old man brought them some sacchi, and stood by while they were eating it, with evident marks of pity in his face. Nor was this the only instance in which they experienced humane and kindly attentions from individuals; on the contrary, in the course of their long confinement they met with so much sympathy from the highest
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to the lowest, that Captain Golownin left Japan with the most favourable impression of the benevolence and generosity of the people.

The boats, which were thirty feet long and eight feet broad, were now dragged through some thickets, and up a steep hill, on the other side of which they were launched into a sort of canal; at the termination of this they entered a large lake, which they crossed. In this way, sometimes by land and sometimes by water, but always firmly bound, and, when on shore at night, hung up by the cords to hooks in the wall, they were conducted they knew not whither. The party escorting them amounted to nearly 200 men; yet it was not till the ninth day that they ventured to loosen the cords of the wrists, so as to allow them to make use of their hands.

The prisoners now learned, for the first time, that all this apparent inhumanity was intended as an act of kindness, to prevent them, in the distressed situation of their minds, from committing suicide. The extraordinary conduct of the Japanese in other respects was also explained; and the Russians could now understand why every evening they were careful to wash their feet with warm water; why they would not allow them to eat strawberries and raspberries; why they would not suffer their feet to be wet, but carried them over every splash or streamlet they met with; why, when they marched along the banks of a lake or river, a Japanese invariably placed himself between each Russian and the water; and finally why, after their hands had been unbound, the Japanese always took care to hold their pipes for them while they smoked:—it was done, as they now informed them, that they might not convert the pipe into an instrument of death; on this point, however, they came to a sort of compromise—that the Russians should fasten to the mouth-pieces of the pipe, a wooden ball, of the size of a hen's egg, which was supposed to be too large to swallow. The act of suicide, not being considered either by the Chinese or Japanese as a crime, is very frequent in both countries; and, as in both, the officers of government are responsible for the health and safety of those delivered into their custody, their officious attentions go near to verify our own adage of 'killing with kindness.'

On approaching Chakodade they were met by three officers who had been sent to conduct them thither. These new guides evidently wished to render their situation as little distressing as possible, and, with the exception of loosing their bands, succeeded in making them more comfortable; they took great pains to assure them that, when they reached Chakodade, they would inhabit a fine house prepared for their reception, and enjoy the society of

the most distinguished inhabitants of the place. As the ropes seemed to weaken the effect of all these fine promises, the guards endeavoured to console them even on this point, by vehemently protesting that the greatest officers of state, when accused, were bound just as they were.

It was a whole month after leaving Kunashier before they reached Chakodade. Into this city they were marched with great pomp; the sides of the road were crowded with spectators, men, women and children, who behaved with the utmost decorum. 'I particularly marked their countenances,' says Golownin, 'and never once observed a malicious look, or any signs of hatred towards us, and none shewed the least disposition to insult us by mockery and derision.' They were conducted into a large wooden building fenced round with palisadoes. It consisted of a long passage or lobby, with a number of wooden cages arranged on each side; and into these the unfortunate Russians were thrust, each having his separate cage.

These cells or cages were about six feet square, and eight feet high; two small windows with iron gratings admitted the light from without; a wooden bench and two or three mats were the only furniture. Throughout the night, guards came frequently with lights along the passage to examine the cages, and the sentinels without plied, at intervals, their wooden rattles. In the morning water was brought for washing, and a physician made his appearance to examine into the health of the prisoners: the Captain now discovered that the others were confined in pairs, and one of the sailors was sent to keep him company.

On the third day they were marched with ropes round their waists, and strongly guarded, to the house of the governor, where they were presented with tea and tobacco. A number of childish questions were then put to them, the answers to all which were carefully written down. At length the governor desired to know if some change of religion had not taken place in Russia, 'as Laxman wore a long tail, and had thick hair which he covered all over with flour, whereas we had our hair cut quite short and did not put any flour on our heads;' and he could not believe us, the captain says, when we told him that religion in our country had nothing to do with the cut of the hair. In the evening, after a whole day spent in answering minute and frivolous questions, they were marched back to their cages. One question, however, was to the purpose—they were asked, why they had carried off wood and rice at Kunashier without the consent of the owners?—and whether, under the circumstances of leaving other articles in lieu, any law existed in Russia which authorized them to seize the property of strangers: The Captain acknowledged there was no
such

such law ; but added, that if a man took only what was necessary to support his existence, he would not be considered guilty.— ‘ With us,’ replied the Japanese, ‘ it is very different : our laws ordain that a man must sooner die of hunger than touch, without the consent of the owner, a single grain of rice which does not belong to him.’

After they had been confined about three weeks, Golownin's chest, the portmanteau of Messrs. Moor and Chlebnikoff, and some bundles, were brought to them. The first thought that occurred on the sight of these was the distressing one that the *Diana* had fallen into the hands of the Japanese ; but they were soon relieved from their fears by learning that the articles had been landed from the ship before she left Kunashier ; a piece of intelligence which revived the hope that their fate would not remain long unknown in Russia : of this they were in a few days more firmly convinced, when, on examination before the governor, he drew from his bosom a letter signed by Rikord and Rudakoff, two officers of the *Diana*, in which they acquainted Golownin with their intention of returning immediately to Okotzk.

It would be tedious to repeat the numerous examinations and cross-questionings which the prisoners underwent before the governor who, they soon discovered, was fully informed of Laxman's visit, Resanoff's embassy, and, above all, of the unauthorized proceedings of Chwostoff, to which it was but too evident they owed their captivity and all the ill treatment they had experienced. It appeared, indeed, that the Japanese were in possession of documents which very naturally led them to believe that the conduct of this officer had been conformable to instructions received from the sovereign of Russia. Among other papers was produced a copy of a proclamation, and a silver medal, which had been given by Chwostoff to the chief of a village in the bay of Aniwa ‘ as a token of the Russian Emperor Alexander having taken possession of the island of Sagaleen, and placed its inhabitants under his gracious protection.’

At the end of fifty days Golownin and his comrades were taken out of their prison, bound with ropes, as before, and marched off for the capital of Matsmai, which they entered in procession, as they had done Chakodade, and, after being paraded through the streets, were finally lodged in cages similar to those they had left. Here they underwent a multitude of examinations before the Buncō or Viceroy, who was infinitely more minute and inquisitive than either the governor of Chakodade or Kunashier. He was mild, however, in his manner of questioning, spoke kindly to them, and seemed to feel for their unhappy situation, When Golownin told him that they had only two requests to

make, first, that they might be permitted to return to their own country, or if that could not be granted, to die, he desired the interpreter to say that 'the Japanese were men and had hearts like other people, and that they had no reason either to fear or despair:' he told them moreover, that they should have plenty of good provisions, and warm winter clothing together with bearskins to sleep on; and, that if it should turn out that they were not in any way connected with the proceedings of Chwostoff, they should all be sent back to Russia. These were not empty promises; for they found that their provisions were infinitely superior, both in quantity and quality, to what they had yet had; and so kind and attentive were all around them, that they ventured to ask for a window in the side wall of their jail to admit light and allow them to look out; this, however, was refused on the plea that the bleak north winds might injure their health: so careful indeed were they in this respect, that a physician came twice a day to visit them, and if any thing ailed any of the party, he generally brought another with him. Their condition continued to improve, and towards the end of the year the Bunyo condescended so far as to tell them that he believed they had no evil intentions in visiting the coasts of Japan, and that he had sent a statement of the case to the Emperor at Yeddo, which he hoped would procure an order for their release.

The cords were now for the first time removed from their bodies, and their cages knocked down; the floor was laid with planks and covered with mats, so that they had a spacious room to walk in, and were at liberty to converse freely with each other. Their meals too were served up with neatness and decency. All these changes inspired them with lively hopes of soon regaining their liberty and returning to Russia, when the arrival of the governor of Kunaschier put an end to all their flattering dreams; and with the exception of being caged, their treatment, if not so cruel as at first, was at least marked with equal indifference and contempt. Their old enemy, it seems, had procured fresh documents which, in the minds of this jealous people, were supposed to implicate them, as well as the Russian government, in the proceedings of Chwostoff. It is perfectly astonishing how many trifling circumstances, utterly unconnected either with Chwostoff or Golownin, were brought to bear on the supposed views of the Russian government against Japan. The visit of Captain Broughton to one of the Kurile islands was coupled with some insinuations of the Dutch at Nangasaki respecting the sinister intentions of the English, and construed into a concerted plan with the Russians to extend their power in the east; the renegade Dutchmen, resident in Japan, having assured them that England, acting by sea, and Russia by land, had, for their ultimate object, to divide China and Japan

Japan between them ! This, they said, was corroborated by the recent appearance of an English frigate* in the bay of Nan-

* This was the *Phaeton*, of whose imprudent visit we gave some account in Number XII. p. 378. We learn, with deep regret, from recent information, that, for this act of indiscretion on the part of her commander, not only the innocent governor, but four other officers have since atoned with their lives, having been deemed criminal for the liberal supplies which they sent to the frigate, and for not having *sunk* her with the caution of the fort ! Among this singular people, an officer accused of an offence, if guilty of the charge, awaits not the issue of a trial, but if he would leave behind him an honourable name, becomes his own executioner ; and the unfortunate governor and his four coadjutors accordingly ripped up their bowels, which is esteemed the most honourable way of meeting death. Orders were issued at the same time to seize Englishmen wherever they were to be found ; and so exasperated was the government of Japan against them on this account, that the interpreter told Golownin he had no doubt the crew of any English vessel arriving on the coast of Japan would be dealt with exactly as he and his companions had been.

It appears, however, that they have not ventured to carry their threats into execution. We have now before us the journal of a very intelligent and enterprising officer, Captain Gordon of the navy, who, in June 1818, entered the bay of Jeddo in a little brig of sixty-five tons burden from Ochotzk. He was visited immediately by two officers whom, from their great gravity, he supposed to be of high rank. He told them he had come merely to obtain permission to return to them with a cargo of goods for sale. They said he must unship the rudder and allow it, with all the arms and ammunition, to be taken on shore. The vessel was then surrounded by a circle of about twenty small boats, and beyond them, by another, of about sixty larger guard and gun-boats, besides two or three junks mounting a number of guns. After these judicious precautions against force, two interpreters came on board, one speaking Dutch, the other knowing something of Russian, and both a little English. They inquired if the vessel belonged to the East India Company, if the English were friends with the Dutch, and if Captain Golownin was at Ochotzk. They asked after the king of Holland, the king of France, and Buona-parte. They knew the names and uses of the various nautical instruments, and said that the best of these and other articles were made in London. In a subsequent visit they told Captain Gordon, that permission could not be granted for his trading to Japan, as by their laws all foreign intercourse was interdicted except at Nagasaki, and there only allowed with the Dutch and Chinese, and that the governor desired they would take their departure the moment the wind was fair. Captain Gordon offered the interpreters some trifling present, but they were prohibited, they said, from accepting it. Every thing that had been taken on shore was carefully returned, and about thirty boats were sent to tow the vessel out of the bay.

Captain Gordon speaks in high terms of the polite and affable conduct of the Japanese towards them and towards one another. The shores were crowded with spectators, and as soon as the guard boats had left them, not less than two thousand visitors came on board in succession, all eager to barter for trifles. Having no sheep, and warm clothing being necessary in the winter months, Captain Gordon thinks that our woollen cloths would be particularly acceptable to them ; and that with respect to cotton wool, piece goods, indigo and sugar, Bengal would be inadequate to the supply : he thinks also that the mineral riches of Japan would furnish more than sufficient return for such immense demands. We differ with Captain Gordon altogether on this point ; for although we deem it a very unfortunate, and indeed a very culpable omission on our part, not to have endeavoured to open a more friendly intercourse with Japan, during the many years in which we had the entire command of the whole oriental archipelago ; we regret this, not so much because we lost the opportunity of extending our commerce, (for we believe the wants of this people are few, and their superfluous produce neither great nor valuable,) as that we let slip the occasion of convincing this proud and jealous government that the few Dutchmen, on whom they were long accustomed to trample, are not the best specimen of Christian Europe.

We cannot close this slight notice of Captain Gordon, without expressing our respect for his character, and our satisfaction with the whole of his conduct as exemplified in his little narrative.

gasaki, which, they added, could be for no other purpose than to examine the state of the harbour and fortifications, previous to the meditated attack, as she was observed to take soundings.

By the month of March, however, the Russians were so far reinstated in the good opinion of the Bunyo that they had permission to walk about the town, with a guard; and in April they were released from their prison and removed to a private dwelling-house. They were far however from being easy with regard to the intentions of the court; the Bunyo had desired them to regard the Japanese as their brothers and countrymen; which they construed into a hint that they must make up their minds to stay there, and banish every thought of Russia; and so powerfully did this impression operate, that they bound themselves by an oath to use every endeavour to escape; determined to perish rather than remain in Japan. Mr. Moor however declined entering into the confederacy. Something extraordinary had been observed in the conduct of this young man; at first he was the life of the company; but all at once he had become gloomy and reserved, except with the Japanese, in whose language he had made considerable progress. He assured them that all his relations resided in Germany; and he had previously informed Alexei of his design of entering the Japanese service as European interpreter: the Russians therefore considered him as a dangerous person, and determined to hasten the execution of their project; which was to escape to the sea-shore, seize upon a boat, and stand across to the coast of Tartary.

By the end of April they had succeeded in burrowing the ground beneath the palisadoes; and, in the middle of the night, they crept out, one by one, leaving Alexei and Moor behind. Directing their course to the northward they ascended the hills, the summits of which were covered with snow. For eight nights they continued to wander through thickets or scramble among precipitous rocks, in imminent danger at every step of falling down deep ravines. In these ravines they concealed themselves by day, marking, as well as they could, the direction of the sea-coast, towards which they bent their steps by night. At length they reached a village on the shore and found two boats, but they were hauled upon the beach, and they had not strength to launch them: they therefore passed on, and saw a boat afloat, with a tent near it. Being almost famished with hunger, one of the sailors thrust his hand into the tent hoping to find something eatable, but grasped the head of a person who was sleeping there. The man roared out, and the fugitives fearing that the noise would alarm the inhabitants, made the best of their way back to the hills.

On the eighth day they observed that they were surrounded by
soldiers,

soldiers, who came up to them very quietly, bound their hands slightly behind their backs, and led them to a neighbouring house, where they were supplied with *sacchi*, boiled rice, radishes and tea. They now discovered that, from the moment of their setting off, they had been regularly tracked every day, and all their motions watched by this party. Why they were not seized sooner Captain Golownin could not guess, unless it was that the Japanese feared that through desperation they might have slain some of the troops, or committed suicide. They were marched back to Matsmai and conducted to the castle. The Bunyo expressed not the slightest displeasure, but merely asked Golownin what induced them to escape, and told them their plan was not only very ill-contrived, but also very wrong, as, had it succeeded, himself and many others must have answered for it with their lives.

Moor had, in the interval, used all his endeavours to prejudice the Japanese against his companions; but they had the satisfaction to hear from the viceroy that, all circumstances considered, his good opinion of them was not changed; notwithstanding which they were sent to a new prison, and Golownin and Chlebnikoff put into separate cages. Here things went on much as usual till the month of February, in the second year of their confinement, when it was communicated to them as a profound secret, not to be made known until the arrival of a new bunyo, that it was decided at court to liberate them. The Russians, however, had no great cause to felicitate themselves on this *decision*, as it was called, since every thing remained just as before; and they appear to have finally owed their deliverance to the active and intelligent interference of a native whom Captain Rikord (to whose narrative we are now arrived) had seized on the coast the preceding year, and carried to Okotzk, whence he returned with him to Kunashier, about the middle of June.

Our readers will recollect that Captain Golownin had been decoyed into the fort of Kunashier, and made prisoner with several of his crew. It is at this point that Captain Rikord, who was then second in command on board the sloop, takes up the interesting narrative, with which we shall now proceed.

The officers of the *Diana*, perceiving through their telescopes what had happened on the beach, determined to stand closer in and attack the fort; but finding the water too shoal to admit of their coming near enough for their small pieces to take effect, and being fired at by the Japanese, they retired beyond the reach of their guns, and remained three days in the vain hope of learning the fate of their companions. On the second day a baidar was
seen

seen to put off from the shore, and to throw out a cask with a black pennant. A boat was manned to see what it might contain ; but the Japanese had attached a rope to it, by which it was imperceptibly drawn back, in order to entice the Russian boat on, and thus to get possession of her.

It was now determined to put on shore, at the distant and deserted village, the linen and other articles belonging to the detained officers and seamen, and to return to Okotzk to lay before the government an account of their proceedings. Immediately on their arrival Captain Rikord set off for Irkutsk with the intention of proceeding to Petersburg. At Irkutsk he had the satisfaction to find that the governor had already dispatched an account of the unfortunate transaction to the capital ; but Alexander was then engaged in more important matters, and had little leisure to think of Japan : orders, however, were dispatched for the *Diana* to return in the succeeding year to Kunashier to ascertain, if possible, the fate of Golownin and his unfortunate companions.

Captain Rikord carried back with him a Japanese, of the name of Leonsaimo, who had been seized by Chowstoff, and six others who had suffered shipwreck on the coast of Kamschatka, in the hope of exchanging them for the seven Russians. On reaching Kunaschier bay, now named by them *The Bay of Deceit*, the Russians perceived that a new battery of fourteen guns had been erected. Not a Japanese appeared ; all the buildings were covered with striped cloth ; and the boats drawn up on the shore. As Leonsaimo, in his six years captivity, had learned the Russian language, Captain Rikord dictated a short letter to the governor, stating his having brought back the Japanese, and requesting the restoration of his countrymen ; but this artful man availed himself of the occasion to write his own story, in which it was supposed he had not rigidly adhered to the truth ; for when Captain Rikord asked for the copy of what he had written, he put the paper in his mouth, and after chewing it, with a cunning and spiteful expression of countenance, swallowed the whole. The original letter was then sent by one of the Japanese, but on his landing, the batteries, for the first time, opened upon the *Diana*. This man returned no more.

Three days after a second Japanese was dispatched with a memorandum in the Russian language. He came back, saying that the governor would not receive the paper, and that the Kuriles had thrust him out of the castle by force. Nothing now remained but to dispatch Leonsaimo, who, by his own account, was a person of some importance among his countrymen. On the following day he returned, and taking Captain Rikord and Lieutenant Rudakoff into the cabin, said—‘ they are all dead !’ Struck with
horror

horror at this account, the first impression was to attack the place and avenge the murder of their comrades; but wishing to be fully certified of the fact, Leonsaimo was sent once more to obtain from the commandant a written confirmation of his intelligence—but he never returned.

Determined not to quit the bay in this state of uncertainty, the next step was to seize any vessel that might be either entering or going out of the harbour. On the second day they succeeded in capturing a baidar, the crew of which immediately jumped overboard and escaped. Next morning a large Japanese ship was seen steering towards the harbour. On being brought to, several of the crew threw themselves into the sea; some of them were picked up by the *Diana's* boats, some swam ashore; and nine were drowned.

The captain was conducted into the cabin of the *Diana*; his rich yellow dress, his sabre, and other circumstances, indicated that he was a person of some distinction. Having saluted Captain Rikord, with great frankness of manner, and seated himself on a chair, he said his name was *Takaytay-Kachi*, that he was part-owner of several ships, and that ten belonged entirely to himself. On shewing him the letter written by Leonsaimo, he immediately exclaimed, 'Captain Moor and five Russians are now in the city of Matsmai.' This was joyful intelligence; but the year being now too far advanced to remain on the coast, Captain Rikord determined to return to Okotzk, taking with him the Japanese merchant. On intimating this intention, he replied, with a coolness that astonished them all, 'Very well, I am ready;' and being told that he should remain with him (Rikord) while there, and be brought back the following year, he seemed to be perfectly reconciled to his destiny. It was proposed to take four Japanese out of the vessel to attend on him, but he intreated that they might not be carried away, as he apprehended they would die of grief; he was however overruled, and four men were selected for this purpose.

On board the ship was a Japanese lady who had been the inseparable companion of *Takaytay-Kachi* on his voyages: desirous of seeing the strangers, she was brought on board the *Diana*, but appeared timid and embarrassed.

'On reaching the cabin door (says Captain Rikord) she wished to take off her straw shoes, but as there were neither mats nor carpets, I explained to her, by signs, that this singular mark of politeness might be dispensed with. On entering the cabin, she placed both hands on her head, with the palms outwards, and saluted us by bending her body very low. I conducted her to a chair, and *Kachi* requested her to sit down. Fortunately for this unexpected visitor, there was, on board our vessel,

vessel, a young and handsome woman, the wife of our surgeon's mate. The Japanese lady seemed highly pleased, on being introduced to her, and they quickly formed an intimacy. Our countrywoman endeavoured to entertain the foreigner with what the women of all countries delight in; she shewed her her trinkets. Our visitor behaved with all the ease of a woman of fashion; she examined the ornaments with great curiosity, and expressed her admiration by an agreeable smile. But the fair complexion of our countrywoman seemed most of all to attract her attention. She passed her hands over her face, as though she suspected it had been painted, and, with a smile, exclaimed "*yoe! yoe!*" which signifies *good*. I observed, that our visitor was somewhat vain of her new ornaments, and I held a looking-glass before her, that she might see how they became her. The Russian lady placed herself immediately behind her, in order to shew her the difference of their complexions. She immediately pushed the glass aside, and good humouredly said "*varce! varce!*" (not good). She herself might have been called handsome; her face was of the oval form, her features regular, and her little mouth, when open, disclosed a set of shining black lacquered teeth. Her black eye-brows, which had the appearance of having been penciled, overarched a pair of sparkling dark eyes, which were by no means deeply seated. Her hair was black, and rolled up in the form of a turban, without any ornament, except a few small tortoise-shell combs. She was about the middle size, and elegantly formed. Her dress consisted of six wadded silk garments, similar to our night gowns; each fastened round the lower part of the waist by a separate band, and drawn close together from the girdle downwards. They were all of different colours, and the upper one was black. Her articulation was slow, and her voice soft. Her countenance was expressive and interesting, and she was altogether calculated to make a very agreeable impression. She could not be more than eighteen. We entertained her with fine green tea and sweetmeats, of which she eat and drank moderately. On taking leave I made her some presents, with which she appeared to be very much pleased. I hinted to our countrywoman, that she should embrace her. When the Japanese observed what was intended, she ran into her arms, and kissed her with a smile.—pp. 261—263.

On the 11th September they left the bay and steered for Kamtschatka, where they landed on the 12th of the following month. The Japanese made himself exceedingly agreeable, set about learning the Russian language, and never once uttered a reproach on Captain Rikord, who had been, however reluctantly, the cause of his misfortunes; he said he perceived the finger of God in what had happened, and only hoped he should be able to stand the cold climate of Kamtschatka. In short, the whole conduct of this most interesting and worthy man was well calculated to command the attention and sympathy of the Russians of Kamtschatka; and their kindness made a deep impression on his mind in favour of a people whom he had hitherto been taught to dread.

Kachi

Kachi continued tranquil and in good health until the middle of winter, when the death of two of his attendants greatly affected him—he became melancholy, complained of indisposition, and told the surgeon he was certain he should die; his real disorder, however, was ‘the home sickness,’ which the preparations for departure speedily relieved. They arrived in Kunashier bay in June; but not a living being made its appearance along the whole line of coast. Kachi however ordered his two Japanese to carry a message to the governor of the island. Rikord asked him if he had directed them to bring back circumstantial information respecting his countrymen, and if he would pledge himself for their return to the ship?—he replied simply in the negative, which a little startled Captain Rikord, who in a moment of heat said to the two Japanese, ‘Then tell the governor from me, if he prevents your returning, and permits me to receive no information, I will carry your chief back to Okotzk, where some ships of war will this very year be fitted out, and armed men put on board them, to demand the liberation of the Russian prisoners. I will wait only three days for his answer.’—This message, thus hastily given, developed the noble and energetic character of this extraordinary man.

‘At these words Takaytay-Kachi changed countenance, but said, with much calmness,—“Commander of the Imperial Ship,” (he always addressed me thus on important occasions,) “thou counselest rashly. Thy orders to the Governor of Kunashier seem to contain much, but, according to our laws, they contain little. In vain dost thou threaten to carry me to Okotzk. My men may be detained on shore; but neither two nor yet two thousand sailors can answer for me. Wherefore, I give thee previous notice, that it will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk:—but of that hereafter. But, tell me, whether it be under these conditions only that my sailors are to be sent on shore?”

“Yes,” said I, “as Commander of a ship of war, I cannot, under these circumstances, act otherwise.”

“Well,” replied he; “allow me to give my sailors my last and most urgent instructions as to what they must communicate from me to the Governor of Kunashier, for now I will neither send the promised letter, nor any other written document.”

‘After this conversation, during which he sat, according to the Japanese custom, with his legs under him, he rose up, and addressed me very earnestly in the following terms:—“Thou knowest enough of Japanese to understand all that I may say, in plain and easy words, to my sailors. I would not wish that thou shouldst have any ground to suspect me of hatching base designs.” He then sat down again, when his sailors approached him on their knees, and, hanging down their heads, listened with deep attention to his words. He then reminded them, circumstantially, of the day on which they were carried on board of the *Diana*; of the manner in which they had been treated on board
the

the ship and in Kamtschatka; of their having inhabited the same house with me, and being carefully provided for; of the death of their two countrymen and the Kurile, notwithstanding all the attention bestowed on them by the Russian physician; and, finally, that the ship had hastily returned to Japan on account of his own health. All this he directed them faithfully to relate, and concluded with the warmest commendations of me, and earnest expressions of gratitude for the care which I had taken of him at sea and on land. He then sank into a deep silence, and prayed. Hereupon, he delivered to the sailor whom he most esteemed, his picture, to be conveyed to his wife; and his large sabre which he called his *paternal sword*, to be presented to his only son and heir. After the whole of this solemn ceremony was finished, he stood up, and with a frank and, indeed, a very cheerful expression of countenance, asked me for some brandy to treat his sailors at parting. He drank with them, and accompanied them on deck without giving them any further charge.—We then landed them, and they proceeded, without interruption, towards the fortress.

‘All that passed between Kachi and the sailors who were separated from him, together with the significant words—“It will not be in thy power to take me to Okotzk,” gave me much anxiety. The return of the sailors appeared to be very uncertain. I could retain their sick master as a hostage, but I could not prevent his rash speech from being realised. Whether I should put him ashore was a matter of difficult deliberation, and yet, all circumstances considered, that appeared to me the course likely to prove most beneficial to our imprisoned comrades. In case he should not return, I resolved to proceed immediately to the fortress. I knew enough of Japanese to make myself understood, and I thought, if our companions were still alive, such a proceeding could not render their fate worse; while, in case they were dead, the whole affair, together with all my anxieties, would be speedily brought to a decision. I communicated my ideas to the senior of my officers, as it was necessary for the service to give him early information, in consequence of the execution of some duties remaining yet incomplete. As he concurred with me in opinion, I told Kachi, that he might go on shore as soon as he pleased, and that I would trust to his honour for his return. If he did not come again it would cost me my life.

“‘I understand,” answered he. “Thou darest not return to Okotzk without a written testimonial of the fate of thy countrymen; and, for my part, the slightest stain on my honour will be at the expense of my life. I thank you for the confidence placed in me; I had before resolved not to go on shore on the same day with my sailors; that would not become me, according to our customs: but now, since thou hast no objection, I will go ashore early to-morrow.”

“‘I will convey you thither myself,” answered I. “Then,” he exclaimed, with transport, “we are friends again! I will now tell thee what I meant by sending away my portrait and my paternal sword. But I must first confess, with that candour which I have invariably observed towards thee for the space of three hundred days, that I was much offended by thy message to the Governor of Kunashier. The
menace

menace of sending ships of war here during the present year did not concern me, but on hearing thy threat to convey me to Okotzk, I believed that thou didst regard me to be as great an impostor as Gorodsee (Leonsaimo)—I could, indeed, scarcely persuade myself that thy lips had uttered such an injury to my honour. For three hundred days thou hadst never spoken an unkind word to me; whilst I, owing to my fiery temperament, had frequently yielded to fits of passion without any cause. But, on this important occasion, anger overcame thy reason, and, in a moment, didst thou dispose me to become a criminal and a suicide. That a man of my rank should remain a prisoner in a foreign country is repugnant to our national honour: yet thou wouldst reduce me to that condition. I willingly accompanied thee to Kamtschatka; and my government was informed of that circumstance; for I sent a message to Kunashier explaining thy reasons for visiting my ship. The sailors alone were compelled to accompany thee against their inclination. Thou wast the strongest party; but, though my person was in thy power, my life was not at thy disposal. I will now disclose to thee my secret design—I had resolved to commit suicide in case thy purpose remained unchanged! I therefore cut the central tuft of hair from the crown of my head, (he shewed me the bald part from which the hair had been removed,) and laid it in the box which contained the portrait. This, according to our Japanese customs, signifies that he who sends his hair in this manner to his friends has died an honourable death; that is to say, has ript open his bowels. His hair is then buried, with all the ceremonies which would be observed at the interment of his body. Thou callest me friend, and therefore I conceal nothing from thee. So great was my irritation that I would have killed both thee and the senior officer, for the mere satisfaction of afterwards communicating what I had done to thy ship's crew."

'What a strange sense of honour according to European ideas! But the Japanese consider such conduct most magnanimous. The memory of the hero is preserved with respect, and the honour of the deed descends to his posterity. If, on the contrary, he should fail to act in this manner, his children are banished from the place of their birth. Yet I had lived in the same cabin with a man possessing these terrible ideas; and had slept tranquilly near him, in the confidence of perfect security. While shocked by the discovery of the danger from which I had escaped, I could not help asking him why he would have so limited his vengeance, as it was in his power, by setting fire to the magazine, to destroy us all. "No," said he, "what bravery would there have been in that? A coward alone would satiate his revenge in such a manner. Dost thou imagine that I would have killed thee in thy sleep, while I honoured thee as a valiant chief? No! I would have gone more openly to work."'

On the following day (for we must now hasten to a conclusion) Kachi was set on shore, where, by exhibiting a formal declaration which had been procured, by his advice, from the governor of Irkutsk, that the proceedings of Chwostoff were wholly unauthorized;

rized; and bearing testimony to the good disposition which he found among the Russians towards Japan, he succeeded in negotiating the liberation of the captives with his tardy and cautious countrymen.

On the 22d June Golownin and his companions in misfortune received letters from Captain Rikord; and Alexei and one of the seamen were allowed to visit the ship and return; three days after which, namely, on the 16th August, they were finally set at liberty. All were elated with joy except Moor, whose face was frequently bathed in tears, and who uttered so many incoherent expressions, that the Japanese kept a strict watch over him, apprehensive that distress of mind might tempt him to commit suicide. The kind attention bestowed by Captain Golownin on this unhappy young man, and the feeling manner in which he speaks of his conduct and situation, exhibit his character in a very amiable point of view.

‘If (says he) I unfold his errors, it is not that I wish to dwell on the description of the horrors into which he plunged me and my unfortunate companions. No! may his example prove a warning to all young men whom fate may hereafter overwhelm with misfortunes such as we were doomed to endure. May it serve to convince them, that no wretch is visited by remorse so insufferable as he who renounces his faith and his country. If, like the unhappy Moor, whose history is as instructive as memorable, he has previously been a man of rectitude and extreme sensibility, how dreadful must be his torments when he returns to the paths of virtue, and looks back upon his past conduct. I entreat the reader not to condemn this unfortunate officer:—if he accompanies me to the end of my Narrative, his indignation will be converted into pity, and he will, perhaps, shed a tear over the sad memory of this poor miserable youth.’—pp. 128, 129.

On reaching the *Diana* at Chakodade, the officers eagerly thronged round their long-lost companions, but Moor remained motionless and apparently insensible to all that was passing. On their passage home, every thing was attempted to amuse his mind, but in vain. He neglected his dress, associated with the common sailors, or shut himself up in his own cabin. At Petropawłowska, his old shipmate, Lieutenant Rudakoff, took him into his house and shewed him every attention—but all was in vain; he called himself a traitor and an outcast, wept aloud, and deprecated his unhappy fate. Golownin assured him that every one wished to bury in oblivion what had passed, and that young as he was, he would have many opportunities of atoning for the errors into which he had been driven by despair. This seemed to give him a temporary return of spirits; but he seized the first favourable moment that presented itself, and shot himself through the

the heart. His companions erected a monument over his grave, on which, with a feeling that does them honour, was inscribed the following epitaph—

‘ Here rest the ashes of
LIEUTENANT FEODOR MOOR,
Who terminated his career in the harbour of Petropaulowska, on
the 22d of November, 1813,
In the Flower of his Age.
In Japan
He was abandoned by the Protecting-Spirit, which had hitherto
been his Guide.
Despair
Precipitated him into Error ;
But his faults were expiated by bitter Repentance and Death. •
From the Feeling Heart
His Fate claims
A Tear !

Many very curious traits of character are developed in the course of Captain Golownin's narrative, which shew no deficiency in strength of intellect, in generosity of sentiment, or benevolence of disposition among the Japanese : a jealous and despotic government however has done its utmost to repress every good feeling, and to reduce man to a mere machine, the movements of which are directed by prescriptive custom, and into which no additional wheels or springs are ever admitted, to give it new or increased powers of action. In this respect the government of Japan closely resembles that of China. The people, however, generally speaking, have more energy of character than the Chinese.

A third volume has been published in Captain Golownin's name, under the title of ‘ *Recollections of Japan*.’ It should rather have been called *Collections* from Kämpfer, Thunberg, and the earlier voyagers : as such we do not consider it worthy of further notice.

ART. VI.—*An Elementary Treatise on Astronomy. Vol. II. Containing Physical Astronomy.* By Robert Woodhouse, A.M. F.R.S. Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. 8vo. Cambridge, 1818.

WE are indebted to Newton for the science of physical astronomy. Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, Horrox, Huygens, Hook, and others, had before his time indeed attempted to connect the motions of the celestial bodies with physical causes ; some of them with considerable ingenuity ; but others, mixing together wild fancies and sober reasoning, excited only a temporary notice. Whatever traces they left, however, were almost entirely effaced by the mag-

nitude of Newton's discoveries; whose advances in this science were so great that even the additions which have been made within the century that has now nearly elapsed, since his death, may be considered as only adding a few links to the chain which he formed.

Sixty years had passed away from the publication of the '*Principia*' before the exertions of mathematicians were directed in extending what Newton had left. The memorable adjudication, in 1740, of the prize to D. Bernouilli, Maclaurin, and Euler for their *Essays on the Tides*, may be considered as the commencement of the second class of improvements in physical astronomy. These have since been continued by a succession of distinguished men, and embodied in the '*Mécanique Céleste*' of Laplace, to whom some of the most important advances in this science are due.

It appears to be the object of the author of the work before us to enable the student to become familiar with all the principal discoveries in physical astronomy from that time to the present day: and, in our opinion, he has not laboured in vain. A person possessed of the mathematical knowledge obtained by many of the students, who graduate each year bachelors of arts at Oxford and Cambridge, will readily master the contents of this volume, and when he has so done, he will feel himself competent not merely to understand, but to read with facility the '*Mécanique Céleste*.'

Mr. Woodhouse commences his treatise with some historical notices, and intersperses many others as he proceeds. In this, we think, he has acted judiciously.* It has always appeared to us, that, for want of them, some of the first works on physical astronomy lose a considerable portion of their interest. The illustrious author of the '*Mécanique Céleste*' promised that, at the conclusion of his work, he would, in a distinct division, assign to each of the inventors in this science their respective improvements. It is now fifteen years since the fourth volume was published, and we are not aware that this promise has been fulfilled. This is certainly to be regretted. That the name of Lagrange would make a very conspicuous figure in the '*Mécanique Céleste*' was naturally to be expected; and, under the circumstances of the case, it must appear more extraordinary, that in the new edition of the '*Mécanique Analytique*' of Lagrange, the name of Laplace only once, we believe, occurs.

Mr. Woodhouse, in his preface, gives a brief view of physical

* We had, on a former occasion, received much pleasure from a similar mixture of mathematical history in another work of Mr. Woodhouse. We allude to his treatise on '*Isoperimetrical Problems and the Calculus of Variations*,' published in 1810. In the part of mathematics belonging to isoperimetrical problems, the modern improvements have so far surpassed the first attempts, that these attempts would now scarcely deserve notice, were they not made interesting by a judicious detail of the difficulties and progressive steps of the first discoverers.

astronomy as created and left by Newton. He connects it with the subsequent labours of the 'first set of Newton's successors,' as he calls them, of Clairaut, Euler, D'Alembert, T. Simpson, and Mayer. He does justice to the memory of our countryman, T. Simpson. The merits of this ingenious man have not been sufficiently remembered among us, and, in some publications we have seen, he appears to have been entirely overlooked, and the merit of extending the discoveries of Newton assigned exclusively to foreigners. It was therefore with much pleasure we read the following,—

'The tracts of Thomas Simpson were published in 1754 (1757), and its author, in his own way, without (it would so seem) any help from his countrymen, or communication with foreigners, deduced the several lunar equations, and, rightly, the progression of the lunar apogee. With better opportunities he would have been, at the least, not inferior to any of the first set (as we have called them) of Newton's successors. But Clairaut and D'Alembert had several advantages over him; they were distinguished members of a learned academy, in continual intercourse with men of science, ambitious, emulous of each other, and patronized, on account of their abilities, by the great. There was very little, if we may rely on his biographer, to stimulate or aid the efforts of our countryman. From an obscure station he was transferred to a laborious occupation, with little leisure, and that melancholic, or made less by the influence of bad habits.'

At the conclusion of his preface, Mr. Woodhouse observes, that 'the mode by which gravity *causes* its effects is beside the scope of the physical astronomer.'

'It is, nevertheless,' he continues, 'a circumstance extremely curious that effects, such as are those of gravity, should be produced; that, apparently, so small a body as Mars, for instance, should be able sometimes to impede, and at other times to expedite the earth in its course. The more we reflect on this matter the more mysterious it appears. It is truly wonderful that planetary influence should exist, and that the ingenuity of man should have detected it. Astronomy reveals things scarcely inferior in interest to the mysteries of astrology. It does not indeed pretend to shew that the planets act on the fortunes of men, but it explains after what manner and according to what laws they act on each other.'

We are here tempted to add a remark or two. This mysterious power of gravity, emanating from the source of all power and incessantly acting, furnishes us with an impressive illustration of a never-failing Providence. *Each* particle of matter, *every* instant shares in the superintending power of the Great Being who wills that the system of the world shall be upheld by the principle of universal attraction. By whatever agency he has ordained the

operations and laws of gravity to be executed, we cannot but ultimately refer them to his immediate care.

Men, in general, know nothing of this interesting power. They consider the sun as dispensing merely light and heat. They perceive that our earth, without its benign influence, would be a dark lump of matter, barren and desolate. Few know that, besides the effects of light and heat, we derive from the sun another source of preservation. Solar gravity is as essential to our welfare as light and heat. The effects of the latter, indeed, we feel instantaneously, but the former is not perceptible by our senses. It silently and incessantly operates in preserving to us all that gladdens our existence here. Nor would its suspension be immediately observed. It might for weeks cease* to act without being noticed by the mass of mankind. But a continued suspension would inevitably be followed by a complete annihilation of the human race, and that under circumstances the most deplorable that the mind of man can imagine.

Mr. Woodhouse in the first chapter deduces the differential equations of motion caused by the action of accelerating and centripetal forces. Here and in a few of the following chapters he uses the illustrations afforded by geometrical figures; this, although not necessary, must be advantageous to the student; it serves to connect, as it were, the learning he brings with him from the 'Principia' of Newton with that which he is to attain by studying this and other treatises on physical astronomy. We would wish the 'Principia' to be always made the ground-work on which this science is to be built.

It has been objected to the modern application of mathematics to physics that the want of seeing every distinct step renders it much inferior to processes by geometrical reasoning and geometrical schemes. This is not just. The art of analysis has been so improved, that we can use it with unerring certainty to deduce conclusions dependent upon so many steps that the mind could not possibly embrace them in the manner it embraces the steps of geometrical reasoning. If we object to this, as well might we object to the machine of the mechanist, that produces with speed and unerring exactness the most difficult work, because each part is not successively subjected to the inspection of the eye and the slow operation of the hand. Newton, than whom no one knew better

* It may not be uninteresting to consider the result of calculation respecting the effect of a suspension of solar gravity for a few months. Suppose this suspension to commence in the height of our summer, and to last for three months only; the effect would be to make our year about *thirty* times as long as at present. The first apparent effect would be to protract the duration of summer. During the actual suspension we might appear rather benefited; but the resumed action of solar gravity would not remedy the mischief in store. The consequences of which need not to be stated.

or extended farther the powers of analysis, preferred, it is true, to exhibit his investigations and conclusions in a geometric rather than in an analytic form: but the former is better adapted to the outlines of physical astronomy than the latter; and it was also better adapted to call the attention of the world to his great discoveries. When it was attempted to extend them, the resources of the analytic method were found absolutely necessary. Lagrange, speaking of his *Mécanique Analytique*, says, ‘On ne trouvera point de figures dans cet ouvrage. Les méthodes que j’y expose ne demandent ni constructions, ni raisonnemens géométriques ou mécaniques, mais seulement des opérations algébriques, assujéties à une marche régulière et uniforme.’

In this first chapter Mr. Woodhouse gives the differential equations of motion relative to three rectangular co-ordinates, and also relative to the longitude, latitude, and projected radius vector. After which he remarks,—

‘If we were immediately to press forward to those most commodious and perfect forms, which the ingenuity and labour of mathematicians have given to the differential equations of motion, we should conduct the student, in the outset of his career, over too extended a field of apparently barren speculation. It is better to stop for a while and endeavour to collect some useful truths.’

In the 2d, 3d, and 4th chapters he investigates the consequences that follow from these equations when applied to two bodies acting on each other, and deduces the principal phenomena of the planetary system. They appear to answer admirably the purpose for which the author doubtless intended them, to familiarise the student with the uses of fluxions in physical astronomy, and thus to prepare him for the more difficult computation of the effects of the perturbations. We have nothing particular to remark except that in page 37, it is said, ‘I must now *resume* the three differential equations which are,’ &c.; now we have not been able to find any previous statement of these equations, and therefore imagine that, by some oversight, the author omitted them.

The fifth chapter prepares for the solution of the problem of the three bodies. It principally consists in the valuation of the perturbing force of one body on the motions of the other two. Mr. Woodhouse here deduces, with much perspicuity, the expressions of the perturbing forces by means of partial differential coefficients of a function of the distance, longitude, and latitude. This may, at first, appear to the reader an unnecessary refinement, and one that occasions difficulty and delay in his progress. But he will afterwards discover its importance.

In the seventh chapter we find the commencement of the solution of the problem of the three bodies. With reference to na-

ture, the approximate solution, (and this only is within our reach,) has two cases. One refers to the sun, moon and earth, and the problem to be resolved is the investigation of the motions of the moon, as seen from the earth. The other case refers to the sun and two planets, and the problem to be resolved is the investigation of the effects of the one planet on the motion of the other revolving about the sun. The perturbation of the motion of one planet by another is very small indeed, compared with the perturbation of the motions of the moon by the sun. The former can only be discovered by the exactest observations with the best instruments, or after the lapse of a long interval of time. But the perturbations of the motions of the moon are very considerable, and require to be expressed by many different *equations*, as they are called. Some of them were discovered in the infancy of astronomy, and long before any explanation of their causes could be given. On these accounts, we think, that Mr. Woodhouse has judiciously made the investigation of the lunar precede that of the planetary irregularities.

It would exceed our limits to remark very diffusely on the steps by which Mr. Woodhouse proceeds. They are of such a nature that they will enable the student to follow him with ease.

The principal point in the investigations of Clairaut and of all subsequent authors is the integration of the equation,

$$\frac{d^2u}{dv^2} + u - \frac{1}{h^2} + \varphi(u, v) = 0^* \quad - - (1)$$

where $\varphi(u, v)$ designates a function of u and v , originating solely from the perturbing force: u is the reciprocal of the moon's distance from the earth, and v is the longitude of the moon, considering for simplicity the orbit of the moon coincident with the ecliptic.

Mr. Woodhouse follows Clairaut's method, which is certainly best adapted to a student. For the interesting circumstances connected with Clairaut's first attempts, we must refer to the volume itself. We shall only add a few brief observations.

The integration of the above equation deprived of its last term,

* Authors in general do not seem aware, that Euler had arrived at and integrated a similar equation, long before Clairaut commenced his investigations on the lunar theory. It occurs in Euler's *Essay on the Tides*, section 77. The mode in which he integrates it is deserving of notice, as containing the germ of the method of making the constant arbitrary quantities vary. Perhaps a richer page cannot be found in the works of mathematicians than that of Euler here referred to. In it he first denotes the sine of an arc by $\sin. z$. It also seems worthy of notice, that Euler avails himself of the integration of the equation $dp + pZdz = Sdz$, in which Z and S are functions of z ; which equation had been integrated by James Bernoulli not long after the publication of the '*Principia*.' Thus the progress of physical astronomy was not impeded by the state of analysis.

or the simple elliptic theory, gives, as is well known, $u = \frac{1}{h^2}(1 + e \cos. v)$, e being the eccentricity. By substituting this value of u , in $\phi(u, v)$ of equation (1), we find that $\phi(u, v)$ may be expressed by the form $A \cos. m v + B \cos. p v + \&c.$ This substitution being made, the integration of equation (1) is easily performed, excepting the case of m or $p=1$. In that case the integration introduces arcs of circles, and the orbit resulting would be entirely different from the orbit of the moon. This difficulty must have soon occurred to Clairaut, and he obviated it by assuming $u = \frac{1}{h^2}(1 + e \cos. cv)$ a form either suggested to him by the ninth section of the 'Principia,' or by the actual motion of the lunar apogee.

In consequence of this substitution, almost the next step furnished, as he conceived, a test of the Newtonian theory of gravity. The integrations of the resulting equation furnished a new value of u , which compared with the substituted value afforded an equation for determining c , and $1 - c$ would express the mean motion of the apogee, that of the moon being unity. To determine c , the coefficients of $\cos. cv$ are equated. Now it will easily appear by a reference to the coefficient of $\cos. cv$ in the value of u deduced from integration, that the tangential force does not enter into it, and that therefore it is precisely the same as if Clairaut had considered only the perturbing force in the direction of the radius vector, and consequently the result ought to be the same as Newton had before found from the consideration of a perturbing force in the direction of the radius vector only. The mean motion of the apsid appeared to be only half of that shewn by observation. Mr. Woodhouse, after his account of the failure of Clairaut, remarks—

'This is a brief notice and description of that notorious error, which, on its first appearance, caused (if we may so express ourselves) so great a sensation in the mathematical world. In one of the most remarkable of the heavenly phenomena, the progressions of the aphelia of the planetary orbits, theory and calculation were erroneous to the amount of half the real quantity. So erroneous a defalcation seemed to portend to Newton's system, that fate which, not long before, Descartes's had experienced.'—p. 147.

But it appears to us that Clairaut rather precipitately called in question the accuracy of the Newtonian law of gravity. He, as we have observed above, could, from the nature of his process, find the same result only as Newton had found. Newton himself had not from thence deduced an argument against the accuracy of the law of gravity, although the difficulty must have appeared in full force to him.

Clairaut's method of treating the subject, however, had greatly the advantage over that of Newton, in affording an easy solution of the difficulty, one simple in the outline of the process, although tedious in the detail. The first approximate value of u , from the integration of equation (1), afforded among its terms one of the form $A e \cos.(v - 2mv)$, or rather of the form $A e \cos.(2v - 2mv - cv)$, in which the coefficient A was much greater than in any of other new terms, depending on the perturbing force. He might have remarked, that on this term principally depended the variation of the eccentricity of the lunar orbit. Newton had shewn, Cor. 8. 9. Prop. 66. 1 Lib. Princip. how much the variation of the eccentricity and motion of the apogee were connected. Consequently Clairaut might, *à priori*, have concluded, that the substitution of the value of u , containing this new term, in $\phi(u, v)$, would sensibly affect the resulting motion of the apogee. He was fortunate, after having excited considerable notice, by the annunciation of the failure of the Newtonian law of gravity, to be the first to correct his own error.

Mr. Woodhouse refers also to the methods used by D'Alembert, Simpson, and Laplace.

* Laplace, in his *Mécanique Céleste*, (tom. iii. pp. 191, &c.) although in the main he follows D'Alembert's suggested method, yet follows it not so closely as Simpson has done. He first, on the assumption of the *elliptical* value of u , deduces the values of the coefficients of the terms of the differential equation, and expresses them by means of the quantities, m, e, \dot{e}, c , &c.'

It is not, we conceive, strictly correct to say that Simpson followed D'Alembert's 'suggested method.' He states* himself that what he did was done in 1750, and he refers to an intimation at the conclusion of his *Fluxions* published in that year. D'Alembert's 'suggested method' appeared in 1754. We would willingly give the priority to Simpson, but we are not certain that we should be justified in so doing. With respect to Laplace, however, the passage above is certainly incorrect; and we think Laplace himself, by the inaccuracy of his expression, contributed to lead our author into the mistake. It is not the elliptical value of u that Laplace first assumes. He says indeed,† 'Supposons que δu soit la partie de u , due à la force perturbatrice,' &c. &c.

The value of u then becomes $\frac{1}{h^2(1+\gamma^2)} \{ 1 + e \cos.(cv - \pi) + \delta\epsilon \} + \delta u$.

The former part of this value depends upon the perturbing force, as well as the latter, δu . The quantities h, e , &c. are modified by the perturbing force, and c differs from unity on account of the perturbing force.

* Preface to his *Tracts*, 1757.

† *Mécanique Céleste*, tom. iii. p. 200.

The substitution of this value of u being made in the differential equation, equations are obtained for determining the respective terms of δu , by help of the constant arbitrary quantities m, e , &c. as determined by observation, as they actually exist, not as they would have existed, without the perturbing force of the sun. In fact, then, there is little difference between the outlines of the two methods of Simpson and Laplace; but there is the greatest difference in the finishing. Simpson only professed to mark outlines, and Laplace has, with exquisite skill, equally finished every part.

In their method, by indeterminate coefficients, the student may not see clearly the connection between the constant arbitrary quantities of the elliptic theory, and the same quantities modified by the perturbing forces. The connection clearly appears in that adopted by Mr. Woodhouse. But the method of indeterminate coefficients is much to be preferred for a complete investigation of the lunar irregularities by help of the constant arbitrary quantities determined by observation.

Several distinguished mathematicians have given investigations for determining the mean motion of the lunar apogee by considering the mean centripetal force only, and considering the tangential force (or rather the force in the direction perpendicular to the radius vector) as producing no effect. The intricate calculations that arise in the successive approximations for solving the differential equations of the problem of the three bodies may have in some measure tended to perpetuate this error, by not affording a simple refutation. Dr. Matthew Stewart's investigation of the mean motion of the lunar apsis has recently been referred to as exact, although only the mean disturbing centripetal force is considered. Had the periodic time of the moon been different from what it is, observation would have pointed out the error of his result. Had the moon revolved about the earth in one day, Dr. Stewart's theorem would give the motion of the lunar apogee nearly twice as great as it would have been found by observation.

As we are not aware, that the separate effects of the respective centripetal and tangential forces have been distinctly stated by any writer, we give them here; more particularly as Clairaut's method, which Mr. Woodhouse has judiciously followed, does not readily furnish them.

Let $m = \frac{\text{per. time of the moon}}{\text{per. time of the earth}} = \frac{1}{13}$ nearly. Then, the mean motion of the moon being unity, the effect of the centripetal force on the mean motion of the lunar apsid $= \frac{3}{4}m^2 + \frac{135}{64}m^3$ nearly.

The

The effect of the tangential force, or rather of the force perpendicular to the radius vector $= \frac{315}{64} m^1$ nearly.

It is evident, that the smaller m is, the nearer the sum of these quantities approaches $\frac{3}{4} m^2$, the quantity found by Newton in the 9th section of the 1st book of the Principia.

In the 14th chapter, Mr. Woodhouse proceeds to the integration of the differential equation expressing the relation between the mean longitude (time) and the true longitude, which equation is obtained by the substitution of the expression for the radius vector in the expression for dt . No particular difficulty occurs in this part. The author shews how by reversion of series the true longitude is determined in terms of the mean longitude. The sources of the principal equations are clearly pointed out. The origin of the apparent acceleration of the mean motion of the moon, that difficulty which had so long tormented mathematicians, is also shewn, as deduced by Laplace. This is afterwards more minutely considered.

Mr. Woodhouse next shews the manner of computing the disturbances in the elliptical motions of a planet, occasioned by the action of another planet.

The method adopted for the moon might at first be supposed readily applicable to the planets; and that nothing further would be necessary than to substitute in the differential equations the expression for the disturbing forces of the planet. But there are two circumstances that occasion a very considerable difference in the process.

1. The effect of one planet disturbing the orbit of another is much smaller than that of the sun disturbing the motion of the moon. We are enabled therefore to proceed by a much shorter road to obtain the equations of longitude, and of the radius vector, than in the case of the moon. In the moon we first compute the radius vector in terms of the true longitude, then, by help of the radius vector already found, the mean longitude in terms of the true, and thence by reversion of series the true longitude in terms of the mean. For a planet, we obtain at once $\delta r =$ a function of the time, by help of the integration of a linear equation of exactly the same form as (1), and then δv is easily had. δr and δv are variations arising from the perturbing forces.

This is the method used by Laplace,* which, as given by him, may appear difficult to a student, but he will find in Mr. Wood-

* Mécanique Céleste, chap. vi. 2 liv.

house's 16th chapter, an excellent simplification of Laplace's method of proceeding.

2. The second circumstance is one, that at first occasioned considerable embarrassment in computing the perturbations of a planet's orbit. The distance of the disturbing from the disturbed body is $\sqrt{r'^2 - 2rr' \cos. \omega + r^2}$, r and r' being the distances of the planets from the sun and ω being the angle at the sun. It became there-

fore necessary to expand $(r'^2 - 2rr' \cos. \omega + r^2)^{\frac{1}{2}}$, s representing 1, 3, &c. The expansion becomes of the form $A + B \cos. \omega + C \cos. 2\omega +$, &c. Now in the case of the moon $\frac{r}{r'} = \frac{\text{moon's dist.}}{\text{sun's dist.}}$ and therefore the expansion may be made by help of the binomial theorem, the powers of $\frac{r}{r'}$ rapidly converging. But when $\frac{r}{r'} =$

$\frac{\text{Venus distance}}{\text{earth's distance}}$ the convergency almost ceases, and the binomial theorem becomes of less value. Notwithstanding, however, the ingenuity exhibited by several mathematicians in developing this quantity, it was long considered necessary to be satisfied with the convergency of the powers of $\frac{r}{r'}$. In fact the convergency of the series given by Laplace is not much greater. But another branch of mathematical science, apparently quite unconnected with our subject, has afforded a solution as convenient as can be desired.

Defined integrals have of late been applied to many most interesting purposes, and here also they have been singularly useful. The difficulty of which we are speaking is reduced to find A and B

in the expansion of $\frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - 2\rho \cos. \omega + \rho^2}} = A + B \cos. \omega + C \cos. 2\omega +$ &c. where ρ is a fraction not differing much from unity. Now it is

easily shewn that $A =$ the defined integral $\frac{1}{\pi} \int_0^\pi \frac{d\omega}{\sqrt{1 - 2\rho \cos. \omega + \rho^2}}$

the limits of the integral being $\omega = 0$ and $\omega = \pi$ = the semicircumference, radius unity. The reduction to this defined integral is however only a step in our process, a step that was known to D'Alembert, and further, it was known to him, that this integral depended on the arcs of conic sections. But the most ingenious method of Lagrange by which he approximated to all integrals

contained in the form $\int \frac{P dx}{\sqrt{a + bx^2 + cx^4}}$ did not then exist.*

That method develops a computation for our defined integral as convenient as can be desired.

* Vide Lacroix, *Calcul diff. et integr.* tom. 2.

For the detail of computation of the defined integral for A and also for B, we refer to Mr. Woodhouse, Chap. 18. For the case when r and r' are very nearly equal, as for Ceres disturbing Pallas, Mr. Woodhouse himself gave in the Philosophical Transactions for 1804, a method of computation derived from the same source, which furnishes all that can be wished for as to that case.

Mr. Woodhouse enters minutely into details of calculations in the 18th Chapter and actually deduces that part of the variation of the earth's longitude (δv), independent on the eccentricity, which arises from the perturbations of the Moon, Jupiter, Venus, and Mars. From the method of integration here adopted, by which δr is found, there arise certain terms such as $M nt \sin (nt + \varepsilon - \pi)$. 'Such terms as the above, existing in the value of the radius vector and longitude, would, by increasing with the time, materially alter the elements of the orbit.'

A similar circumstance occurred in the investigation of the lunar orbit, and the method of obviating it furnished, as we have seen, a ready determination of the mean motion of the lunar apsids. Terms like the above are got rid of by a process that enables us to compute the small variations (*secular variations*, as they are called) which take place in the eccentricities and places of the perihelia, &c. and are only sensible after a long interval. Mr. Woodhouse briefly shews how this happens, and very properly reserves for a subsequent chapter the investigation of the secular inequalities. This interesting part of physical astronomy has been much improved since the first volume of the *Mécanique Céleste* was published, and Mr. Woodhouse has availed himself of the latest improvements. In a note at the conclusion of this chapter he remarks :

'The subject of the secular inequalities was treated of after the manner alluded to in the text, by Laplace in the *Mém. Acad.* 1785 ; and subsequently, with greater refinement of calculation, but much less perspicuity, in his *Mécanique Céleste*.'

The substance of this note is certainly exact, yet we have always admired this part of the *Mécanique Céleste*, and it appears to us that the author has no where more successfully exerted his extraordinary mathematical powers. The subject is very abstruse, and his first method (that in the *Mém. Acad.*) does not appear to go to the bottom of it. In the method inserted in the *Mécanique Céleste*,* a long abstract investigation produces, in its application to physical astronomy, the most interesting results. A short account may explain it. Suppose $y = X + tY + t^2 Z + \&c.$ - - (1)
to be the integral of $\frac{d^2 y}{dt^2} + P + a \quad Q = 0$ arising from successive

* Tom. i. pp. 243, &c.

approximations. X, Y, Z , &c. are periodical functions of t , containing c, c' , &c. (i) arbitrary quantities. In which also a is a very small quantity, and when $a=0$, y is expressed entirely by periodic functions.

It is evident that if, by any modification of the quantities c, c' , &c. relative to the small quantity a , we can make the terms $tY + t^2Z$, &c. disappear, we shall have $y=X$, and y will thus be expressed by periodic functions, in which the (i) constants c, c' , &c. have undergone a small modification.

Now Laplace shews, that if instead of t , in the above value of y , we substitute $t-\theta$, θ being any constant quantity, the differential equation will still be satisfied, and thus y will appear to contain $i+1$ arbitrary quantities. This cannot be. But the equation $y=X + (t-\theta)Y +$, &c. - - - (2) will give the constant arbitrary quantities c, c' , &c. in functions of θ . It necessarily follows, therefore, because there cannot be $i+1$ arbitrary quantities, that if these functions of θ be substituted in the equation, θ must disappear, and the equation resulting coincide with equation 1. From this consideration Laplace deduces from equation 2.

$$y=X + (t-\theta)\left(\frac{dX}{d\theta}\right) + \frac{(t-\theta)^2}{1.2}\left(\frac{d^2X}{d\theta^2}\right) +, \text{ \&c.} \quad - \quad (3)$$

X in equation (1) is a function of t and c, c' , &c. and therefore in equation (2) must be a function of t and of the modified values of c, c' , &c. but these latter are functions of θ . Hence X in equation (3) is a function of t and θ . Consequently if in this equation we make $\theta=t$ we shall have $y=X$ a periodic function of t . To do this it is necessary to deduce X in terms of t and θ , and this will be done if we determine c, c' , &c. in functions of θ ; after which it is only necessary to substitute t for θ . The values of c, c' as they exist in X, Y , &c. of equation (1) furnish the means of obtaining the new values functions of θ . We must refer to Laplace for the remainder of the process, which in itself furnishes great facilities for obtaining the new values of c, c' , &c.

On a first view it might be imagined that, abstracting from these secular inequalities, the other perturbations of all the planets would be obtained by a comparatively simple process. But in the case of Jupiter and Saturn attracting each other, a new difficulty occurs, not arising from the magnitude of these bodies when compared with the other planets in the system, but from a circumstance which appears, as far as we know, accidental; and which is occasioned by the proportion that exists between the mean distances of Jupiter and Saturn from the sun. We call this an accidental circumstance, by which probably we only acknowledge our own ignorance. It is not likely that the relations between

tween the respective distances of the planets from the sun should come under this description.

Mr. Woodhouse has devoted a chapter to the consideration of the great equations of Jupiter and Saturn.

‘It would seem then (he says) that the solution of the *problem of the three bodies*, for Venus, the earth and sun, would be virtually and in substance, the just solution, when Jupiter, Saturn, and the Sun should be the three bodies.

‘But here, as frequently in intricate investigations, it happens that general views and analogies are altogether fallacious. The theory of the perturbations of Jupiter and Saturn contains very distinct peculiarities. It differs, in certain respects, not only from that of the perturbations of Venus and the earth, but from every other planetary theory. The only points of resemblance to it are to be found in the system of Jupiter’s satellites.’

Even before the publication of the ‘*Principia*’ it was discovered by Flamsteed that Saturn’s motion was retarded and Jupiter’s accelerated, by comparing their actual places with those deduced from the tables founded on the observations of Tycho Brahe. Nothing similar was observed with respect to the rest of the planets.

‘The retardation of Saturn’s mean motion, and the acceleration of Jupiter’s were first noted by Flamsteed, who in 1682 observed a conjunction of these planets. Halley, the contemporary of Newton, found also the tables of Jupiter and Saturn to be incorrect. But the great founder of physical astronomy, whether he considered the anomalous phenomenon of Saturn’s retardation as not sufficiently ascertained, or whether he wanted leisure for the research, has nowhere adverted to that phenomenon. He certainly did not view it as forming an exception to his system; for in speaking of the perturbations of the planets, he merely says that the action of Jupiter is a thing not entirely to be passed over, “*actio quidem Jovis in Saturnum non omnino contemnenda est.*” On the subject of these two planets he does not notice that peculiarity of their theory, which for a time seemed to form an exception to his system, but which afterwards became one of its strongest confirmations.

‘But the mathematicians who succeeded Newton and followed his system, were greatly embarrassed with the retardation of Saturn’s mean motion. As a fact of observation it was anomalous; and theory, so far from exhibiting it as a result of calculation, gave a result directly opposite. For, in the year 1774, Lagrange, by means of a remarkable theorem, proved the invariability of the mean distances of the planets. If the mean distances remained the same, or were subject (as is the case) to periodical inequalities, the mean motions, if Newton’s theory were true, must be so also. They could admit neither of *secular* retardation nor acceleration.

‘The academy of sciences of Paris proposed as the subject of their prize for the year 1748, the theory of Jupiter and Saturn. This produced

duced two fruitless, although in other respects excellent, disquisitions from Euler and Lagrange, which obtained the prize, but left the difficulty as they found it. The subsequent investigations of Laplace had better success.'

There appears a slight inaccuracy here—Lagrange's Memoir might indeed be occasioned by the subject having been proposed by the academy: but it could not have been written much before 1766, when it was published in the 3d Vol. of the Turin Memoirs.

It may seem rather singular that the non-existence of secular equations should have been proved, before the existence of periodical equations sufficient for solving the difficulty were discovered. The expression for the value of δv (variation of the longitude) consisted of terms of the form $P \sin. (i'n' - in + a)$. Now the convergency of these terms depends on the value of P ; when P is very small, such terms are rejected. P depends partly on the powers and products of the eccentricities and inclinations of the orbits. The first cultivators of this science imagined that they might neglect the terms involving the squares and cubes of these quantities. 'Nous pouvons (says Euler in an ineffectual essay to explain the irregularities of Jupiter and Saturn) hardiment négliger les termes qui renferment le quarré et les plus hautes puissances de l'eccentricité. They are the very terms, however, as we shall soon see, that require, in the theory of Jupiter and Saturn, particular consideration.'

How inconclusive this reasoning of Euler must be, will easily appear, if we consider the other quantities involved in P . Now P has a denominator $= (i'n' - in)^2$. There is no immediate connection between the eccentricities and inclinations and this quantity, it is evident therefore that it *may* be so small as to counteract the smallness of the squares and cubes of the eccentricities, and therefore P may be of a magnitude not to be neglected. When P has a factor, products of three dimensions of the eccentricities and inclinations, then $i' = 5$ and $i = 2$. We are therefore to consider the value of $(5n' - 2n)^2$, now n' representing the mean motion of Saturn and n that of Jupiter, these are nearly in the proportion of 2 to 5, consequently $(5n' - 2n)^2$ is a very small quantity, which on examination will be found to counteract the smallness of $e^1 e^2 e^3 e^4$, $e^1 e^3 e^4$ and $e^1 e^2 e^3$ and make P of a magnitude not to be neglected.

It seems almost impossible but that this must have early occurred, and the only explanation that can be given why it was not sooner attended to, seems to be, that the labour of computation was too great to allow of its being undertaken till the non-existence of secular equations was satisfactorily proved. The effect observed

served might have been partly from this cause and partly from a secular equation. The appearance of the latter, however, was occasioned only by the great length of the period in which *in't*—*int* becomes equal to 360° . In one year $5n' - 2n$ does not amount to quite $25'$ and thus the period exceeds 900 years.

Mr. Woodhouse has computed, with much detail and great perspicuity, the *principal* part of the *great inequalities* of Jupiter depending on the products of three dimensions of the eccentricities. This is all that could be expected according to the limits which he had prescribed to himself. The parts depending on the products of three dimensions of the eccentricities and inclinations jointly, on the square of the perturbing force, (almost the only case with respect to the planets, in which it is necessary to consider it,) and on the products of five dimensions of the eccentricities and inclinations, have been given by Laplace. The computation of the last, '*pénible par son excessive longueur*,' was achieved by Burckhardt, to whom we owe the best tables of the moon.

'The solution of the problem of three bodies, it is sometimes stated in the sweeping clauses of indolent generalisers, comprehends every case of lunar and planetary disturbances. How delusive such a statement is, may be understood from the preceding pages. The methods of solutions used in the lunar theory will not apply, without considerable modification, to the planetary; which modifications amount in some instances to the invention of new methods. Again, the methods which apply to some of the planets will not apply to all: if we use the same formulæ, to the same extent, for Jupiter and Saturn, which are sufficient for Mars and Jupiter, we shall be sure of being wrong; or rather there will be produced results so anomalous as to make Newton's theory appear inadequate to the explanation of all the planetary phenomena. In fact, the *natural* complication, if we may so express ourselves, of the subject is such, that we cannot safely predict what cases are strictly similar. Each requires a separate examination, during which new methods are continually suggesting themselves. Analysis has been furnished, with some of its excellent formulæ, from the difference found to exist between the lunar and planetary theories. Although, therefore, we have gone through the lunar and planetary theories, we are not warranted, by the experience of what has preceded, in supposing that the methods there used will strictly apply to the system of Jupiter and his satellites, or to that of Saturn and his.'

This leads Mr. Woodhouse to the consideration of the theory of the satellites of Jupiter, which he has comprised in a short chapter. He has however given what is sufficient to enable us to form an adequate notion of the manner in which this subject has been treated by Laplace, to whom we owe the first tables of the satellites freed from empirical equations.

The 21st and 22d chapters we consider as the most interesting
 in

in the volume. The former contains the investigation of the periodical and secular variations of the elements of the orbits considered as elliptical. Mr. Woodhouse, from his plan, makes no particular use of the formulæ he deduces with respect to the periodical variations, as they may be considered as already comprised in the method explained in the eighteenth chapter. Laplace indeed, in the eighth chapter of the second book, to which these of Mr. Woodhouse may be considered as corresponding, deduces some interesting conclusions relative to these periodical variations; but, in other respects, Mr. Woodhouse is here far preferable to Laplace. The difference between these variations as they stand in the *Mécanique Céleste*, and in Mr. Woodhouse, is remarkable. In the former work, the variations of some of the elliptic elements are given by help of partial differential coefficients of a function (R) of the co-ordinates, taken with respect to the co-ordinates themselves, and multiplied by functions of those co-ordinates. In that of Mr. Woodhouse *all* the variations are given by partial differential co-efficients of the same function (R), but taken with respect to the elements themselves, and multiplied by functions of those elements.

Mr. Woodhouse has availed himself of the latest improvements in this science, Lagrange discovered a method of investigation by which all the variations of the elliptic elements so expressed may be deduced, and communicated it to the French Institution in 1808; and we believe, on the same day, M. Laplace made a communication of another method, by which he had arrived at the same expressions somewhat more simply. This he has published in a supplement to the *Mécanique Céleste*. Mr. Woodhouse appears to have been very successful in the composition of these two chapters. In page 404 he has collected the different formulæ which he has deduced, and which we strongly recommend to the attention of the reader, as well as the formula in page 416, containing the constant part of R , on which the secular variations chiefly depend.

After shewing the numerical values of some of the secular variations, Mr. Woodhouse refers to the variation of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit, and shews its effect in producing the accelerations of the moon's mean motion. The explanations of the phenomena of the apparent alterations of the moon's mean motions, and of those of Jupiter and Saturn, are entirely due to Laplace, and are in themselves sufficient to preserve his well merited fame to the latest posterity. The cause of the variation of the mean motions of Jupiter and Saturn might easily have been conjectured, but the labour and skill required to verify that conjecture were great indeed. On the contrary, to conjecture the cause of the variation of the motion of the moon required great penetration, but when conjectured

was easily verified. The moon's mean motion, as modified by the action of the sun, contains a term depending on the square of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit; consequently a variation of the latter must occasion an alteration in the former. The eccentricity of the earth's orbit therefore being subject to a secular variation, the moon's mean motion must be subject to one. But when we consider the minuteness of the effect of the eccentricity itself in modifying the mean motion of the moon, it would seem, at first, very unlikely that a trifling variation of it could produce any sensible effect. The effect of the eccentricity of the earth's orbit on the mean motion of the moon, we believe, does not much exceed the four hundred thousandth part of the whole motion. How small then must be the effect of the minute changes that this eccentricity undergoes!

After computing the effect on the moon's mean motion, and shewing its conformity to observation, Mr. Woodhouse remarks—

'There is in this explanation of the phenomenon of the moon's acceleration a strong proof of the truth of the law of gravity; and the proof is of the refined kind: for the perturbations of the planets are not communicated immediately to the moon, but transmitted by means of the earth. The *acceleration* is, as it has been called, a reflected effect. The reflected effect, we may also further remark, is greater than the direct: in 2000 years the diminution of the eccentricity would not exceed $3' 7''$: whereas in the same period the moon's mean motion would be increased nearly by $1^{\circ} 11'$.

Laplace having discovered the source of the apparent acceleration in the mean motion of the moon, immediately saw that secular equations of the perigee and nodes also existed; and these have been confirmed by a comparison of the ancient and modern observations. Perhaps the commencement of chapter 21 might be a little simplified by considering the matter somewhat as follows. Supposing the planet moving in the ecliptic, the equations of the co-ordinates r (dist.) and v (the longitude) are

$$r^2 dv + 2dr dv + \frac{1}{r} \cdot \frac{dR}{dv} dt^2 = 0$$

$$d^2r - r dv^2 + \left(\frac{\mu}{r^2} + \frac{dR}{dr} \right) dt^2 = 0$$

where dR is introduced by the disturbing force. When the disturbing force is absent, these equations are integrated by multiplying the first by $\frac{rdv}{dt^2}$ and the second by $\frac{dr}{dt^2}$, and adding the results, from which a complete differential is obtained, so that in the present case we have

$$\frac{r^2 dv^2 + dr^2}{2dt^2} - \frac{\mu}{r} + \frac{\mu}{2a} + \int \left(dv \frac{dR}{dv} + dr \frac{dR}{dr} \right) = 0$$

where a is the semi-axis major of the ellipse, when the disturbing force

force does not act. Now it is evident, if the part of this equation under the sign f be equal to the differential of the remainder of the first part, taken supposing a variable, we shall have

$$\frac{r^2 dv^2 + dr^2}{2dt^2} - \frac{\mu}{r} + \frac{\mu}{2a} = 0, \text{ in which } a \text{ is variable as well } v \text{ and } r. \text{ And}$$

to determine da we have $-\frac{\mu}{2} \frac{da}{a^2} = \frac{dR}{dv} dv + \frac{dR}{dr} dr = dR$, as R is a function of r and v . Hence $da = -\frac{2a^2 dR}{\mu}$.

This is the celebrated formula by which it is proved that, regarding only the first power of the disturbing force, the greater axes of the orbits of the planets are subject to no secular variations. dR contains only periodical terms. The invariability of the greater axes of the planetary orbits is one of the most interesting results that has been obtained in this science. As far as regards the first power of the disturbing force the proof is sufficiently easy. When we consider the second power, the process becomes very difficult, but it has been executed with great ability by M. Poisson.* Who will prove it generally?

That the eccentricities of the orbits are also only subject to variations included within narrow limits, is another conclusion that has been deduced. This is conceived to follow from an equation first discovered, we believe, by Laplace. This equation, given by Mr. Woodhouse, p. 460, is $m\sqrt{a}e^2 + m'\sqrt{a'}e'^2 + m''\sqrt{a''}e''^2 + \&c. = K$, in which K is a constant quantity, and very small on account of the magnitude of $e, e', e'', \&c.$, and it is thence inferred that all the values of $e, e', \&c.$ must always continue very small. But it is obvious that such reasoning cannot apply if one of the bodies, m' , be much smaller than another m'' , because it may require a great change in e' to compensate for a small change in e'' . This escaped the notice of several writers on physical astronomy. Lagrange first appears to have remarked it, and it has been recently noticed by Mr. Bowditch, in the fourth volume of the American Transactions.

Lagrange states the objection very clearly :

‘ Il suit de là que si les excentricités des orbites qui appartiennent à des masses très grandes sont une fois très-petites, elles le seront toujours, ce qui est le cas de Jupiter et Saturne ; mais celles qui appartiennent à des masses fort petites pourront croître jusqu’à l’unité et au-delà, et on ne pourra déterminer leurs véritables limites que par l’intégration des équations différentielles, comme on le verra ci-après.’—*Méc. Analytique*, tom. ii. p. 147.†

* Journal de l’Ecole Polytech. tom. viii.

† This great man only lived to complete a few more pages of his valuable work.

If the solution of the problem of the three bodies be not yet complete in all its parts, if we cannot by approximations shew the places of the bodies of our system during an indefinite period, we can do that which, if it be well considered, must place this science among the first that do honour to the industry and ingenuity of man—we can calculate the motions and predict with unerring certainty the relative positions of these vast bodies for thousands of years to come—by applying the laws of matter and motion to the result of modern observation. These laws we collect from a few simple phenomena principally terrestrial. With respect to the astronomical tables as belonging to the present age, nothing can be conceived more accurate than the results deduced from the most intricate calculations:—even the tables of the new planets have already arrived at a great degree of exactness. We may instance those for the planet Vesta. The perturbations of this planet by Jupiter, Saturn and Mars have been computed by M. Daussy: the perturbations by the earth are too small to require notice. Those by Mars only become sensible from the relation of the mean distances of Mars and Vesta; as the relation of the distances of Jupiter and Saturn produced the great equations of these planets. The results of the great labour of M. Daussy were published in 1814. Thirty different equations or corrections arising from the perturbations are required for deducing the longitude of the planet, some of them amounting to several minutes; yet such is their exactness, that in May, 1818, as we happen to know, the computed differed from the observed place by less than one minute.

It is unnecessary to add any thing further to shew the estimation in which we hold Mr. Woodhouse's work. We hope that the student will not be deterred from entering on it by a notion that the books which he has been accustomed to read, at Oxford or Cambridge, are not sufficient to enable him to become, readily, master of its contents; and that those who have not had the advantage of an university education will not suppose for a moment that the elementary treatises on mechanics, and fluxions, in English, are not fully competent to assist them in understanding this volume.

To the university student we would certainly recommend that he should defer the study of Mr. Woodhouse's book till he has made himself acquainted with the 'Principia' of Newton; if this be too much, he may, if he please, enter on it after he has mastered the doctrine of motion as given in Wood's Principles of Mechanics, and with whatever knowledge of fluxions he may have obtained from Vince's or Dealtry's treatises. He may, perhaps, suppose that it is required he should know the method of *partial differences* and the *calculus of variations*. We intreat him not to be

be frightened at mere sounds. Let him examine for himself. He will find that in the application of these branches of mathematics in Mr. Woodhouse's book, he will have little more to do than to understand a simple notation. With regard to the calculus of variations, he will easily comprehend that if V be a function of a, b, e, x, y, z, dx, dy , &c., and that any circumstances should make it necessary to find the fluxions of V arising from a and y having varied, it is convenient, in order to distinguish the new from the former fluxions, to denote them by $\delta a, \delta y$; and if, in consequence of the variations of these quantities, e, x , and dx should also have changed, that their new differentials are to be expressed by $\delta e, \delta x, \delta dx$. The rules of the fluxional calculus obtain in finding the fluxions of V ; also $\delta dx = d\delta x$, which is easily proved. This contains almost all of the calculus of variations that is applied to physical astronomy.

The notation of partial differences, all that is used by Mr. Woodhouse, is so easy that it almost explains itself. He refers, (but the reference is almost unnecessary,) for the explanation of the term 'partial differential co-efficient,' to his *Principles of Analytical Calculation*, published in 1803. The integration of equations to partial differences is indeed a difficult subject; but the knowledge of this is scarcely required even for reading the *Mécanique Céleste*. The integration of only two or three (we believe) equations of partial differences occur in that work; from none of which the student will find any difficulty in his progress.

In giving this volume to the public, Mr. Woodhouse has preferred a new claim, we think, and that no small one, to the gratitude of his country. We owe him much for his former works, and we trust that the estimation in which the present must be held will insure the production of another volume on those subjects which he has led us to hope will 'furnish matter for further speculations.'

ART. VII.—*Eastern Sketches, in Verse.* By Henry Gally Knight, Esq. Second Edition. 1819. London. pp. 207.

MR. Gally Knight is a traveller as well as a poet; and seeking to combine utility with pleasure, he has employed his poetry as a vehicle for imparting to his readers whatever is most striking in the customs and manners of the countries which he has visited. His 'stories,' he says, 'are not merely fables; they are intended to be portraits faithfully representing the features of the respective countries in which the scene of each is laid.'

This plan, though perhaps attended with an increase of difficulty to the writer, is productive, we think, of considerable advantage to the reader. The accuracy of an observant traveller, and the

the ardent imagination of the bard, are qualities of so distinct a nature, that, in general, the absence of the one is almost a proof that the other will not be found wanting. The reader, therefore, who is disappointed in the poetry, may throw himself boldly on the instruction which it is intended to convey; and with a fair chance of being entertained as well as informed, he, or his author, must be singularly unfortunate if neither should take effect in the course of their acquaintance.

Mr. Knight appears to us to have attained considerable success in both departments. The general tone of his poetry, and more especially the succinct and picturesque notices collected in the preface, (which is drawn up with singular neatness and elegance,) bear testimony to his merits as an observer of national manners; and, if we are not mistaken, he performed his travels at an age when discrimination and judgment could have derived but little assistance from experience. His Muse also, though not of that daring description which penetrates to the sources of our feelings, and rouses and hurries along our imagination at the very moment when most repudiated by our taste, has many attractions of the milder and more amiable kind. Her song gives no indications of a spirit disturbed by moody passions, or scarred and scathed by painful recollections, which take their gloomy tinge rather from conscience than from misfortune. When she deals with vice or suffering, with the wicked or the unhappy, the distressing images naturally raised by such pictures are pleasingly softened by the glimpses of a gentle and benevolent turn of mind, which, like the moon-beams in Abdallah's bower, (p. 3.) continually steal through the darker colouring, and produce an agreeable effect of contrast.

The countries in which Mr. Knight has, respectively, laid the scenes of his 'manners-painting' fables, are Syria, Greece and Arabia, all of which, as he justly remarks, are abundantly stored with objects that speak to the imagination, and are calculated to make up by their poetical fertility for that inherent liberty which the Muse, in confining herself to certain localities, has for a season voluntarily surrendered. 'The Muse,' says our author, 'is, perhaps, never so much at her ease as when she sports in the regions of pure fancy; but in touching upon the countries of the east, truth and poetry may still be united.' There is indeed a strength of genius capable of extracting honey from every weed—a power, of which the potent distillations effected by Mr. Crabbe's minute and searching pen may be adduced as lively examples. But it is true, at the same time, that there is a line of beauty for the imagination no less than for the eye, and that class of common undistinguishable objects, which lie confounded in the same plane, and do not
stand

stand forward, as it were, to the senses, are no less unaccommodating in poetry than the straight, the formal, and the angular in painting or sculpture. The bard who 'sits and thinks with his Muse' on the banks of a Dutch canal must import his whole stock of imagery, and conceal the native poverty of the spot with exotic foliage; but to name Syria or Greece is to awaken the choicest and most agreeable ideas that nature, whether living or inanimate, is capable of suggesting.

The opening of 'Ilderim,' the first tale in the series, affords a favourable specimen of Mr. Knight's poetical powers. He is describing the luxurious garden of Abdallah, a Syrian chief, residing at Balbec, the scene of his guilty, and as yet triumphant usurpation.

————— ' There eastern art display'd
 All that enchants beneath the burning sky;
 All that belongs to coolness or to shade;
 Gay, brilliant hues, or such as soothe the eye
 Dazzled with light; rich odours that supply
 The balmy spoil which wandering zephyrs bear;
 Sounds that refresh with cooling melody:
 Yet, matchless Nature, in that scene so fair,
 Thine were the choicest gifts, though Art combin'd them there.
 ' The branching walnut, prodigal of green,
 The feather'd palm, the cypress dark and old,
 Tower'd there on high; with myrtle woods between
 Or bowers of citron, that at once unfold
 Their flowers of silver, and their fruits of gold;
 Aloft its giant leaf Banana spread,
 Waving in air, like Mecca's flag unroll'd,
 Or purple clusters woo'd from overhead,
 Or yellow cassia bloom'd, and spicy fragrance shed.'

We have not room (nor indeed is it necessary) to give the details of the story, in which there is not much of novelty; but we will present our readers with another extract from it of considerable force and beauty. We have marked one or two careless expressions which might easily have been avoided. The passage is towards the close of the poem, where the ladies of Abdallah's seraglio, on the point of being murdered in pursuance of a precautionary order given by the tyrant to his Moorish slaves before the engagement in which he lost his life, are unexpectedly rescued by the hero (Ilderim) and his followers, who suddenly burst into the Harem by a secret way.

' Their chieftain held the torch; long aisles of gloom,
 Cautious, yet swift, they pierced; where reign'd around
 The silence and the chillness of the tomb—
 The cavern ends—but spiral steps they found,

That, flank'd by massive walls, ascending wound:
 "Are ye prepared?"—"The destin'd scene is near."
 Nor long ere, from above, a *distant* sound
 Confirm'd his words—with shrinking hearts they hear
 Faint cries of *distant* woe, and shrieks of female fear.

"On,—or too late,"—from hapless Azza's bower
 Arose the piercing clamour of distress—
 Assembled there, but in no festive hour,
 Throng'd all the harem's pride and loveliness—
 Victims forewarn'd, that round their mistress press:
 Calm in despair the sister maids were seen,
 Doom'd like the others, *but bewilder'd less*—
 In prayer they knelt—with pale but constant mien,
 Majestic in their woe, and in their fears serene.

'The doors are *burst*—the dark assassin train,
 Who scarcely gave the promis'd time for prayer,
 Advanced to strike!—An instant—and in vain
 The near assistance that the victors bear.
 Round the first victim's wildly-streaming hair
 That *savage* hand its dusky grasp has twin'd:
 The lifted steel—oh! moment of despair—
 When, *bursting* through the yawning wall behind,
 Rush'd in with furious shout, the aid by heav'n assign'd.

'Amazement, panic, stay'd the lifted steel;
 Short time had those to work their lord's command,
 Who now themselves the stroke of carnage feel,
 Subdued, or ere they fought—the saviour band
 Let loose the furies of each armed hand,
 Hew'd those who fled, and slaughter'd those who stood.
 Remorseless rag'd the just, unsparing brand—
 Death had his feast—but tasted other food
 Than stern Abdallagh meant, and drank of other blood.'

The name of Ali, the celebrated Pasha of Albania, introduced into the Grecian poem entitled '*Phrosyne*,' at once announces it to be founded on fact, and gives it a particular claim to our interest at a period when the crimes and intrigues of that ambitious chieftain '*less than a king, yet greater*,' have come under public notice.

The story of the unfortunate *Phrosyne*,—whose name, be it remarked *en passant*, is not to be pronounced as if it were a fraction of the good old Greek appellation *Euphrosyne*, but with its penultima long,—may be told in few words.

'Thron'd on a height above th' Albanian lands,
 The Grecian city, Callirete stands:—
 Parent of hardy sons! who long withstood
 The rushing progress of the Othman flood;

And

And still protected by their rocks, retain
Blessings unknown to Grecians of the plain.'—p. 72.

In this mountain-city, of apparent, though, as it proved in the sequel, of unreal security, flourished, in the virgin freshness of youth and innocence and beauty, the heroine of the tale. Demo, her betrothed lover, prepares, according to the annual custom of the Calliretians, for a distant voyage, which is to last through the summer; and on the eve of his departure, while Phrosyne, also according to custom, is engaged 'with the maidens that be her fellows' in a dance meant to give a semblance of festivity to what is in fact a melancholy moment, the Pasha suddenly makes his appearance at the head of an army which he is leading home on the close of a bloody and successful expedition. He is thus described:

'Ali with gracious mien, and specious art,
That feign'd a virtue foreign to the heart,
Smil'd on the crowd—for well he knew to win
With angel looks, and hide the fiend within.—
His snowy beard beneath his bosom fell,
And prov'd the years his port dissembled well;
His eye shed mercy—and his tranquil air
Diffus'd around the peace he seem'd to share.
But all was false—for all conceal'd within
A heart by passion torn, and clogg'd with sin,—
Relentless cruelty, and fitful rage,
And savage lust amidst the frost of age.'—p. 85.

The Pasha courteously commands the dance, which had been broken off on his approach, to be resumed, and Phrosyne, somewhat, perhaps, too willingly for a young lady in her delicate situation, takes part in it with the success that might be expected.

'A wild rebellion throbs in Ali's breast,
With pain conceal'd, and by no curb repress:
Love is not his—to so accurst a flame
'Twere impious e'er to give so fair a name;
His the fierce rush of passion's lawless tide:
With such a love the tyger woos his bride.'—p. 91.

The 'Lord of Albania' is not a man to fall in love to no purpose. He inquires with an air of careless indifference into Phrosyne's circumstances, treasures the reply, as matter for a future plot, in his memory, expresses a warm and benevolent interest in the happiness of the young bride, and leaves the assembly much moved, and marvelling at so unwonted a display of kind and generous feelings.

Demo now sets out on his voyage, and Phrosyne is left to while away the hours in doubtful surmises and tender anticipations till

till his return; and the town, bereft for a time of nearly all its male population, assumes a most dismal appearance. Time, however, runs on, and the season of hope is rapidly advancing, when early one morning Phrosyne and her mother are alarmed by a violent knocking at the gate. It turns out to be a band of Albanians with a message from the Pasha, the purport of which is to demand Phrosyne for the tyrant's harem. The consternation within may be easily conceived. The frantic parent pours forth in vain all the passionate eloquence of grief for the protection of her ill-starred daughter. Even gold ceases to be a temptation when offered on the side of virtue.

'Speed thee to Ali! tell him all we own,
The fruit of years, shall fall before his throne.
Return'd, Phrosyne's sire shall haste to pour
His gain at Ali's feet—a golden store.
This town, (for well I know, to save the maid,
All Callirete's race will lend their aid)
This town its little wealth shall freely drain,
And bring a ransom kings might not disdain,
All shall be his—such gifts have oft inclin'd
Our Turkish Lords to ponder and be kind:
Oh! tell him this—and haply will he spare
An only child, and earn a mother's prayer.'—p. 110.

The grant of a single hour, and only a single hour, is at length extorted from the brutal soldiery, for the silent mingling of hearts and tears preparatory to the most cruel of separations. This is almost exhausted, and the Albanians are clamorous for their prey, when despair suggests the only remaining way of escape: the trembling and broken-hearted maid herself prefers death from the hands of her surrounding companions and kindred, to the love of Ali, and the debasing pleasures of his harem. This dreadful sacrifice being completed with more than Spartan determination, the soldiers are informed that the damsel is on the point of joining them; the doors are thrown open; the lifeless body, concealed beneath a veil, is borne forward slowly in procession;—

—nor tear nor sigh
Disturb'd the still and stern solemnity;
The pride of conquest there with grief unites,
And blends a triumph with funereal rites;
Severe each look, and fortified each face—
Mourners,—but mourners of a Spartan race!

The pale but lovely burthen is finally deposited at the feet of Ali's banditti—the veil is withdrawn, and Helen, the fond and faithful friend of poor Phrosyne, closes the poem with these bitter words:

—'Now,

————— ‘ Now, servants of a tyrant’s word,
 Now bear Phrosyne to Albania’s lord;
 And tell Albania’s lord, that thus alone
 The Calliretian maids approach his throne !’

‘ Alashtar,’ the Arabian tale, stands next in succession, and favourably as we feel towards its precursors, we are disposed to give it a decided preference over them, both in point of plan and of composition. The story turns on the passion of revenge, the indulgence of which is not, as in modern European cases, the result of a strong and malignant hatred working in a sullen bosom, and ever haunted by a consciousness of guilt, but springs from a generous, though passionate and savage determination to discharge what is deemed a sacred duty at every personal risk, and accompanied with a morbid and self-accusing impatience of every thing which delays the moment of execution. In the notes to this poem, Mr. Knight relates a curious instance of the sense which the Arabs entertain of their duties on this head. ‘ During our journey in the desert (he says) we were one day waiting under the shade of a rock, till the remainder of our party came up. When they arrived, we observed emotion and disorder in their countenances. We inquired the cause, and, after some hesitation, the Arabs expressed a hope that we should not think the worse of them for not having killed a servant of ours, who, it appeared, had given one of them a blow. The Arab, whom he had struck, had been riding behind him on the same camel, and amusing himself with causing it to play tricks, to the discomfort of the European.’

Upon the principal personage, whose name gives a title to the poem, devolves, according to Arab practice, the bloody office of ‘doing to death’ Mohareb, the chief of a neighbouring tribe, who some time before had slain Alashtar’s brother. The scene is entirely confined to the desert, and the fond partiality with which the houseless Arab clings to his sandy and sultry home is happily described in the following lines, which, though in fact little more than an expansion of the same beautiful idea in Goldsmith’s *Traveller*, as applied to the ‘Swiss,’ derive from their Arab dress a pleasing air of freshness and originality.

‘ Children of Ishmael ! a rugged home
 By fate is yours ; but let the favour’d race,
 Through fertile meads and water’d groves who roam,
 Or flowery paths in groves of verdure trace,
 Declare if happiness depends on place.
 Can crystal rills or waving woods supply
 Sweet solace to the wretched, or the base?
 Alas ! bright scenes are lost on sorrow’s eye,
 Careless of verdant shades, and streams that murmur by.

As bounteously the dews of bliss descend
 On the lone Desert as on Tempe's vale;
 True joys are of the soul—on mind depend,
 Nor influence own of scene or veering gale.
 The sons of Greece tell sorrow's bitter tale
 Beside the rill, beneath the spreading tree;
 In citron groves the Grecian maids bewail;
 While speeds o'er sands the Arab blest and free,
 And loves his native home—the home of Liberty.'

Alashtar is described in some stanzas of considerable strength and harmony; but we are better pleased with Zora, the hero's sister, a most amiable character, who is judiciously introduced to supply the place of an enamoured heroine, which modern practice has rendered almost indispensable in all tales, whether prose or verse, English or Arabian:

'She, like Alashtar, mourn'd a brother slain,
 But Zora bade her sorrows seem to sleep;
 And, bent alone to sooth Alashtar's pain,
 Smil'd in his presence, and withdrew to weep;
 And, when she saw the cloud of passion sweep
 Dark o'er his changeful brow, when rankling hate
 Drove to his heart the goading arrow deep,
 Fix'd at his side would Zora fondly wait,
 And press his burning cheek, and bid the storm abate!
 Or when, in milder sorrow's thoughtful gloom,
 Alashtar sate, absorb'd in waking dream;
 Then Zora, bending o'er her Arab loom,
 Or spreading fruits to catch the sunny beam,
 Alone on maiden's task intent would seem;
 The while her eye would dart its cheerful ray;
 Her voice would fall like ear-refreshing stream;
 Artful, but innocent, her looks that play,
 And from himself at length the mourner steal away.'—p. 160.

The chance arrival of the wounded Mohareb in Alashtar's tent, —an incident which may be considered as far from improbable among the wandering tribes of the desert,—affords a good opportunity of displaying the characteristic virtues of the Arab. It will of course be anticipated that so deadly a feud, as that between Alashtar and Mohareb, cannot be extinguished but by a mortal meeting between the rival chiefs. They meet, in fact, towards the close of the third canto, in single combat, and fight with a proper degree of wrath and obstinacy. We ought, perhaps, to call Mr. Knight to account for the somewhat equivocal circumstance of his combatants being lost for a time in the dust raised by their own struggle; but such is our gratitude to him for having dispersed the cloud previous to the catastrophe, and refrained from

from dissolving his hero in aqua-fortis, or stowing him away in a quicksand, that we are inclined to allow all due consideration to (what our great lexicographer calls) the 'sabulous nature' of the scene.

But while we deal thus gently with our author in one particular point; and confer upon him that portion of commendation which we think he has fairly merited, we must not conceal our observation of some defects, to which we attach the more importance as they tend to affect the general tone of his composition, and may, perhaps, be less willingly tolerated, as they appear most capable of correction in that modest unassuming style of poetry which he has chosen to adopt. We think, for instance, that Mr. Knight is sometimes too easily contented with the first expression that comes to hand; as well as too prone to take up metaphorical forms of speech, which though hacknied and worn down by frequent use, are, originally, of too strong a cast to admit of being employed on light occasions. The Muse would be too much indulged, if, with a free range over the whole region of metaphors, she were not compelled, as the condition of that liberty, to employ them with the most scrupulous propriety.

Mr. Knight must also pardon us if we suspect him of giving way occasionally to a little secret weakness in favour of prettinesses, such as '*in the east display'd, shone warning blushes*'—'*kind as morning's tear*,'—to say nothing of a '*dread illumination*' to be mistaken, by inattentive observers, for '*an extension of the starry sphere*.' The frequent inversion of the verb and substantive may be traced, we suspect, to the same cause.

We could wish that Mr. Knight had been as attentive in marking the shades of difference between individuals of the same moral class, as he has been careful to seize the less delicate distinctions of national peculiarity. Abdallah and Ilderim, Azza and Elmyra, Mohareb and Alashtar, when considered with respect to each other, have, in our opinion, too many qualities in common to allow of standing out respectively with that degree of boldness which is necessary for the arresting and enchainning of the attention. It may be objected that in less refined stages of society, although the simple passions and dispositions may be more strongly pronounced, and the difference, for example, between the brave and the timid, the impetuous and the gentle, more striking, yet nicer varieties of character calculated to distinguish different individuals of the same general class are hardly to be found. In fact, wherever the modes of life are simple, and the prevailing ideas less intricate, the human character is at one and the same time both less controuled and less modified, and consequently, more prominent in its grand divisions, and less various in the
smaller

smaller ones. Our author is welcome to the full advantage of this metaphysical defence; but we shall nevertheless continue to regret the want observable in several parts of his volume, of that particular sort of sustained discrimination, which we have just pointed out, as we are convinced that it involves one of the principal means of exciting pathetic feelings, and attaching interest to fictitious circumstances.

ART. VIII.—*Political Essays, with Sketches of Public Characters*. By William Hazlitt. London. 8vo. pp. 439.

THIS writer ‘cloys with a sameness.’ He might have owned of, nearly, all his volume what he owns of one leaf; that ‘it is strange, but not new; and that he has said it all before.’—It is seldom, however, that something may not be learned by observing the insects of the moral world as well as those of the animal kingdom, and it is fortunate that they are tempted to exhibit themselves. It would be worth any money to our farmers if the turnip fly would shew itself before it settled on the plant; or to the inhabitants of either India, if the white ants would make their attacks without covered ways. Happily our author has no relation to either of those families; the *sphinx atropos*, or death’s head hawk-moth, a less powerful creature, bears some resemblance to him. Its favourite object is, always, the plunder of a hive, and its sole safeguards in accomplishing its purpose are its startling appearance and disagreeable noise. This process of attack is evidently imitated in the alarming account which the author gives of the properties of the *genus* to which it is his boast to belong.

‘To be a true Jacobin a man must be a good hater; but this is the most difficult and the least amiable of all the virtues; the most trying and the most thankless of all tasks. The love of liberty consists in the hatred of tyrants. The true Jacobin hates the enemies of liberty as they hate liberty, with all his strength and with all his might, and with all his heart and with all his soul. His memory is as long and his will as strong as theirs, though his hands are shorter; he never forgets or forgives an injury done to the people, for tyrants never forget or forgive one done to themselves. There is no love lost between them. He does not leave them the sole benefit of their old motto, *odia in longum jaciens quæ reconderet auctaque promeret*. He makes neither peace nor truce with them. His hatred of wrong only ceases with the wrong. The sense of it, and the barefaced assumption of the right to inflict it, deprives him of his rest. It stagnates in his blood—it loads his heart with aspics tongues deadly to venal pens. It settles on his brain—it puts him beside himself.’—p. 167.

This display seems to us to be sufficiently hideous to drive from him even the kindred swarms that, like himself, are on the wing

wing for mischief. If indeed there was any bond of union amongst these bad things they would threaten us with serious calamities; but a wise providence limits them to paltry mischief, by introducing amongst them a confusion of evil purposes. This is felt, and bitterly felt, by Mr. Hazlitt. Franklin said that he met persons in the world whom he conceived to be already placed in a state of damnation.* Dante mingled with the infernal crew the spirits of some whose bodies still walked the earth; and there is a convulsive agony in the view which this writer takes of the peaceful security of those whom he would pull down, and of the dissolute abandonment of those from whom alone he can hope for alliance, which might induce a belief that the fiction of the poet, and the fancy of the philosopher have some foundation in reality.†

We believe that since we last noticed Mr. Hazlitt, he has manifested great wrath against us; and, as we are not conscious of any growing desire to conceal the unqualified detestation which we have always entertained, and which we still entertain, for the spirit which pervades his volumes, it is probable that the quicksilver of his feelings will stand as much above *temperate* after he shall have read these pages, as before. How this may be we are not very solicitous to know: we mention his indignation for the purpose only of pointing out, with more effect, the ludicrous egotism which has driven this forlorn drudge of the Examiner into a belief that it is his prerogative to abuse whom he will, and the privilege of all the world to submit in silence: he lays claim to an autocracy of malediction. His delusion upon this point is the nearest approach which we have observed, amongst persons who go at large, to the straw crowns and sceptres of Moorfields. There are few characters in England of distinguished eminence whom he has not slandered; and yet he is thrown into a transport of fury if he is told that he is wrong; if he is reasoned with, laughed at, or reminded of what he is doing and of what he is. We are unable to account for this hallucination in any other way than by supposing that Mr. Hunt, who revived the Institution of King Arthur's Round Table, and who seems, at length, to have fought his way to the undisturbed possession of the Throne of Cockney, has erected the ward of Billingsgate into a sort of county palatine, for this his 'chivalrous' squire; and that the ceremony of investiture has turned the new dignitary's brains. Some instances of the freaks to which we have alluded will be found in our review of the Round Table.‡

We thought, at one time, of forming a complete list of those

* Private Correspondence, vol. i. p. 82.

‡ No. XXXIII. p. 134.

† Page xx. and xxx. note.

whom Mr. Hazlitt has traduced; but we soon found that an illustration of it would exceed the limits which we must assign to these remarks. The following names occur to us at once: Pitt, Fox, Burke, the Marquis Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Lord Liverpool, Mr. Canning, and all other ministers of course; Mr. Wilberforce, Dr. Paley, Mr. Malthus, Mr. Wordsworth, Mr. Southey, Mr. Coleridge. That we may not be accused of doing him any injustice, we must add the list of those on whom he bestows his admiration. It will not take up much room, and comprizes, we believe, only Buonaparte, 'the very god,' Mr. Hazlitt says, 'of his idolatry,' Murat, Mr. Cobbett, Mr. John Hunt, Mr. Leigh Hunt, and one other whom we should wish to see in more respectable company. For the general complexion of this man's slander we must refer again to our review of the Round Table; but we will here add a few instances to those before adduced. The subject of the first extract is the kind-hearted and venerable Paley; for Mr. Hazlitt, as we know, wars with the dead.—Listen!—

'This same shuffling divine is the same Dr. Paley who afterwards employed the whole of his life, and the whole of his moderate second-hand abilities in tampering with religion, morality, and politics—in trimming between his convenience and his conscience—in crawling between heaven and earth and trying to cajole both.'—p. 298.

The subject of the second is He, who was the first to confound the armies of Buonaparte;—who rid Spain and Portugal of their devouring enemies;—who led the English forces across the Pyrenees;—who marched them in triumph into Paris;—who fettered the Tyrant;—who saved the world at Waterloo.—Listen again!

'We are glad the Duke is not an Englishman. Let no country go about to enslave another with impunity: for out of the very dregs of rottenness and debasement will arise a low creeping fog of servility—a stench of corruption to choak the life of liberty wherever it comes—a race of fortune hunting, dastard, busy, hungry, heartless slaves and blood suckers, eager to fawn upon power and trample upon weakness, with no other pretensions than want of principle, and a hatred of those who possess what they want. Ireland has given us Castlereagh, Wellington, Burke:—is she not even with us? Ireland, last of the nations, repose in peace upon thy green western wave. Thou and the world are quits.'—p. 182.

When Mr. Hazlitt can no longer find individuals on whom he may lavish the language of his palatinate, he bespatters parties and professions.

'A Tory is not a man, but a beast. He is steyed in his prejudices—he wallows in the mire of his senses—he cannot get beyond the trough of his sordid appetites, whether it is of gold or wood. Truth and false-
hood

hood are to him something to buy and sell: principle and conscience something to eat and drink. He tramples on the plea of humanity, and lives like a caterpillar on the decay of public good. Beast as he is, he knows,' &c.—p. xxvi.

'A Whig is properly what is called a Trimmer—that is, a coward to both sides of the question; who dare not be a knave nor an honest man; but is a sort of whiffing, shuffling, cunning, silly, contemptible, unmeaning negation of the two.' 'He stickles for the letter of the constitution with the affectation of a prude, and abandons its principles with the effrontery of a prostitute.'—p. xxxiii. xxxiv.

Of the abstract character of a lawyer he says,

'His soul is in his fee. His understanding is upon the town.' 'He will not swear to an untruth to get himself hanged, but he will assert it roundly by the hour together to hang other persons—if he finds it in his retainer.'

'What a tool in the hands of a minister is a whole profession habitually callous to the distinctions of right and wrong, but perfectly alive to their own interest; with just ingenuity enough to be able to trump up some fib or sophistry for or against any measure, and with just understanding enough to see no more of the real nature or consequences of any measure than suits their own or their employers convenience.'—pp. 151, 152.

In the midst of these effusions we confess we were surprised, notwithstanding our previous experience, at the sight of the following veracious assertion. '*We do not wish to say any thing illiberal of any profession or set of men in the abstract.*'—p. 153. Truth is represented naked. Her antagonist resembles her so far, at least, that she too is sometimes barefaced.

'Man,' says Mr. Hazlitt, (and it must be allowed, that he is a competent witness as to the taste and propensities of one individual of the species,) 'is a toad-eating animal.'

Any of our readers who will bear in mind this charitable definition, and what the author has in other places said of Burke, may, by turning to p. 361. of these valuable essays, amuse themselves by an instance of that uniformity of thought, which, as Butler remarks, 'we may always expect to meet with in the compositions of the same author, when he writes with simplicity and in earnest.' They will there find a long and laboured eulogy on Burke, in which it is made one of the chief articles of praise, that 'he thought nobly of his fellows.'

The character of Murat is another instance of the same sincerity of heart, and clearness of spirit. 'Murat was *senseless* enough to believe that he, who had been made a king by Buonaparte, would be cordially received in the list of kings by those who were so by divine right: and he was *base* enough to turn against his benefactor, his country and the human race: but in himself,

he appears to have been a *gallant, generous, and heroic-minded* man.'—p. 175.

That so misty a brain should be disturbed by spectres, is not to be wondered at: and there is one which seems to torment our author to a degree, that must make his bitterest enemies pity him. Poor Tom never saw the foul fiend in so many or such fearful shapes. Some of our readers may be learned in dæmonology, and for their sakes we insert the most striking descriptions given by Mr. Hazlitt, of his Phantom, which he calls 'Legitimacy.' It is 'an ugly spider'—'a new Jaggernaut'—'a foul blatant beast, breathing flame and blood'—'an old lady, with a tissue of patches and of paint, and a quantity of wrinkles, and of proud flesh'—'an old hypocritical hag—a vile canting, mumbling witch;—an old rotten demirep; who towered above the conflagration of Moscow, dressed in a robe of flame coloured taffeta;' and who 'exenterates' Mr. Hazlitt 'of his affections.'—p. 308. We wish the fiend joy of her prize.—There is something, however, in these wanderings of the author which is symptomatic of mania, and rather tragical. It is time to look for the farce. At the close of another publication, in which he is more than commonly ridiculous, we are favoured with the writer's own opinion of himself, and he therein gravely informs the world that the object of his literary labours is the fame 'of a Pascal, a Leibnitz, or a Berkeley!' and plainly intimates that he expects to be classed with them after his death. There is something beyond all farce or caricature in this angry buffoon's self-satisfied assumption of a seat amongst these three great men, whom Religion, Genius, Philosophy and Science raised almost above the nature of mortals—and this too, immediately after a more striking display than we remember to have seen elsewhere of Mr. Hazlitt's peculiarities. We doubt whether a Dutch sign-painter would make his own apotheosis equally ludicrous: even if he were to depict himself recumbent at the table of the Gods, with trunk hose, grasping a tobacco-pipe with one hand, and striving to purple his lips in nectar with the other.

Having got this slanderer of the human race in an attitude, in which it is possible to smile at him, we willingly leave him there. He ought to feel obliged to us. Many will think that we have, on this and other occasions, wasted more time on him than he deserved. We are ourselves of that opinion: but when the Hazlitt first appeared within our province, it struck us that it was of a new species; its activity, disagreeable hum, and glittering blackness—but, above all, the value of the objects, which it seemed to be its nature to defile, excited our attention. We did not know, moreover, but that it might then be only in its
larva,

larva, or grub state ; and there was no saying to what extent, if it should change to the perfect *image*, it might increase its numbers. We confess, however, that we wanted skill in entomology. It is plain that it had reached its perfection when we first noticed it ; that its powers of mischief hardly extend beyond the making of some dirt and some noise : that it does not belong to our climate, nor can multiply here ; but that its presence is owing to the late extraordinary seasons, which have brought us so many new plagues. Its minutes were nearly over, and it would have perished as the heats declined. Yet, perhaps, it may not be entirely without advantage that we have fastened it down upon a sheet of paper amongst our other specimens.

ART. IX.—*Essays on the Institutions, Government, and Manners of the States of Ancient Greece.* By Henry David Hill, D.D. Professor of Greek in the University of St. Andrews.

THEY who are conversant with that dark and gloomy period, when it was granted, as a peculiar privilege, to the school of Osnaburgh* to unite instruction in the Greek and Latin languages with the studies intended to advance theological knowledge, can best appreciate the advantages of that powerful reaction in society, which, after suffering for centuries the evils of complete ignorance and the still greater miseries of a partial and imperfect knowledge, concluded by making the study of languages, and more particularly the two just mentioned, the basis of all higher education throughout Europe.

The benefits derived from this system have been too often discussed to render it necessary to repeat them here : but, as persons interested in the question, we may be permitted to add one not always included in the estimate.—The nightingales, which sang near the tomb of Orpheus, felt it incumbent on them, according to the testimony of Pausanias, to sing with more sweetness and force than other birds of the same species ; and a similar sort of feeling generally leads men, who have grown up with the appalling models of perfection of ancient literature before them, to prefer a prudent silence, when they cannot elicit from themselves something of more than common excellence. With few authors therefore, there exist, among this class of men, admirable judges of authorship, and severe and even fastidious readers, from whose minds the fallacies which dazzle or confound the intellects of the half-learned roll 'like winter-drops from eaves of reed.' Critical journalists, who have so many webs of ignorance and

* Bucker De Philosoph. Christ. Occident.

deception to unravel and expose, may safely leave then the underraters of the advantages derived from an acquaintance with the Greek and Roman writers, to enjoy their own triumph. It was a triumph confined for some time, in our own country, to a sect, whose tenets in religion are as offensive to the understanding as the phraseology in which they are conveyed is repulsive to the taste. But the same opinions seem now to be taken up by a different set of men. A political party, which has yet its fortune to make in the world, has found out that the youth of this kingdom have been villainously corrupted by the erection of grammar schools. Cordery and Huntingford have accordingly become to these men what the retainers of Lord Stafford, who talked of such abominations as a verb and a noun, were to Jack Cade: and were they possessed of equal authority with that sturdy rebel, we believe the fiat of condemnation with some of them would be precisely the same—*Away with him, away with him, he speaks Latin!*

We turn gladly from persons of this stamp, whom the contempt of the well-informed will always keep in the place to which they belong, to those who, grateful for the advantages derived by themselves from early initiation in classical knowledge, endeavour to make others participators in the same benefit. The piety of the Chinese lights up a perpetual lamp in the tombs of those whom he recognises as the authors of his existence. The scholar feels bound in the same way not to let the shades of night enter those sepulchres, where repose

‘The dead but scepter’d sov’reigns, who still rule
Our spirits from their urns.’

The little publication before us has been framed in the spirit of this principle. It contains the substance of some lectures delivered to the professor’s academical pupils, and is the effect of more reading than the unpretending manner in which it is communicated might at first lead to imagine. To young persons who are just entering upon the higher classics, and to studious men who are desirous of repairing, by their own industry, the accidental defects of an imperfect education, a more useful assistant, we think, cannot well be furnished. In the first six essays, the author treats of the heroic age, and those institutions which concerned the Greeks generally; in the subsequent ones he confines himself to the manners and customs of those two leading states in Greece, which, as intellect or morals, a taste for the arts of peace or war, have severally most influence on men’s minds, will command a corresponding effect on nations and individuals throughout all ages. An Essay on the Government, Manners and Religion of the Persians, a people whom the more brilliant history of the Greeks has been suffered to throw too much into ob-

scurity,

scutity, very properly concludes the work. The style throughout is neat, easy and perspicuous; the text (as we always wish to see it in elementary works) is undisturbed by notes; but at the end of every Essay is subjoined a list of authorities, confirming the opinion which the author has advanced in it, and affording references to works in which the subject of each essay may be still further prosecuted.

We believe we have now said all that is necessary on this publication; it aspires to no novelty of communication, and on the subject which more particularly induced us to take it up, it is almost entirely defective. The professor will, of course, plead the nature of his audience for the omission; and, in truth, a treatise on the state of female society in Greece was a delicate subject to handle before persons, whose age requires no additional ferment, and who might not reason quite so sensibly on the state of their minds, as Pantagruel did on the frame of his body. 'When he saw that the scholars of Thoulouse had a trick of burning their regents alive, like hed herrings, he had the prudence to decamp instantly; for, said he, I am by nature sufficiently dry, and there is no occasion for my being heated any further.' A work, however, addressed to general readers, lies under no such restriction. Wine and women, says a Spanish proverb, are what men chuse to make them; and both enter too much into the daily calls of life not to render it a matter of anxiety to collect all the receipts that can be found for the composition of such important articles: we shall therefore contribute our mite to supply what we should consider a deficiency in any other than an elementary treatise.

Whoever has given much attention to the affairs of Greece, and more particularly to the affairs of that country which comprehended the most important part of it, viz. the Athenian, cannot fail, we think, to have been struck by a principle, running very strongly through all her relations both natural and acquired, domestic and foreign, and which may be called the principle of contrast. It began with that which, in the opinion of the author of the Spirit of Laws, almost decided at once the character of a nation, viz. the climate. Beautiful in her springs, when all the enchanting* descriptions of her poets were more than realized, the summers

* See the *Εὐπρω, ζῆνι, ταῖς χερσας*, in the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, and the beautiful chorus, *Ἐρχθιδες το παλαιον ολβιοι*, in the *Medea* of Euripides. A diseased mind (and the lessons of the sophists had evidently disordered the mind of Euripides) which cannot throw itself back upon a moral beauty within, repairs its flagging powers at the altar of nature; and no worshipper was ever more sincere than this poet. The golden sun of Greece absolutely burns in his verse, and to live is, with him, more particularly, 'to see the light, which the fiery chariot of the God of day throws over his happy road;' (in *Helen*, v. 340.) He revels in his country's climate, and her magni-

summers of Athens, like those of Greece in general, were excessive in their heat, her winters rigorous in their cold. The cool breezes of the Cephissus were succeeded by the pestiferous blasts of the Sciron, or Sirocco; and sudden and awful tempests recalled very sensibly the past pleasures of vernal serenity. The Athenian, who, in the summer season, exposed himself naked at the public games, wore a long mantle of wool in the winter, like his neighbour the Bœotian, who, in a latitude more southern than Naples, was obliged to fence out the cold by a dress not very dissimilar to that worn by the Laplander and the Samoyede. A difference of soil formed the same contrast to the eye, as that of climate to the senses. Deep vallies, receiving and transmitting, like mirrors, the heat of the sun, and high mountains, some of them covered with perpetual snow, formed the general aspect of the continent of Greece; and Attica did not much differ, in this respect, from her neighbours: though there were numerous points of contrast peculiar to herself. On a space of land, not exceeding two of our largest counties, might be seen three distinct races of men, forming in their habits, pursuits, and inclinations, almost as great a diversity, as with Athenian ingenuity for its common basis, might be found between a Swiss, an Englishman, and a native of Paris: these were the Diacrian, or man of the mountain, the Paraliau, or native of the sea-shore, and the Pedian, or inhabitant of the plain. The metropolis, which belonged to this varied people, presented varieties as striking as any which the surrounding country afforded; a free population and an enslaved; the latter in proportion to the former as twenty to one: a native population and an alien; the latter to the former as one to three; public buildings, most magnificent, and private edifices as despicably mean; temples and statues in profusion, and no supply of one of the most necessary conveniencies of common life, water; porticos crowded with paintings, and a stream which the citizens were obliged daily to wade through for want of a bridge! That the citizens of such a metropolis should present no very consistent appearance was in the very nature of things; and

cent scenery floats ever before his imagination. For the nightingale he has all the passionate fondness of Milton, and, like him, he usually represents its notes as the notes of mourning. He has transplanted into his dramas all the picturesque scenery of Greece; and that amplification of geographical knowledge, which conveys the idea of a poetical omnipresence, exists in him as it does in the author of *Marmion* and the *Lady of the Lake*. A mixture of the sombre and the gay in natural objects runs through his choral odes, with the most delightful variety—deep grottoes and limpid streams—dark pines and white swans—the Eurotas with its yellow waters and green flags—fauns chasing nymphs,—the sound of flutes upon the mountain-tops—ærial beings dancing by moon-light—heads and bosoms adorned with flowers, and roses gathered to form the chaplets of the gods, are images forever occurring in the songs, where Euripides takes leave of his often impertinent and sometimes mischievous dialogue.

accordingly.

accordingly we find that it is difficult to speak of the common Athenians (the class best known to us) without deviating into antitheses, which might appear almost affected: lordly beggars who were glad to earn three obols a day, and who dethroned the Great King; patriots who insisted upon ribaldry from their comic writers, and put the interpreter of the Persian king's ambassador to death, because he had defiled the Greek language by explaining the orders of a barbarian; ferocious sentimentalists who wept, as Isocrates declares, at the fictitious woes of the tragedians, and in the severest calamities of war felt more exultation in witnessing the distresses of their neighbours, than pleasure in a sense of their own blessings!

The love of contrast engendered by these peculiarities, nature seemed determined to call into complete action, by bringing the Athenians into contact with two nations as opposite in government, natural dispositions, and acquired habits as the conception can well frame to itself. Sanguine, restless, and impatient; acute, lively, inquisitive, and loquacious; keenly susceptible of all those pleasures which are derived from the interchange of thought, and exquisitely alive to the beautiful productions of genius and art, the native of Attica saw himself placed by the side of the cool and calculating Lacedæmonian; and affected to view with surprise a nation which in conversation used no more words than were absolutely necessary, wrote no books, had no theatrical entertainments, tolerated neither poets nor actors, neither musicians nor philosophers, and, far from seeking opportunities of introducing foreign refinements among them, like their neighbours, made the exclusion of strangers one of the most binding of their statutes. If the wit of the Athenians could turn some points of the character of such a nation into ridicule; if they could make merry with a people who carried a degree of ferocity into their virtue, and of pedantry into their military science; and whose government was injured by the inconvenient virtue of inflexibility; yet—sober-minded, measuring their virtues by their duties and their desires by their necessities; never displaying that spirit of vanity, which after exhausting admiration, is sure to end in the exaction of the most submissive deference; never wanting in that regard for public opinion, which supplies the place of higher feeling, enough remained on the side of the Spartans, to command the respect of a state, which, thoughtless and conceited as it often shewed itself, wanted neither that soundness of understanding which grasps the right, nor that delicacy of sentiment which frequently so well supplies the place of it. Whatever, therefore, there was of difference between these two nations in a more exclusive preference of letters or arms, of

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naval or land dominion, of democracy or monarchy, and without attempting to strike the balance of superiority between them, it may be observed that, after all the animosities and jealousies which such a difference excited, the Spartan was regarded by the Athenian with something like the feelings which, even at the public games, made him be considered as the great object of attraction, as the being who cherished in his breast all the loftier feelings of emulation which invigorate and dignify existence.

But for the third of the ruling powers, which, turning upon Epaminondas as a fulcrum, was one day to upset Greece, and to give a memorable instance that if matter for a time prevail over mind, the victory is but a temporary one, no such redeeming qualities existed in the mind of an Athenian. To the native of Attica the Boeotian was an object of unmitigated contempt. His large limbs and easy digestion, his numerous feasts, and his full feeding, together with his foggy atmosphere and his coarse dialect, were, to a genuine Athenian, sources of inexhaustible merriment. He ridiculed and abjured his hateful music, he travestied his gods,* and in the most pathetic of his country's tragedies found some consolation for his tears, that it was the crimes and misfortunes of his enemy the Theban, which had caused them to flow. These contrasts of political relations at home were carried to their height by the relations of the Athenians with foreign powers, or, to speak more properly, with the one foreign power which commanded their attention abroad. European skill, discipline, and fortitude have, in all ages, been proverbially opposed to Asiatic numbers, ignorance and effeminacy; and if ever nation had occasion to know and feel the difference between the terms, it was surely the Athenian. The first book which was put into their hands imparted the sensation which the growing knowledge of subsequent life must every day have stamped more strongly on the mind; and we may well imagine the truth of what Isocrates assures us, that the *Iliad* of Homer was particularly acceptable to an Athenian, because it fed and supported all those feelings of contrasts, which his pride led him to discern between himself and a Persian. Well-informed and more discerning minds saw, perhaps, other differences besides these vulgar ones; but the tranquillity and security of a Persian subject compared with the turbulence and inquietude of Grecian democracies, the moderate assessments of Persian taxes, compared with the heavy contributions levied on the wealthy Greek, and the rewards which, in the one country, attended superior merit, so different from the exile and the

* Hercules, the favourite divinity of the Thebans, was generally the *gourmand* of the Greek comic stage.

ostracism which depressed it in the other; formed points of contrast on which it was not safe to dwell much in the suspicious metropolis of Attica. We shall not trace this principle in the Athenians through the contrasts of their music, their metaphysics, their general system of education, their government, and a multitude of others which will suggest themselves to the reader;—but on those of their dramatic entertainments, which, as being more peculiarly their own growth, afforded the Athenians such a mixture of pride* and pleasure, we must be allowed a few words.

When we consider the deep sensibilities of the Athenian character, it often becomes a matter of surprise, that her tragic poets should have made an instrument, which was so easily put in motion, vibrate to tones of such solemn and sober sound, as they commonly did. To give a Muscovite sensation, says a sprightly French writer, you must flay him alive. In intellectual sensibilities, we suspect, that we are all Muscovites, in comparison with the Athenians.† The corpse-bearers of Orlando were known to be angels *by the trembling of their wings*; and as far as mere susceptibility is considered the natives of Attica were of something more than earthly mold. Yet to a people thus nicely organized, were offered dramatic fables, which, from their general construction, must have produced feelings the most gloomy and distressing. The poet told them (and his sentiments were conveyed through a numerous CHORUS, whose strong and nervous voices, melting into one key of common sympathy, left none of these forcible remarks unimpressed on the audience) that man was an ephemeral being, the shadow of a shade, a dream, a nothing. The little span of life, allowed him, was pronounced to be one entire scene of misery, without respite, without remission; or if a passing gleam of hope was occasionally held out, it was with a warning of its delusive-

* Plato somewhere observes, that a person with any talent for the drama was as well received at Athens, as a man distinguished for military skill was at Sparta.

† A story recorded by Athenæus (lib. ix. 407.) will set this in its proper light. When the news of that terrible defeat which the Athenians sustained under Nicias in Sicily, first arrived in Athens, the people were all assembled in the theatre, where one of those dramatic pieces, more particularly called Parodies, was performing. It was by a favourite author, (Hegemon,) and the spectators were indulging in all those transports of gaiety which the humour of the play provoked. Suddenly the performance stopped; it was announced from the stage, that the armies of Athens had sustained a defeat which would cover half her citizens with mourning. What a moment! and how did the audience behave on the occasion? They remained fixt in their places: they covered their faces with their mantles, and dropt a few silent tears to the memory of fathers, brothers and friends now no more: they then ordered the piece to proceed, and, it is to be presumed, entered into it with the same ungovernable transports of delight as before. It should in fairness be added, that many strangers were present, and it was not thought proper to expose the dignity of Athens before the citizens of rival and tributary states.

ness, and with an admonition that joy and sorrow tread in a perpetual circle, like the stars which wind their eternal course round the Polar Bear. When the poet looked upon that inextricable maze of events, which we call existence, he declared that he felt all his calculations defeated,* and all his views baffled; the ocean in its stormy convulsions supplying the only picture to his mind, which could parallel a scene so vexatious and harassing, and in that troubled element the storms of life were declared to blow from all points of the compass;† and the auditor of these discouraging sentiments was accordingly advised to sail with the stream,‡ and not to oppose the prow of his vessel to the shock of such conflicting waves. Nor did man in his collective 'body afford more consoling views. The dreadful pictures, which the Greek republics too often furnished, were grouped into one overwhelming canvass: murders, insurrections, jealousy, battles and seditions occupied the foreground, while in the distance was dimly descried the dreadful pause, which often succeeded to this agitated and feverish being,—old age, powerless and imbecile, impotent to derive comfort from itself, and without attractions to draw consolation from others. The soothing consolation, which Christianity offers by means of a Mediator between human infirmity and Eternal perfection, was unknown to antiquity. The Greek mythology bound the half-divine being, who attempted to alleviate the lot of humanity, to a rock, and scorched and blasted him with consuming fires.

The general construction of the Greek drama rather aggravated than soothed the feelings which such views of the condition of life were calculated to produce. Tragedy, among the Greeks, constituted, indeed, part of a religious ceremony; but religion with them, however it might administer to the senses, offered no relief to those disquieting thoughts, which perplex and harass the human mind. The gods of a Greek were little more than deifications of his own passions, and his mythology was but his philosophy translated into imagery. With a being, subjected to such physical and moral contrasts as we have shewn the Greek to be, the ruling principle would be some hidden and capricious power which seemed to sway the world without any fixed principles of action, and made its own will the standard for happiness and misery, for error and for crime. Destiny accordingly became the predominating genius of the Greek tragedy. This mysterious and arbitrary influence, to which gods and men were alike subjected, was held for ever over the awe-struck auditors,

* Eurip. in *Hippol.* 1102.

‡ Eurip. in *Troad.* 103.

† Soph. in *Œdip.* Col. 1245.

and as her subordinate ministers, were added those avenging powers, whose very name the trembling Greek hesitated to pronounce,* and whose temples he passed without daring to direct his eye towards them. A tragic stage, thus agitated, required points of relief to an audience so susceptible as the Athenians; and their poets acted accordingly. The two greatest of their dramatists, whose fables lie almost exclusively within the circle of Destiny,† have thrown the repose upon the CHORUS; and what to unreflecting minds has seemed mere phlegm and apathy in that body, was in fact the suggestion of a consummate knowledge of the dramatic art. Prescient of what is to happen, yet dealing out only dark and short hints—confirming gradually what the victim, often of unintentional guilt, begins to suspect, and confirming it out of his own mouth—in all the contrast of comparative innocence and security from those evils which are soon to burst in thunder upon the devoted heads of the higher persons of the drama, the chorus stands in its repose and security to the mind, what the chef-d'œuvre of Smeaton does to the eye, amid the shock of conflicting elements. Euripides, who trod a less elevated walk of the drama than his predecessors, could allow more agitation to his CHORUS; and he has thrown the repose upon situations of unspeakable beauty. Sometimes it was conveyed in mere description. In deeper tragedies, the repose is frequently sustained by characters perfectly mute. The children of Medea are brought before her: they say nothing; but they smile for the last time. The lovely Astyanax in the *Andromache* is equally silent, but he grasps his mother's hands and her robes; and maternal feeling can never go beyond that burst of undefinable affection, *ω χρωτος ἦδ' οὐ πνευμα!*

Such were some of the reliefs which the Greek tragedy furnished: that they were insufficient for an audience so susceptible, will be easily imagined. The agonized spectator, therefore, rushed from the 'dreadful deeds‡ and dreadful compensations' of his country's tragedy, to the 'devices quaint, and frolics ever new,' which trod on each other's heels in his country's comedy. It was a quick transition from the dark dreams of Destiny to the certainties of physical enjoyment; from what was ideal to what was tangible—from the heroic life to the ordinary—from elegance and sublimity, if the reader will, to coarseness and buffoonery; but previous agitation requires that the comic stage should be the

* Sophocles in *Oedip.* Col. 128.

† In *Aeschylus* and *Sophocles* Destiny is the animating principle of whole plays; *Euripides* rather delights to talk of it, than to act upon it.

‡ *Εμπαζε δαινα, δαινα δ' αντεδωκε.* *Eurip.* in *Elect.* 252. This line contains a complete definition of the Greek tragedy.

flight of life and not its regulation : the best music, after the sitting of a tragic tetralogue, was the sound of an Oberon's horn ; and the Old Comedy, therefore, from the Athenian love of contrast, grew naturally out of the elevation and sombre views of its tragedy. We now hasten to apply this principle to the subject more immediately before us.

The eccentricities of a certain noble family gave rise to a familiar expression, that there were three sorts of created beings in the world ; men, women, and the particular family specified. In Athens, from the time of Pericles, there might be said in the same manner to be three distinct races of beings ; men, women, and what, for want of a more appropriate name, we must at present call courtezans. In this division of the sex, to the first portion were consigned, with the usual Athenian love of contrast, retirement, constraint, ignorance, and—legal respect ; to the second, freedom, education, accomplishments, and—contempt. It will be the business of the subsequent remarks to justify and illustrate these two positions.

Of the first and better sort of women, we have not the means of gathering any thing more than a mere negative knowledge. But it is the institutions of their country which have left so much talent in abeyance. The best woman, says Thucydides, in the true spirit of an Athenian, is she of whom least is said either in the way of good or harm. The greatest ornament to a woman, the tragic theatre proclaimed, is silence. ' My wife abroad ! ' cried the comic theatre, in the language of common life ; ' s' death and furies, what does she from home ? '*

The following dialogue between an Athenian magistrate and a reforming female, of whom more notice will be taken hereafter, paints, no doubt, to the life the behaviour of the common Athenians in their domestic relations.† The reader will have the goodness to accept our version, (for the play was never translated,) in which we have been chiefly solicitous to combine fidelity with as much of the spirit of the original as was consistent with the respect due to national manners.

Lys.

Last war,—

Whatever your resolves—(can you deny it?)

Still to our husbands' pleasure we submitted :

' For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe.'

Our tongues indeed were lock'd ; 'twas made a felony

Almost to breathe ;—ill suited this a sex,

Who every action scann'd with nice observance.

Well—ever and anon we heard it rumour'd,

That matter of high import was before you,

* Arist. in *Thesmoph.*

† *Lysist.* v. 518.

And still 'twas added, that ill counsel won
The prize from purposes of better moment.
Though sick at heart to hear it—we put smiles
Into the face, and frequent question'd you—
'The House, if I mistake not, met to-day :
How went the votes?—shall we have peace?' "Bah! Silence!"
Was the rough answer—"peace or war, what matters it
To you?" Silence was bid, and I kept quietness.

Female Ch. So had not I, though I had choak'd for it.

Mag. And choak thou hadst, hadst thou exchang'd one syllable.

Lys. Well, sir, I kept my house, and kept—my tongue.
Worse counsels followed these, and worse, and rumour
Still bore them to my ears; then I: "What humour
Pricks you, my gentle husband, to this fashion,
That all your actions bear the stamp of folly?"
He, with his eyes askew, made answer thus :
"Look to your distaff, dame! or worse will follow—
Leave war and its concerns to men."

Mag. By Jupiter !

His answer stood with reason.

Lys. So does not thine, vile puckfist ! Reason ! quoth-a ?

No ; reason would have taught a better lesson.
'Who counsels ill himself,' she says, 'should drop
The trade, and gather wisdom from another.'
At last it was the common talk o'th' streets—
'The city's wholly gone—the race of men
Is obsolete—extinct—not one is left us !
Reports like these begot new thoughts among us—
We met in congress—'twas decreed, *nem. con.*
That if salvation yet remain'd for Greece,
Our hands must compass it ; and that the deed
Allow'd nor breathing time, nor dallying.
And now resolve me,—you, sir, with the grave
And sapient face—will you be counselled ?
Are you content to gather wholesome wisdom,
And take her at our hands ; and practise silence
As we ourselves were wont? for this alone,
We have resolv'd, can save your town from ruin.'

The artist copied the man of letters, and the celestial Venus with her foot upon a tortoise, in opposition to the Venus Popularis mounted on a ram, reminded the Grecian beauty of what in male eyes constituted her chief excellence. Even the tomb was no refuge from the persecuting emblems which admonished woman of her domestic duties. The bird of night, a muzzle and a pair of reins, so often seen upon Grecian sepulchres, were emblems which at once recorded the merits of the accomplished housewife interred within, and reminded the indolent, that the main excellencies to which a virtuous woman could aspire, were—to emulate the

the owl in watchfulness,—to keep her mouth guarded, and to rule her family with the same dexterity as the charioteer guided his wheels at the public games.

Had home been the scene of complete dominion, unbounded sway might have compensated for the absence of other privileges; but whatever was the authority vested in the mistress of a family over the numerous slaves, who composed an Athenian establishment, the utmost deference which she exacted from them, was only a pattern to herself of the submission which she was bound to pay to her imperious lord. How far a thorough-paced wife thought herself bound to concede to her husband in actions, Euripides has enabled us to judge by some curious examples: his great predecessor had previously laid down the duties of her feelings, in images which are now grown somewhat trite to modern ears, but which, at any rate, will better bear repeating than those to which we have just alluded.

Faithful—as dog, the lonely shepherd's pride,
True—as the helm, the bark's protecting guide,
Firm—as the shaft that props the towering dome,
Sweet—as to shipwreck'd seamen land and home,
Lovely—as child, a parent's sole delight,
Radiant—as morn that breaks a stormy night,
Grateful—as streams, that in some deep recess
With zills unhop'd the panting traveller bless,
Is he, that links with mine his chain of life,
Names himself lord, and deigns to call me—wife.*

Such were the virtues inculcated in Grecian women—such the language in which Grecian husbands were pleased to be addressed. The admonitions recommending privacy and retirement were received with so much docility, that, but for a little treatise left us by Xenophon, it might almost be thought that the wish of the tragic misogynist had actually been accomplished, that a complete annihilation† had fallen upon the female sex, and that heaven had found out some means of continuing the human race without their intervention. We think we can command the reader's attention to a short analysis of this treatise, by premising that it comes recommended to us under the authority of Socrates. A descent from such lofty speculations as usually occupied his thoughts to a disquisition upon household affairs might well justify the antique gem, which, as typical of his power to grapple with the largest as well as the minutest objects, represented this great master of wisdom with an elephant's trunk.

Socrates, it appears from this interesting little work, had heard much talk in Athens of one Iscomachus. Men, women, citi-

* Soph. Agam.

† Eurip. in *Medea*, 574. in *Hippolyto*, 616.

zens and strangers, all agreed in opinion that this person (would that to his other merits, he had added a name somewhat more euphonious!) was a perfect gentleman. The character was by no means common in Athens, and to a philosopher, like Socrates, every peculiarity in the species was of course an object of curiosity and speculation. He accordingly lies in wait for an opportunity of conversing with this mirror of gentility, and a lucky accident at last throws him upon the object of his search. To accost him, to address him by name, and in a moment to be putting questions, which it might be supposed a long acquaintance only could have justified, were either traits of character peculiar to Socrates, or belonged to that republican freedom of speech which overleaps the fences of modern politeness and reserve. The conversation therefore soon slips into the channel into which the philosopher wished to direct it,—viz. the domestic establishment of Iscomachus. The answers elicited give us more knowledge on the subject of female education than any other work of antiquity with which we are acquainted. It appears from the dialogue that the lady of this Athenian with the hard name was barely fifteen when she took upon herself the duties of a mistress of a family; that till the time of her marriage, she had lived under a *surveillance* which the severity of a nunnery could hardly exceed; the organs of sight, hearing and speech having been strictly restrained, and the whole care of her friends, as she ingenuously confesses to her husband, confined to letting her see as little, hear as little, and ask questions as little as possible.

A young person, whose education had been thus negative, was not likely to bring with her a dowry of many accomplishments, and the merest boarding-school girl will accordingly hear with contempt, that all the qualifications of this promising bride consisted in being able to make a vest when the materials were put into her hands, and to overlook her maid-servants when they were set to their tasks. She was temperate however, and sober, or, as these rough republicans expressed it, ‘in matters which concerned the belly, she had been well disciplined;’ and out of these slender materials was to be framed the head of a wealthy Athenian family. A modern householder might have been thrown into despair; but Iscomachus was of an active turn of mind; he was not easily discouraged by difficulties, and he accordingly set his shoulder to the wheels. Conscious that he was undertaking a task of no common magnitude, he begins his labours by a sacrifice to the gods, and a prayer for assistance; arguing, like a wise and pious man, as he was, that no better means existed for ascertaining what was fittest for the preceptor to teach and the pupil to learn. The bride assisted in the
solemn

solemn rite, and, as Iscomachus acknowledges, was all that her future instructor could desire;—anxious to fulfil her duties, full of promises to use her best endeavours, and inspired with all proper feeling of obsequiousness to the person who thus late in life undertook to teach her young ideas how to shoot. (The listening Socrates here professes an extreme anxiety to know how the labours of the preceptor commenced, and declares with warmth, that the sight of the best possible exhibition in the gymnasium or the race-course would afford him much less pleasure.) It is to be presumed that Iscomachus took his pupil in hand, while her mind was yet warm with the imposing ceremony at which she had been present: his own answer, however, certainly refers to a later date, and such was the degraded estimate of female character in Athens, that we fear it was not merely from association of ideas, that his answer is conveyed in terms of the manege or menagerie, and that he speaks of his wife as we should speak of a young colt.* ‘When I found her well in hand, supple and tractable, and so as to be conversable,’ (to be *produceable* was a labour which the fashion of the times did not impose,) ‘I put to her,’ says the husband, ‘the following question: Tell me, my dear wife, have you ever reflected on the causes, motives and reasons, which induced your parents to consign you to me, and induced me to accept you as a wife from their hands?’ A person, whose education had been so confined as we have stated, might with dramatic propriety be painted rather as a listener than a partaker in a discourse, which ran upon topics of this kind. The young lady accordingly hears, but gives no sign that they had ever made part of her thoughts. It is one of the properties, however, of that delightful sex, who, as it has been well said, expose their own lives to give birth to others, to commence a new existence with the maternal duties, and to feel waits for their offspring, of which they had not been sensible in themselves. Her husband accordingly has a very willing listener, while he enters into a philosophical inquiry, as to the causes of that nuptial yoke, which brings two people together, and which, accordingly as it is borne, contributes so much to the happiness or misery of the joint bearers of it. To continue the succession of inhabitants in the world—to provide solace and support for that long malady of life, old age; to procure sustenance and shelter for those two-footed beings, whose appetites are more varied and whose architectural retirements require more solid materials than their four-footed fellow-creatures, are principles of domestic economy, which are pretty visible to

* The Letters of Alciphron use the same language. See p. 195.

the meanest capacities ; and it must be owing to the young pupil's extreme inexperience, that the husband enters into so prolix an account of them, and of the peculiar wisdom with which Providence has shaped and organised the two sexes for the better furtherance of them.

Having delivered a long lecture on the common duties of the two sexes, the husband-preceptor returns to that which he thinks more peculiarly the duty of a woman, that of not gadding abroad ; and he concludes with proposing the queen-bee, in all its qualities, active, sedentary, public and private, as an admirable example of the disposition, which should belong to the mistress of a family. The young lady, however, was not much versed in apiaries, and when the properties and cares of this industrious little animal are explained to her at considerable length, she exclaims with an evident feeling of alarm, 'and must all these duties fall upon me?' The duties, which must fall upon you, replies the husband, entering into the whole economy of a Grecian housewife, are to abide within doors ; to send to their labour such of the servants as have out-door occupations, and to superintend those whose labours are confined to the house. All that is brought in, you must receive ; what is necessary for immediate use you must distribute ; and where there is an overplus, it will be left to your foresight and caution to beware, that what ought to be the consumption of a year is not made the waste of a month. It will further rest with you to see that the wool, which is brought in, be converted into clothes, and that the corn be in a proper state to furnish the family with provision.* The pupil listens, it is to be hoped, with attention, but certainly in silence, to these injunctions ; but nature and the sex immediately break out, when to this catalogue of duties is added that, which the harder mind of her husband seems to think will sit least easy upon her—the care of the infirm and the indisposed, who considering the immense number of slaves, often comprehended in the establishment of a wealthy Athenian, must frequently have amounted to a considerable number. 'So help me God,' she exclaims with a pardonable vivacity, 'it is the most pleasing of all occupations, and I look for no other reward than the gratitude and increased good will of those who fall under my care!' This burst of feeling was not lost upon her husband ; but man reasons rather than feels, and Iscomachus returns to his apiaries and his queen-bee.—It was time however for the first lecture to come to a conclusion ; and as that speaker ill knows his duty, who does not endeavour to finish with a favourable impression on the mind of his hearer, Iscomachus proceeds to state the various gratifications, which were to make these duties less irksome to his wife. We feel that

we should consign the lecturer and his pupil to the contempt of modern fine ladies, if we entered into too minute a detail of them; and our limits forbid us to follow him through his second campaign: his discourse upon order, his detail of the various causes, by which a kind of beau ideal of the beauty of arrangement had been gradually fostered in his own mind, and the ingenuity, with which a sort of dignity is thrown over the meanest branches of household economy, and the wife intrapped into her lowest duties by the application of names to stew-pans and pottery, which belonged to the most important political investigations;—all these deserve more notice than we can now give them. The young Iscomacha, instead of resenting some of these instructions as a fastidious modern female would infallibly do, grows absolutely high-minded in the contemplation of her duties; and her magnanimity even stands a test, which we believe formed with many of her countrywomen the only consolation, that their retired habits allowed.

Whatever degree of beauty nature had conferred upon a Grecian woman, she was by no means unwilling to call in art for an accessory. This indeed was not altogether a matter of choice; for a negligence of dress brought the fair sloven under the notice of a magistracy, especially appointed to prevent such offences. The rigour of this tribunal was extreme. A thousand drachmæ were levied for the sin of an head-dress ill arranged; a robe that was not strictly *comme il faut*, incurred a similar penalty; the name of the offender was inscribed on a tablet exposed to public view, and such an exposure was equivalent to a complete loss of character. With such a stimulus it will readily be supposed that the women of Athens rather exceeded than fell short of the views of the legislature on the subject of personal appearance. The catalogue which Plautus gives of the artisans who contributed to the complete adornment of a Grecian lady of fashion, is absolutely formidable; and a fragment of the great comic writer of Athens has bequeathed to us a list of articles, which were to be found at a lady's toilette, many of which, it is to be hoped, are grown obsolete, not merely from lapse of time. Iscomacha, the jewel of housewives, does not appear to have been less guilty on these points than her neighbours. Her husband, to use his own expressions, had found her daubed with much *fard*, 'to make her appear whiter than she really was,' and with much *rouge*, 'to make her appear redder than she really was;' and as a beauty in Greece was the more valuable for being on a large* scale, she had added to these abominations a pair of high-heeled shoes, 'that

* Aristotle de Rhet. Lib. i. c. 5. Homer pussim.

she might appear taller than she really was.' From the docility, which this exemplary woman has displayed on more important points, the reader will easily believe that she was not invincible even in this :—her abjuration of the practice was indeed almost the immediate result of a proper exposition of its perniciousness, its disingenuousness, and its easiness of detection.

We have left ourselves little room for descanting on the moral and political effects of such a system of education as this ; for we may be sure that the routine, to which the wife of a wealthy man, like Iscomachus, was confined, was not enlarged for the wives and daughters of citizens of more moderate fortunes. A writer, (M. de Pauw,) who is accused of being more poetical than philosophical in his researches into ancient history, assures us, that both misogynism and misanthropism prevailed to a considerable extent in Greece. The mode of conducting the education of the two sexes at Athens was entirely calculated to produce both these aberrations of feeling ; and if we are not mistaken in our construction of a passage in her great comic poet, these feelings were even fostered by the little tales of the nursery. We shall translate these precursors of the Tabart establishment, some of the materials of which were traced in a former number of this Journal. The leader of the misogynists was one Melanion ; Timon, the head of the other party, has long been proverbial among us. It is from the respective taunts of two rival chorusses in the *Lysistrata*, that we collect the confirmation of the critic's opinion.

Chor. of men. I have a tale to tell—I learn'd it, ladies,
When I was yet a youngster, and it runs
Unto this tune :

There was a youth in days of yore,
Melanion was he hight ;
This youth no love to women bore,
Nor took therein delight.

And all to shun their hated sex,
He sought the forests wild ;
His feet the mountain-tops did vex ;—
He was a lonesome child.

He wove him nets, he snar'd him game,
He pierced the scudding hare ;
One dog he had, and for the same
Shew'd mickle love and care.

But time ne'er render'd him less coy,
Nor woman would he see ;
What was of yore that lonesome boy,
The same this day are we.

The female chorus, composed of much brisker persons than this old driveling rhymester, return the taunt by another.

Who has not heard of Timon tell?
 His cheeks were a hedge-row wild :
 It were matter of grace
 To call them a face ;
 So the Furies nam'd him their child.
 And ever he shunn'd man's odious race,
 Nor with them would he dwell ;
 If he met them loath,
 It was with an oath,
 And a wish they were all—in hell !
 But 'twas not so with woman fair ;
 To her his love was given ;
 The light of her smile
 His heart could beguile,
 And he call'd it the day-spring of heaven.

On the side of letters, the effects of this system were not more favourable ; it has indeed rescued the Greeks from that mawkish gallantry, which writers, who court the favour of second and third-rate women, so much affect ; and sentiment, as the term is understood in novels and romances, is a word not to be found in their productions. These are solid advantages : but at the same time it has confined the circle of their literature, and left it, to a certain degree, without variety. Even in their comedy there is little relief. It is all men—all business—all public matters. We have ever before us the gymnasium, the senate, the general assemblies, and the courts of law ; there is bustle, pursuit, energy, and activity ; how indeed should it be otherwise in a country, where man was defined* to be ' a political animal,' and where the first of deities was Jupiter or Political Wisdom ? but there is none of that floating drapery which modern manners have thrown over society ; none of that pleasing variety, which wanders from the camp to the court, from philosophy to the boudoir, from the enterprises of the field to the courtesies of domestic life. These were combinations which, among the Greeks, (at least while the democracy was in full vigour,) met neither in actual life nor in manuscript.

But the more serious effects remain yet to be told. Whatever shape men may assume it is their right to give to female character, a strong reaction will always take place upon themselves ; and the outrage done to the sex in Greece was terribly avenged. But the pollutions of Grecian literature, and the consequences which ensue, when the glaring fires of genius are not

* Aristotle in *Ethicis*.

tempered by the mild influence of female beauty, innocence, and delicacy, are not lightly to be meddled with. Je devoiſ dire, ſays the admirable Montesquieu, mais j'ouïs la voix de la Nature crier contre moi.

The conſequences of this ſystem on the ſide of Grecian women themſelves muſt not be diſmiſſed quite ſo haſtily. The eloquent author juſt quoted, aſſures us that the Grecian women were conſpicious for their virtue. But Montesquieu (as we could readily ſhew) had not ſtudied the Grecian democracies ſo accurately as he has the Roman republic; and it may be ſafely affirmed that the Greek writers by no means bear him out in this flattering teſtimony to the merits of their countrywomen. The philoſophers, indeed, ſeldom ſpeak of the ſex, or if they do, it is evidently with a ſtrong feeling of their inferiority. The tragedians occaſionally produce an Antigone, a Macaria, an Alceſtis, an Iphigeneia, like bleſſed ſpirits, to temper the dark views of Grecian mythology; but the poet generally hurries them from the ſtage as quickly as the buſineſs of his drama will allow, or daſhes their noble aſpirations with ſome diſgraceful ſentiment, which materially enfeebles or deſtroys their effect. When ſuch opinions were held of them by the philoſophers and the tragic poets, we may readily believe that the comic writers did not ſpare them, and certainly the comedies of Ariſtophanes, who, however, amid all his railery pays more compliments* to the ſex than any other Greek writer, give us no reaſon to conclude that ignorance and ſecluſion are better ſafeguards to female virtue, than a fair participation of the inſtruction and freedom which men have in all ages claimed to themſelves. A ſhort analysis of any one of his comedies, relating to the female ſex, would ſet this in a clearer light than any remarks which we can offer. They are impudent

* Beſides more direct commendations, his opinion of their general virtue (malicious wags will ſay their ſimplicity) is indirectly manifeſted in the perfectly Utopian conſtitution, which the Radicals of the ſex are allowed to draw up in his Eccleſiaſtaſæ or Female Parliament. Athens, under their direction, was to exhibit a complete picture of concealment, integrity, ſobriety, &c. upon a ſcheme which went far beyond the narrow plans of Spence or Mr. Owen.—The legiſlative aſſemblies were more particularly to be put on a better footing;—they are thus ſigmatized by theſe female patriots, at a time when no Red-book exiſted, to ſharpen acrimonious feelings.

When the ſtipend and price for their time and advice, | one obol ſufficed, ſirs, to cloſe,
The rogues could ſit quiet without any riot, | and ſoberly chatter and proſe.

Now they ſtruggle and roar; for the times are no more, | when Myronides went to preſide;

When he had been bold, who for ſilver or gold, | public meaſures had ventur'd to guide.

Our ſenators then, grave and reverend men, | to the council were ſeen to repair,

Each with morning repaſt, in a bag treaſur'd faſt; | olive, onion, brown loaf and a pear.

Our greedy deſires, o'erſhooting our ſires, | fee and ſtipend and ſalary aſk;

And matters of ſtate are conducted of late, | like a mason's work done by the taſk.—

Ecl. 301.

productions, it is true; but there is a curiosity almost approaching to pleasure, as M. Sismondi somewhere remarks, in seeing how far the human mind dares venture. Ganellone, the arch-traitor of Italian Romance, in spite of his enormous transgressions, is familiarly and almost affectionately called Gan by the writers; and from some such feeling Aristophanes may perhaps retain his favour with us in spite of his impertinence. We shall select the opening scene of the *Lysistrata*, the coarsest but certainly not the least humorous of his plays, as a specimen of the ridicule which the stage occasionally threw upon the sex.

The comedy derives its name from the female who performs the principal character in it. This patriotic lady, shocked at the long continuance of the Peloponnesian war, and the evils which it brought upon the state, had summoned, it appears, a meeting of her countrywomen, and other reforming females from different parts of Greece, to whom she proposes to submit a plan for bringing this calamitous conflict to a conclusion. True herself to the time appointed, she advances upon the stage, and finds it empty. This solitude begets some reflexions on the sex in general, and more particularly on the party who had thus betrayed their own agreement. Had it been any of our religious meetings, says she,

Had Bacchus' orgies* or the feast of Pan,
Or Venus, (and it matter'd not what rite,
Colias or Genitalis, gave the name,)—
Had these gay festivals requir'd their presence,
The roads had groan'd beneath the swarming multitudes;
Our ears been deafen'd with the din of timbrels;
While now,—none harbours here but I—and solitude!

The arrival of a neighbour, Calonicè by name, interrupts this angry soliloquy. The new-comer sees instantly that something had disturbed the exquisite *Lysistrata*, and, in the true spirit of her sex, tells her of the effect it has upon her looks.

Believe me, friend, it sits but ill upon you
To draw your brows and arch them like a bow;—
'Tis misbecoming in so fair a face.

Lysistrata passes off her emotion at first as a fit of chagrin and heart-burning at the little estimation in which her sex was held by the men—'they consider us (says she) as made up of nothing but trick and deception.' The complaint, however, meets with

* The orgies of Bacchus were commonly celebrated by night, and their consequences are pretty significantly hinted at by Euripides in one of the most spirited of his dramas, *The Bacchæ*. (v. 185.) It was a subject, indeed, just suited to his taste;—the thyrsus, the floating faun-skins, the disheveled hair, the sharp tones of the flute, and the shrieks and shouts of disordered women, were precisely the materials in which his *Musæ* delighted; and the spirit of the god is accordingly upon him.

little consolation from the person to whom it is addressed, for Calonicë bluntly replies, 'why in truth, my dear, we are nothing else.' She is then fain to ascribe her vexation to its real cause, viz. the non-attendance of her friends at the time appointed.

They were possess'd with most sufficient notice,
What time and where the meeting would be held,
And what the matter was in hand—how grave,
And how important! Yet supinely spread
On beds of down, they pass the time in sleep,
And the balk'd meeting waits its loit'ring members.

Husbands to attend—servants to scold—the nursery—the bath—the kitchen—form, in Calonicë's opinion, satisfactory excuses for a little procrastination. 'But when an object of such magnitude, my sweet Calonicë —.' The nature of this object and the plan for effecting it, now become the subject of conversation. It was very subtle and recondite, and had caused the author many sleepless nights before it had been brought to maturity: it was, in short, to put the future destinies of Greece into the hands of the women, and it involved the fates of all the men of Peloponnesus and Bœotia. The intended proselyte does not discover all the rapture that was probably expected of her at the first broaching of this notable scheme:—the destruction of the Peloponnesians she hears with much composure, and when the fate of Bœotia is mentioned, she merely introduces a saving clause for the eels of that country, a species of food particularly grateful to an Athenian palate;—for the rest, she contents herself with insinuating that the destinies of Greece must be in a very bad way, if they are henceforth to be vested in female hands. Besides, as she intimates in conclusion, a project of this kind comported but ill with the duties of a sex, whose whole concern it was to sit idle, and whose most important occupations extended only to the composition of a cosmetic, the shape of a shoe, or the colour of a robe:

'Can such conduct themselves
With honourable bearing, or give forth
Matter of high and glorious report?'

The mind of the hearer was just brought to the right point—it was on these simple weapons, on which Calonicë laid so little stress, that the success of this mighty project depended: it was washes, essences and dresses which were to be the great instruments in effecting the projected revolution: the men's swords were to fall powerless before a saffron-coloured robe—and a javelin was to become pointless, when encountered by a tunic of transparent fineness! 'But how,' exclaims the wondering Calonicë, already half a convert, 'is all this to be effected?' She does not

wait for a distinct answer:—a project which was to give sovereignty to the females, and peace to the country, by so easy and delightful a process, was not to be submitted to the cold calculations of reasoning, and her eagerness now becomes as apparent as her former indifference. She will send her saffron-coloured robe instantly to the dyer's—she will clothe herself in the finest tunic—she will purchase a pair of the valuable shoes called *peribarides*. Lysistrata sees her imagination kindling, and the finishing stroke is put to her character by the following hint.

Lys. A cause so noble might have won, methinks,
An earlier presence from our sex.

Cal. (*emphatically.*)

Had they

Out-stripp'd the wind, they yet had been too late!

The two ladies now indulge in a little scandal; the tardiness of Athenian women, always doing every thing but what they ought, with obscure hints at a certain incorrectness of taste in the ladies of Salamis, furnishing them with sufficient topics, till the arrival of company puts an end to this agreeable tête-à-tête. As the Congress pours in pretty rapidly, Calonicë gives way to her satirical disposition. Here's a whole legion advancing, says she to Lysistrata, whence do they come? From Anagyrus, is the reply. I thought as much, she rejoins, applying her handkerchief to her nose;—for Anagyrus was not only the name of an Attic borough, but also of a plant of very offensive qualities. Among the newcomers one only is specified by name, Myrrhina, who excuses her tardiness by the difficulty of finding her girdle in the dark.

Nothing now was wanting for the opening of the meeting but the arrival of the female deputies from Peloponnesus and Bœotia, who, in concert with these Athenian patriots, were to have the honour of revolutionizing Greece. They did not tarry long: in such an assembly, it will easily be imagined, that the entrances are not made without some comment; and as the ladies stand for their respective countries, the allusions are, of course, political and local as well as personal. The presence of the Spartan deputy (Lampito by name) seems particularly acceptable to the head of this reforming party. Her complexion and her person are warmly eulogised; but a modern fine lady will shudder when, among other commendations, she hears this fair Laconian complimented as possessing strength and vigour sufficient to strangle a bull. Lampito, however, takes it in very good part, and ascribes the blessing (under Castor and Pollux) to the prodigious exercise which she took, and to her continual practice in a dance, one of the principal characteristics of which consisted in striking the hinder part of the body with the heel; an exhibition which those who have formed their opinions of Spartan women on the romances

mances of Plutarch, will think but ill suited to wives and daughters of so lofty a character as he has given them.

The question soon naturally introduces itself,—Who had called them together, and what was the object of their assembling? Lysistrata stands forward as the person who had convoked the meeting; the purpose of it required a little more address and circumlocution. The speaker artfully prepares the company for it by leading them on to lament the distant countries into which the military service had drawn their husbands, the long periods of their absence, and the privations to which themselves were consequently subjected. ‘*My husband,*’ says the president, ‘has been six whole months at Pylus;’ ‘and mine,’ rejoins Calonicë, ‘nearly as many in Thrace, on the look-out for* what is likely to slip through his fingers;’ ‘and if mine returns for a few moments,’ says the Spartan, ‘his buckler is soon fastened to his arm and he is off again in a hurry.’ A fit opportunity is thus found for introducing the question,—What if a plan could be devised for putting an end to the war altogether, and of course to those miseries which were the necessary consequences of it—Would the ladies join heart and hand in it? The thing could not be doubted. Myrrhina declares, with an oath, that to forward so desirable a purpose, she would not hesitate to pawn the cloak on her back, and drink out the value of it in one day. Calonicë professes her readiness to be cut into two like a turbot, and to surrender one half for a consummation so devoutly to be wished. The Spartan deputy, to whom bodily labour cost nothing, would clamber to the top of Mount Taÿgetus to gain but a mere glimpse of Peace. The president, it should seem therefore, had only to propose her scheme, to see it carried by acclamation;—yet a doubt apparently hung over her that the sacrifice was too great to be expected. She was right. A proposition which involved in it the most absolute divorce between the two sexes so long as the war continued, was not to be heard with indifference. The satirical malice of the poet has surrounded its rejection—instânt and absolute rejection—with all that his wit could furnish; ridiculous it is indeed, in the original, to the highest degree; but there are feelings to be respected of much more value than the enjoyment of any mirth whatever. ‘The war must continue,’ said Myrrhina, after a pause,—‘There can be no peace,’ said Calonicë, after another. This was rather too much from a person whose former protesta-

* The original says—for Eucrates. This person, when treasurer of Athens, made off with a large sum of the public money. His escape passed into a proverb, and to look after Eucrates signified what is said in the text. By transporting Eucrates to Thrace, the poet alludes to the fear, which the Athenians entertained, that this country would revolt from them, as it was much inclined to do after the calamitous events in Sicily.

tions were so vehement, and the head of the party takes care to make her feel it; *And you too, 'turbot'!* is the instant and poignant retort! But the purpose of Lysistrata was not to be thus defeated: she therefore redoubles her caresses to Lampito; and a little flattery, aided by a laudable desire in the fair Spartan herself for peace, at last wins her over. Her assent is followed by the reluctant compliance of the rest; and the scheme of Lysistrata is temperately discussed.—It was certainly not a very profound one; but it discovered an unbounded confidence in the powers of the toilette, in the mysteries of which the Grecian women are understood to have been most deeply versed; but the lady shall speak for herself.

My life upon the scheme. Let rouge and fard
Adorn our cheeks. Then deck'd in purple* tunics,
Whose texture thin may aid not blunt the fancy,
Wait we our lords at home. They will forthwith
Be clapping cheeks and pinching fingers with us.
But dames indulge not their desires; ope not
Your pleasures to unmaster'd importunity,
'Till bond and seal ensure perpetual peace.
Keep firm, and peace is yours.

Lamp. It was the case
With Menelaus—he discern'd the form,
'The swelling bosom of th' uncover'd Helen;—
His upraised arm was palsied at the sight,
His sword dropp'd powerless.

As the Spartan women did not pique themselves on their learning any more than the men, Lampito, evidently afraid that this trait of scholarship might sit too gracefully upon her, qualifies it by adding, 'at least, I think that was the case.'

We cannot follow this congress through the whole of its proceedings, but the conclusion, as involving some of the lighter charges made by the comic writers against their countrywomen, deserves consideration. Circumstances transpire in the course of the debate, to make the scheme seem more feasible than was at first imagined,—the president takes advantage of this to propose the solemnity of an oath, as a means of inducing the members to abide more strictly by the new order of things. No repugnance is manifested, and Lysistrata is desired to prescribe the formula and the manner of it. The sprightly Athenian, apparently well versed in the dramatists of her country, calls to

* It has been somewhere observed, that the Spartan virgins did not run absolutely naked in the public games, and that the word naked merely applied to that sort of costume in which the Diana Succincta usually appears. The present passage of Aristophanes seems to confirm this opinion. The ladies in the text wear the *χιτών*, or covering next to the skin, and yet they are said to be *γυμναί* (naked). See also the *Andromachē* of Euripides, v. 598.

mind the passage in the 'Seven against Thebes,' where the chieftains take an oath upon a shield into which the blood of a bull had been previously poured, and proposes to follow the same plan. This, however, is overruled, from a superstitious feeling: a shield had reference to war; the object of the present party was peace: there was therefore no analogy in the two proceedings. The substitution of a white horse is rejected upon other pretences. Lysistrata, however, is not to be driven from her *Æschylus*; instead of a black shield, she gaily proposes a black goblet; in the same spirit of parody, a pitcher of Thasian wine is to take the place of bullock's blood, and the first part of the oath to consist of an adjuration, which if the Athenian females have not been belied, would cost them very little pain,—that no infusion of water should pollute this precious liquor. The scheme being approved,—a cup, or rather a whole manufactory of cups, makes its appearance, and a wine-skin is brought forward as the victim: Lysistrata, after a short prayer to Persuasion, pours the liquor into the goblet, and Lampito, declares that it sheds a most delicious perfume. The whole party then solemnly lay their hands upon the goblet, the chieftain enunciates the oath, and Myrrhina takes it in the name of the rest:—it was no light one, and the assistant accordingly confesses at the second line, that her knees tremble under her.

Lys. Gallant and husband, both adieu!

Myr. Gallant and husband, both adieu.

Lys. I live, but, trust me, not for you.

Myr. I live, but, trust me, not for you.

Lys. Though love's commingled joys and pains

Send poison circling through your veins,

From me no med'cine may you buy;—

I keep cold house with chastity.

And yet to kindle warm desire,

To raise and not to quench the fire,

I'll paint my cheeks, I'll braid my hair,

And malice self shall make me fair.

Nor think that force my love may win;—

'Twill add but labour to the sin.

[*rest.*]

Now to my lips this cup I take: (*takes the goblet from the*

So may I ne'er this compact break;

If elseway thought or wish incline,—

May water mingle with the wine! (*drinks.*)

Such is a specimen of the humour which the chartered muse of Aristophanes was allowed to throw upon the women of Athens. Whether it be legitimate in its sources, the taste of the reader must determine: that it was neither manly nor generous in the Athenians to encourage even merited ridicule against a sex, whom
their

their own regulations first tended to degrade, will, we think, be readily and universally allowed. It has been explained, however, that the old comedy is not to be construed too strictly; it belonged to a peculiar festival, where the author was obliged to carry his understanding, as it were, *incognito*, and was little more than those images of plaster, which after having served the purposes of a day, are broken up, and thrown aside.

But whatever range of humour the Athenians might allow to their comic writers, they were too wise a people not to know that the mothers of their children deserved respect; and that, however their mental cultivation might be disregarded, there was a still more valuable feature in the female character, around which too many guards could not possibly be thrown. The point of honour which was to be derived in future times from the same northern people, whose mythology has supplied us with no mean substitute for the fauns, and nymphs, and cupids of antiquity, the point of honour, which requires that sons should be brave, and that daughters should be chaste, this nice preserver of female modesty and virtue did not indeed exist; but that love of country, so predominant in the Greeks, and which throws a veil over so many of their errors and crimes, in some measure supplied its place. While self-vanity suggested, that to be a citizen of Athens was an honour which kings and potentates might envy, the claims to so proud a distinction were scrutinized by the law with the nicest severity, and the woman of character hence found a degree of respect attached to her, which made the preservation of reputation doubly dear, and taught her that the sole possession of this was more than an equivalent for the accomplishments and freedom which the privileged courtesan enjoyed. The law required that the pure blood of three generations should flow in his veins, who demanded to be considered as one of that nation which achieved the victories of Marathon and Plataea; and ample testimony remains to show that private jealousy enforced the mandate of the law, and that a pretender to the rights of Athenian citizenship had abundant necessity laid upon him to see that there was no defect in his claim. What desolation a sweeping enforcement of this law once carried into whole families, and with what difficulty the most favoured of Athenian statesmen saved himself from coming under its influence, the reader of the life of Pericles need not be informed. The son, whose father's transgressions had closed the rights of citizenship in his family, had one means of reprisal in his own hand; for that law, which compelled an Athenian to relieve the necessities of an indigent parent, was not imperative on him, whose birth, by the mother's side, was a reproach both to the parent and the offspring.

But

But laws far more strict guarded the sanctity of the nuptial bed. The very inclination to trespass on domestic rights was, according to Maximus Tyrius, punishable by the law, and upon actual offence the honour of the injured party might be redeemed by various means of vengeance: by such satisfaction as money could afford; by punishments which worked upon the sense of ridicule as well as pain; by the extinction of sight, and by death. On the female offender the terrors of the law fell no less heavily: the power of instant death was in the hands of the injured party; and if life was granted, it was upon such terms as made the boon little desirable. Like the adulterer, she was debarred access to those sacred buildings where alone a guilty mind finds relief; and an intrusion into them made it lawful to treat her with every indignity short of death. Her dowry became the property of her husband; she was forbidden to wear any ornaments about her person, and whoever pleased might tear them from her; blows which did not amount to mutilation or loss of life, being allowed on the occasion: she might be set up to sale, and if no purchaser could be found for her, the husband was allowed to retain her as the lowest of his slaves. Such were some of the laws at Athens respecting women of character; they may seem severe; but self-respect rises in proportion to the apparent value that is set upon us, and a sensible woman saw more real regard in the restraints imposed upon the possession of virtue, than in the freedom and even knowledge, which in Athens rewarded the absence of it.

The writings of antiquity do not lead us to infer, that virgin chastity was guarded by such strict laws as wedded honour: our means of judging on the subject are almost wholly confined to such specimens of the new comedy of the Greeks as have reached us through the medium of latin translations, and in them it is by no means uncommon to find the denouement of the play turning upon the circumstance of an unmarried woman, who had become a mother during some of those licentious festivals, which occasionally withdrew both married and unmarried persons from the shade of domestic retirement, without being able to specify, on whom the rights of paternity were to be conferred. A heavy fine seems originally to have been the penalty for these offences. The injured party had afterwards, according to Hermogenes, the option of becoming the wife of the criminal without bringing him a dowry, or of demanding his life as a compensation. As the compassionate feelings of the sex very rarely enforced the last clause of the edict, Syrianus assures us, that the right of commutation was rescinded, and only the severer sentence allowed to remain in force.

We have now to trace a different picture in the republic of Athens. In literature and in arts, she had found that to follow the dictates of nature was the course most likely to crown her efforts with success: and so wisely had her practice conformed with the observation of her intellect, that her productions often lead us to exclaim in the words of the grammarian of Alexandria, O nature and art, which of you two has imitated the other! She now dared to desert her guide, or rather to set herself up in opposition to it. Nature had cried with a voice almost audible to woman, 'to be respectable you must be chaste.' Athens had the audacity to say, 'to be prized and regarded among us, you must be unchaste.' In this bold warfare, the cunning Greek, we shall see, commenced his operations under the banners of the enemy with whom he contended; but even with this advantage, and with the conventions of society and even of religion in his favour, nature was too strong for him, and in spite of himself, he was obliged to submit to those eternal laws, which every where attach contempt and degradation to the loss of female virtue.

It was not with any ordinary person that such an attack upon the decency of manners would commence, and history accordingly justifies us in ascribing it to the first and most mighty of Athenian statesmen; to the man, who, with the powers of oratory common to the two greatest of our own statesmen, united that taste for literature and elegant retirement which distinguished the one, and *almost* that force of character which shone so conspicuously pre-eminent in the other. That licentiousness in its coarsest shape existed in Athens before the time of Pericles, the establishments of Solon,* and the curious four-in-hand† which Themistocles is recorded to have driven, in his youthful days, into the agora at Athens, sufficiently testify: but it remained for the lover of the beautiful and accomplished Aspasia to remove the odium which was attached to such conduct, and to reduce to a system, what modern profligacy has only dared to announce, that vice, by losing its deformity, loses half its guilt. It was an attempt worthy of him whose unruffled remorselessness of ambition broke down all the barriers which the wisdom of Solon had placed between the senate and the people, and thereby threw the whole of the Athenian government, deliberative, executive, financial and judicial, into the hands of the populace, thus constituting the most odious and terrible of all despotisms, the despotism of the mob. It was worthy of the man who filled the porticos of Athens with

* Grotius in Excerpt. p. 765. Agrippa, Vanit. Scient. cap. de Lenoniū, ascribes a similar establishment to Pope Sixtus IV. Sed et recentioribus temporibus Sixtus Pont. Max. Romæ nobile admodum lupanar extruxit.

† Athenæus, p. 376.

paintings, and left her frontier towns unguarded; who bribed his countrymen with their own money into dissipation, and with the common money of Greece into injustice; who made Athens a mere stage for venal and factious demagogues, by crippling the powers of that venerable court which had existed for more than a thousand years, without one complaint against the justice of its decisions, and which expired, as became its dignity, in directing its last appeal against these profligate and most fatal proceedings. —The pestilence which Pericles engendered by shutting up the population of Attica within the narrow limits of the metropolis, was a slight evil to the plague, which under his influence and example infected their morals;—but the blaze of his prodigious talents has too much blinded our eyes to his transgressions, and to the posthumous infamy which he deserved for bequeathing such a legacy as Alcibiades to his country,—without those fences of education which he had a right to expect from one who stood to him in the double relation of kinsman and of guardian.

It would not be long before the effect of such influence would become visible among the citizens of Athens; and accordingly we find that whatever restrictions they imposed upon themselves, with regard to those in whom estates and rights of citizenship were to be perpetuated, they made themselves ample amends with a class of females in whom the same motives for restraint did not exist—a class whose connexion with the arts, the literature, and even the religion of their country, independently of the peculiar education they received, has made them in some degree a subject of historical importance. For them, as well as for many other subjects of consideration connected with Greece, we have not a name properly naturalized in our language: in that of the country to which they belonged they were called *Hetæra*, (*ἑταῖραι*), or female friends; and the great orator, whose business it was to classify and arrange, has left us a clear definition of the rank which they held, and the purpose they were meant to serve among the female population of Athens. *The courtesan,' says Demosthenes,* 'is intended only for the gratification of the senses. By means of wives we become the fathers of legitimate children, and maintain faithful guardians for our houses; the *hetæra*' (we must be allowed to continue the use of the word) 'was meant to promote the enjoyment of life.' In conformity with these views, the education which was denied to the woman of character was sedulously bestowed upon the woman who thus consented to purchase knowledge at the price of character. To sing, to dance, to play upon the lyre, to blow the single and the

* In *Oratione pro Nearch.*

double flute, were accomplishments in which the hetæra was, from the tenderest years, carefully instructed; and though Grecian manners did not admit of her appearing upon the stage, the habits of private life afforded ample opportunity for the display of these talents, and for advancing the fortunes of the possessor of them. Though decent female society made no part of the charms of convivial or conversational meetings among the Greeks, yet the feast was thought incomplete, unless its enjoyments were heightened by a display of the talents which belonged exclusively to this class. The higher of the philosophers, indeed, professed* to find more pleasure in their own conversation than in the exhibition of the dancing-woman or the flute-performer; and judging from the grace and elegance displayed in the representations of persons of this description found at Herculaneum, it must be confessed that great self-denial was implied in the abstinence: but the young and the gay thought otherwise; the talent of the performer on the cithara or flute, coupled with those graces of society which this intercourse naturally promoted, and which contrasted so forcibly with the manners and acquirements of the more retired housewife, excited among *them* the highest admiration; and, as the Greek plays sufficiently testify, often gained her a splendid establishment† for life. But dancing and

* Plato's Symposium.

† It was her musical talents which procured the extravagant Lania an introduction to the celebrated Demetrius Poliorcetes, whose prosperity was a golden harvest for the hetæra of Greece. A prince, a warrior and a scholar,—these were charms to captivate any heart—in woman's eyes the 'stormer of cities' was something more, he was cast in the mould of the most perfect manly beauty. The following epistle is from a collection of letters, which being derived, it is understood, from Greek comedies that have not come down to us, appear a fair criterion on which to form an estimate of some of the modes of life in Athens. Of their extreme indelicacy the letter itself contains internal evidence, which need not be pointed out.

LANIA TO DEMETRIUS.—'If there be any boldness in this proceeding, you must take the blame to yourself. Such a king as you are, and yet you permit an hetæra to write to you! And where indeed is the wonder after all! you that descend to my prison, why should you not stoop to my letters!—My lord and master, when I see you abroad with your diadem on your head, in the midst of your guards and your retinue, your martial pomp and your ministers of state, Venus help me, if I do not tremble and feel terrified and confounded! I turn away my eyes as from the sun, lest they should fail me in the fiery splendour: then indeed I recognize Demetrius the stormer of cities. At the sight of that stern and martial air I distrust myself, and 'Lania,' I say, 'is this the man who deigns to share your couch? Is this he to whom you pipe and blow the flute for a whole night together,—who has now condescended to become your correspondent, and who puts you on a footing with Guathama?' Abashed and confounded by my boldness I lose all powers of speech, and sit silently waiting for your presence. As my wish gratified! Oh, then I fall at your feet and worship, till wrapt in your embraces and devoured with your kisses, I assume a different language, and I say to myself, 'Is this the stormer of cities? Is this the man of camps and war, the scourge of Macedon, the terror of Greece, the master of Thrace? By the powers of love! I will be the city-stormer to day, and with no other weapon than my flute; see what terms the enemy will make with me.'—I have a request for your royal ear. You will sup with me this evening,

and music are accomplishments which very ordinary minds can attain, and with which ordinary minds are contented to be satisfied: the hetæra, who aspired to rank high in her profession, and to emulate a Thargelia or an Aspasia, embraced a much greater range of education. The comic theatre, which appears to have been shut against the modest woman, was open to her, and opportunities were thus furnished for acquiring that knowledge of human nature which the monotony of domestic life forbade, and that conversational tact in which the mere housewife must have been entirely deficient. To the refinement thus acquired, was frequently added a knowledge of the powers of oratory. The Funeral Speech in Thucydides, which has been declared by an excellent judge* to defy either imitation or paraphrase beyond any composition that ever was committed to writing, we have the authority of Plato† for saying, was written by a woman;—by the Aspasia, with whom the class of persons we are describing originated, and from whom Socrates professed to derive his knowledge of rhetoric and erotics. The woman thus trained and educated became the companion of statesmen, of poets and philosophers; she lived and conversed with those who had the

evening, and be my guest for the next three days. I am holding my annual feast to Venus, and it is a point with me, that the present celebration shall exceed all preceding ones. You will find in your reception all that tenderness and magnificence can bestow: your bounty has put the fast into my power, and for the first—from that night—that sacred night—I have done nothing which should disgrace your benefits: I have never abused the indulgence which your generosity allowed me; my person, in spite of your permission, remains yours, and yours only. Fear no meretricious tricks or deceptions from me. Diana blast me, if from that sacred hour I have received either letter or offer;—who indeed would dare to make them in the face of your invincibility! Love, O King, is quick in his movements: hasty to come, prompt to depart: his wings grow upon hope, but without hope they soon fall away. And on this is founded the great art of our profession; the art to put off present enjoyment, and to keep a lover in play by his hopes. Accordingly, sometimes we have a religious ceremony to perform—sometimes we have a convenient indisposition: now we are at our notes, our flute-music or our dancing; now there is a feast to be celebrated, and now a house to be embellished:—obstacles are thus put in the way of pleasures, which are otherwise apt to fade and pall, and minds are kept in a state of proper inflammation.—But to the entertainment I am preparing for you. Be assured, that its fame shall not be confined to the house (and I propose to give it in our friend Therippidion's mansion) in which it is held: if all Athens and Greece be not full of it, may the dullest solitude be my portion! But more than all, the Spartans—(foes as they have proved at Ephesus, they need something to give them an air of manhood)—shall talk it over on their cold mountains, and their dreary deserts: they will find no end, I warrant, to their invectives, and to the contrast they will find between your polished humanity and their Lycurgan rudeness.—Let them talk as they will, great lord.—Be you only observant of the day of our feast. The choice of the house I leave to you; and what you choose must be right.—*Alciphron's Epistolæ, lib. ii. epist. 1.*

* Mitford's Grecian Hist. vol. iii. p. 108.

† In Menæxeno, p. 403. From the continual banter in which the Platonic Socrates indulges, this declaration is not perhaps to be taken too strictly. But that this 'Ninon' of antiquity tempered the composition of Pericles by graces, which the severer precepts of Anaxagoras would not have imparted, there can be no doubt.

gift of immortality in their hands; and accordingly, while the modest but unlettered housewife sunk into oblivion, the hetæra became the subject of history; her birth was made an object of curiosity; her fortunes were carefully traced; her *bons-mots** and sallies of wit were diligently registered; and after wearing a diadem, perhaps, during her life, she was buried in a tomb which, from its unrivalled magnificence, a stranger to Athenian customs was apt to think dedicated to the most perfect of her heroes, philosophers or statesmen.†

This was surely an elegant superstructure;—it was raised on a foundation still more calculated to catch the common eye; and this war against nature was carried on, as we have observed, with arms furnished from her own magazines. It was made the first requisite in the class of persons we are describing, that they should eminently excel in the graces both of face and person. It is generally understood that the country which produced such exquisite models of manly beauty, was not so fortunate in its female productions; and it appears to confirm M. de Pauw's assertion of the general want of beauty in Attic women, that most of the more distinguished hetærae at Athens were captives made in war, or strangers who found that metropolis the best market for their charms. As manners grew more corrupt, and the demand for women of this kind made the number of voluntary members insufficient, we find, in the later ages of Greece, a professional person‡ growing into great practice, who made it his business to search the neighbouring islands and shores for these desirable objects; and with all his diligence it was no easy matter to supply them satisfactorily. In a town where statues of the most graceful proportion abounded in every temple and in almost every street and house; and where porticoes were crowded with paintings, in which one beautiful object vied with another, provocations existed for the dullest imagination; and an Athenian might well be excused for being fastidiously nice on the subject of beauty. Tests indeed for trying its merits existed, which must have made the most perfect beauty shrink and feel fearful of the scrutiny. The Roxanë of Aetion, the Sosandra of Calamis, the Juno of Euphranor, and the Cassandra of Polygnotus, presented models which a

* The 13th book of Athenæus is full of them. We are no great admirers of Grecian *bons-mots* in general; but if there wanted any testimony to prove to us the low state of female intellect in Athens, it would be this collection of sayings, which from courtesy, it is to be presumed, were allowed to pass for pleasantries in that metropolis. To be grossly indecent and tolerably stupid, is almost peculiar to the female wits of Athens.

† Such, according to Dicaearchus, was the opinion generally excited by the appearance of the tomb of Pythionice in the Road, called The Sacred.

‡ The character of the leno, or male slave-dealer, is admirably developed in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, the female as admirably in the *Asinaria*. Act. 1. Scene 3.

Grecian beauty might perhaps approach without any violent degree of alarm, and rather for the purposes of instruction than comparison. The comparison became somewhat more dangerous when she drew near the Lemnian Minerva of Phidias, the Amazon leaning upon her spear by the same sculptor, and the Campaspè of Apelles. The contour of the face and exact symmetry of the nose, she knew, would be critically examined by the former, and the opening of the mouth and the neck by the second; while the Campaspè with all its life and blood, and formed in the true genius of Grecian art, which threw a veil over nothing, left her no right to calculate on imagination supplying the deficiencies of reality. The Cnidian Venus by Praxiteles, and the 'Venus in the gardens of Alcamenes' completed the canons of criticism. The forehead, the *εὐγραμμον* of the eye-brows, that mixture of quickness and brightness (*ὕγρον ἄμα τῷ φαίδρῳ*) which Grecian taste required in the eyes, were adjudged by the former; the cheeks, the turn of the wrist, the fingers, which diminish insensibly to a point, and that, which the writer on the Beautiful and Sublime declares to be the most beautiful object in nature, were estimated by the latter.

Though all these master-pieces did not exist at one and the same period, enough were in being from the earliest times to raise in the susceptible minds of the Athenians a very high idea of personal beauty; and among no people did it excite stronger emotions. Beauty was considered as one of the first gifts of heaven; prizes were instituted for ascertaining in whom it existed most in perfection; stories were circulated of the vengeance which fell upon the insulters of it, and its possessor in perfection was viewed with something like the reverence which belonged to the divinities of her country. A young beauty was scarcely safe even in her cradle; and when goddesses, according to the mythic tales of Greece, contended for superiority of personal charms, the females of the country might very well be pardoned for feeling jealous about a possession which attracted so much notice both from gods and men. 'Have you heard of the new beauty that is in *training* (*θηριωτίζουσα*) by Apelles?' write the sisterhood* of Corinth to their friends in Athens; and they use but the common language of the times. 'O prodigious ignorance, if you have yet to hear of it! There is but one woman in Greece, and *Lais* carries all before her. *Lais* is the theme of the perfumers' shops; *Lais* is the talk of the theatres; in the Ecclesia, in the courts of justice, and in the senate-house, nothing is heard but *Lais*. In all places and among all descriptions of persons nothing but

* *Fragmenta Alciphronis*, V. 2.

Lais ;—the very dumb nod to one another the praises of her beauty,* and Lais is a tongue to those who possess not the power of speech.† Nor were these the opinions merely of the young and the susceptible. The gravest philosophers allowed that beauty was the most valuable and the divinest of all perfections ; and idealists, who existed in Greece as well as in Germany, heard with no great repugnance the definition which declared virtue itself to be the most distinguished of all pursuits, merely because it was the most beautiful. An appeal from earth to heaven in favour of these declarations was unfortunately too well justified by the tales of mythology. While men admitted of no excuse for the aberrations of their consorts, the gods, it was declared,‡ had juster notions of the power of beauty, and readily forgave the delinquencies into which the sight of it in mere mortals sometimes led their too susceptible partners : while female divinities themselves were so far from considering these concessions as matters which required a veil of concealment, that they rather made them a subject of ostentation, and considered them as indispensable subjects of insertion in the hymns, which were sung to their honour.

We have entered into these details, (and we might have enlarged them by adverting to some religious opinions of the ancients on the subject,) to shew, that if a woman could have risen superior to that law of nature, which enjoins chastity as the first of her virtues, it must have been in Greece ; and we do not mean to deny, that with the conventions of society in her favour, the hetæra often united with accomplishments thus calculated to dazzle, qualities of the heart which raised her above the contempt that, in spite of all precaution, fell upon her situation. With the exception of one virtue, many of them are certainly exhibited, in the New Comedy, (the only means of reference we have for opinions on the point,) in colours the most amiable. There is a certain period indeed in female life, which even ignorance cannot render altogether uninteresting ; but its beauty, like the odours of night-flowers, is rather felt, than capable of being brought under actual vision. Depending upon a certain mixture of artlessness,

* Lais was indeed a model for a painter. When dressed, say the writers of the times, or those who copied after them, her face was the most beautiful part about her ; when undressed, she was all face. (A little sarcasm, not worth explaining, was aimed in this expression at another beauty of the day.) Neither too thin nor too fleshy, she exhibited that happy medium which unites delicacy with substance, and which combined the ‘*corpus solidum*’ of the ancients with the ‘*délicé*’ of the French. Her hair, curled by the hand of nature, flowed softly down her shoulders. Her eyes were said by her admirers (and they swore it as well as said it) to be rounder than the full moon, blacker than ebony in the pupil, and whiter (than ivory) in the white which encompassed the pupil.

† Isocrates in *Laudatione Helenæ*, p. 112.

‡ See Athenæus, lib. xiii. 573.

and unacquaintance with the world, while the passions yet slumber in their cells, its nice shades are so little fitted for the coarse feelings of a public audience, that scarcely more than two of the modern dramatists (*Molière* and our own *Shakspeare*) can be said to have attempted it. The Greek dramatists, however, if we may judge from the versions of *Terence* and *Plautus*, seem to have been fond of portraits of this kind; they were all drawn from the class of persons whom we have just been describing, and there is no reason for supposing that the *Antiphila*, the *Silenium*, and *Philematium* of the stage, were not actually to be found in society. The following letter, by collecting into one focus many of the scattered rays of the comedians, has partly destroyed the effect of simplicity, but it will help to give an idea of the character to which we have just referred.

MENECEIDES to EUTHYCLIDES.

'I have lost her—she is gone—the beautiful *Bacchis* is no more. She is gone, my friend, and left me nothing but tears and the remembrance of a love, sweet beyond expression while it lasted, but bitter beyond sufferance in its conclusion. Never, never shall I forget her. What feeling, what sensibility, what humanity she possessed! Her life mightly justly be deemed an apology for the whole profession to which she belonged!—and the members of it would act but justly by placing a statue to her memory in the temple of *Venus* or the *Graces*. Her conduct, so admirably did she shape her manners, was a complete refutation of the vulgar charges urged against those of her vocation,—that they are mischievous and faithless—that they have an eye merely to their own advantage,—that they are the property of the best giver, and that those who consort with them, must only look for evil from the connexion. You remember that *Mede*, who lately landed here from *Syria*, his pomp, and his retinue; you have heard too, perhaps, of his ostentatious promises and offers to *Bacchis*:—eunuchs, maid-servants, dress and finery, nothing was to equal her establishment. To his great indignation and in despite of it, she would not admit the prodigal promiser. She preferred reposing under my little every-day mantle; and satisfied with my sparing and humble presents, she spurned the satrap and his splendid donations. The *Ægyptian* merchant and his mountains of silver fared no better. Never surely was there so excellent a creature! She had virtues which some good genius ought to have transferred to a more honourable condition of life. But she is gone—she has left me—she has made her bed, where she will have no bed-fellow! Shame on the *Fates*, who do not allow me to take my place by her side. And yet I survive! Nay I eat, and I drink; and I converse with my friends! I have lost the light of her eyes, and her smile, and her gentleness, and the sweet chidings of those delicious evenings,—and yet I exist! One little minute back, how apposite was her conversation! how sweet her look! how delicious her kisses! Her lips were the seat of persuasion, and when her girdle was on, it was as if *Venus* and the *Graces* had joined hands.

and united in the same person. And those little songs, which she sang among our cups—and the sounds of that lyre which her ivory fingers used to put in motion—they are gone, never to return! she who uttered them is deaf, dumb, mute; she is ashes, dust. And Megara the strumpet lives! Megara, the merciless, who pillaged poor Theages, till the wretch, from a man of fair property, was fain to betake himself to the wars with nothing but a mantle and a buckler. *She* lives; and Bacchis—Dearest Euthycles, my sorrows become easier as I pour them into thy friendly bosom—to talk and to write of *her* is sweet! Alas! the remembrance of her is all that I now have left.*

It only remains to shew that whatever temporary glare the histories of an Aspasia, a Pythionice, or a Neæra might throw over the condition just described; a closer inspection will convince us of the truth of what has been more than once asserted in the course of these remarks, that the great law of nature which determines chastity to be the first virtue in a woman, could not be superseded by the conventional agreements of society: and in fact, Athenian law, to a certain extent, went in accordance with the dictates of nature. To wear a dress of a particular description—to be debarred the use of certain ornaments—to be denied all servile assistance except from persons of the same class as herself—to be excluded from the services and sacrifices of the temples, and, what to female minds was, perhaps, a still more trying privation, to be excluded from the splendid processions which often preceded those sacrifices, were among the privations, to which, if the law was strictly obeyed, every offender against modesty was subjected in Attica. The great objects of Athenian ambition were, strictly speaking, shut against a young man, who owed his birth to such a connexion: for he could not exercise the talents of oratory in the senate, or the Ecclesia, or the various courts of law. The wit of a Timotheus might turn to the brighter side of the picture and feel grateful to a mother who had made him the son of Conon; but the tongue which found itself tied in the public assemblies, no doubt broke out sometimes into private invective against the cause of a privation, which to an ambitious and loquacious Athenian must have been peculiarly galling. The free-born Athenian woman, who embraced this profession, immediately lost all her rights and privileges: she ranked in future merely with the wife or daughter of a metic or sojourner in Athens; and a consciousness of the degradation thus incurred, generally led them, it appears, to change their names, and to annihilate, as much as in them lay, their previous existence.

The rest of our picture must be a little coarse. What we call

* Epistolæ Alciphronis, lib. i. Epist. 38.

† Plaut. in *Pœnulo*.
a lady,

a lady, that is, a woman, who to virtue and intellect unites the dignity of manners which is inseparable from the former, and the facility of manners which is a general result of the possession of the latter—was a being, which, so far from existing in Greece, does not appear to have entered in the remotest degree into the conception of a Greek. Some approximation to a *fine* lady his tragedy did furnish;* but it confined the character, and we think not unwisely, to the wife of Agamemnon,—an adulteress and a murderer. Where female reputation stood on this footing, we may imagine what licence of speech would be allowed against persons whose very situation presupposed a forfeiture of any title to respect. Athens, like Florence and modern Rome, was a country of nick-names; and, as its first consolation, private scandal took care to affix the most opprobrious appellations to persons over whom the favour of princes, poets, or philosophers had thrown an artificial lustre. Lamia, whose avarice† was as destructive to the inhabitants of towns, as the warlike machines of her lover Demetrius were to the towns themselves, derived her appellation from one of the most destructive of those which were used by her too bountiful lover. Gnathana, whose wit was so often directed against others, became the subject of raillery in her turn, and was nicknamed ‘the Cistern.’ Lais, to whom Venus Melænis descended in a dream, and promised a plentiful harvest of lovers, was, for the severity with which she exacted the price of her favours, surnamed ‘the Hatchet.’ Nico was politely termed ‘the She-goat:’ Callisto was as gallantly nicknamed ‘the Sow,’ while her mother became proverbially known under the title of ‘the Crow.’ The love of wine gave a name to more than one of the class, with adjuncts in some cases, which could not well be specified, and may be left in the obscurity of the language to which they belong.

But the great place of correction for persons of this class was the stage; and they seem to have felt it. The Old Comedy had occasionally dealt them a side blow or two; but when, by a change of laws and government, the characters of public men were rescued from the hands of the dramatist, the Greek appetite for scandal was compensated by making the stage the vehicle of attack upon public women. The Thalatta of Diocles, the Corianno of Pherecrates, the Anteia of Eunicius, the Thais and

* Euripides in *Electra*.

† On one occasion, says Plutarch, Demetrius commanded the Athenians to raise immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents; and the payment was exacted with the utmost rigour. As soon as it was collected, he ordered it all to be given to Lamia and her companions to buy soap.—*Life of Demetrius*. It must be remembered, that a good story is never injured in Plutarch’s writings, by any questions tending to affect its truth or its probability.

Phanium of Menander, the *Opora* of Alexis, and the *Clepsydra* of Eubulus were all dramas deriving their names from celebrated courtezans or hetæraë; and fragments enough of these comedies remain, exclusive of the translations of Plautus and Terence, to show in what spirit they were generally written.

The obscurity from which the hetæraë frequently sprang, formed a convenient topic of reproach for those whose faculty of observation did not extend far beyond mere exterior. The angry lover, who remembered in the Phrynë, whose wealth enabled her to offer to rebuild the walls of Thebes, the same Phrynë who in earlier days had earned a livelihood by a very humble employment, did not want an organ for expressing his disdainful remiscences on the stage—

— Wretch that I am,

She had my love, when a mere caper-gatherer,
And fortune's smiles as yet were wanting to her.
I never pinch'd nor spar'd in my expenses,
Yet now—doors closely barr'd are all the recompence
That waits on former bounties ill bestow'd!*

The reverses which persons of this profession were naturally apt to make to themselves, formed a more just topic of ridicule: and the lines† which commemorated the downfall of the once select and opulent *Lais*, coarse as they are, were, no doubt, in every body's mouth.

Alas for *Lais* !

A slut, a wine-bibber—her only care
Is to supply the cravings of the day,
To eat and drink—to masticate and tippie.
The eagle and herself are fittest parallels.
In the first prime and lustlihood of youth,
The mountain king ne'er quits his royal eyrie,
But lamb, or stragglng sheep, or earth-couch'd hare,
Caught in his grip, repays the fierce descent :
But when old age hath sapp'd his mettle's vigour,
He sits upon the temple tops, forlorn,
In all the squalid wretchedness of famine,
And merely serves to point an augur's tale.
Just such another prodigy is *Lais* !
Full teeming coffers swell'd her pride of youth :
Her person, ever fresh and new, your satrap
Was more accessible than she ;—but now,
That life is flagging at the goal, and like
An unstrung lute, her limbs are out of tune,
She is become so lavish of her presence,
That being daily swallow'd by men's eyes,
They surfeit at the sight.

* Athenæus, p. 567.

† *Idem*, p. 370.

She's grown companion to the common streets—
Want her who will, a stater, a three-obol piece,
Or a mere draught of wine brings her to hand!
Nay place a silver stiver in your palm,
And, shocking tameness! she will stoop forthwith
To pick it out.

As the line was not very nicely drawn between the mere courtesan and the hetæra, it will also be readily believed, that the same aberrations took place in the one, which the loss of honour is invariably found to produce in the other; and that the charges of mercenariness, extravagance, jealousy, deception, faithlessness, want of honesty, &c. could with the most perfect justice be ascribed to both. From numerous passages of ancient authors, substantiating the whole of these charges, we shall select one which is more particularly directed against the common want of principle in these females.

'Would to heaven,' writes Petalé to Simalion,* 'that one of my profession could support her establishment upon tears! I might then live in splendour; for you have an inexhaustible fountain, and they are wonderfully at the service of your friends. But, alas! we must have other accompaniments, money, dress, equipage, attendants: all these a person like me must have, or farewell to her trade. I have no little paternal estate in Myrrhinus, nor any share in the public mines: my whole support depends upon what I can wring from silly hair-brain'd boys. One whole year I have devoted to poverty and you: during that time not a single box of perfume has crossed my eyes, and my head is perfectly dry; as for the old tatter'd Tarentine mantle—s'death!—I feel my cheeks burn whenever I exhibit in it. . . . What! *have you no such thing as a drinking cup at home? Is your mother without jewels, has your father no little bills or bonds, on which you can lay your hands?*—Happy Philotes! you were born under more fortunate stars! you have a lover indeed in Meneclides! not a day but he brings you a present—no tears, it is true, but something infinitely better. My lot is differently cast. I have a mourner for a gallant and not a lover; one who considers me as a corpse *in prospectu*; and sends me chaplets and roses accordingly, and then forsooth tells me he has spent the whole night in tears. I have but two little words: if you have any thing to bring me, come; but—observe—no tears; if otherwise,—be your own tormentor, and not mine.'

We take leave of a subject, which is beginning to be not very attractive, with a fragment, (*Athen. p. 558.*) whose vehemence of indignation will probably excite a smile. The writer had either been unfortunate in his connexions; or, he had the grace to feel that mothers, who discharge the first of all duties, and mistresses of families, who discharge by no means the last, deserved an occa-

* Epist. Alciphronis, lib. i. ep. 36.

sional triumph over those, who often were neither mothers nor mistresses of families, and who in Athens, as elsewhere, must occasionally have made the ties of consanguinity both painful and odious.

‘ Away, away, with these same female friends!

He whose embraces have encircled one,
Will own a monster has been in his arms ;—

Fell as a dragon is, fire-spouting like
Chimæra, like the rapid ocean-portent,
Three-headed and dog-snouted !—

Harpies are less obscene in touch than they :
The tigress robb’d of her first whelps, more merciful :

Asps, Scorpions, Vipers, amphisbenæ dire,
Cerastes, Ellops, Dipsas, all in one !—

But come, let’s pass them in review before us,
And see how close the parallels will hold.

And first for Plangon : where in the scale place *her* ?
E’en rank her with the beast whose breath is flame.

Like her she deals combustion round ; and foreigners
By scores have perish’d in her conflagrations.

One only ’scaped the fair incendiary,
And that by virtue of his nimble steed.

He pack’d his baggage and turn’d tail upon her.—

Have commerce with Sinope, and you’ll find
That Lerna’s monster was no tale ; for like

The hydra she can multiply her members,
And fair Gnathæna is the present offshoot :

Her morning charms for beauties in the wane
Compensate—but—the dupe pays doubly for’t.

There’s Nanno too :—Nanno and Scylla’s pool
Bear close similitude : two swains have made

Already shipwreck in that gulph ; a third
Had shar’d their fortunes, but the wiser boy

Plied well his oars and boldly stood to sea-ward.

If Nanno’s Scylla, Phryne is Charybdis :

Woe to the wretch who comes within her tide !

Engulph’d in whelming waves, both bark and mariner
Are suck’d into th’ abyss of quick perdition !

And what’s Theano ? bald, and bare, and peel’d

With whom but close-pluck’d Sirens ranks she ? woman
In face and voice ; but in her feet—a blackbird.

But why enlarge my nomenclature ? Sphinx is

A common name for all : on her enigma

Is moulded all their speech :—love, fealty,

Affection,—these are terms drop clear enough

From them, but at their heels comes a request,

Wrapt up in tortuous phrase of nice perplexity.

(*Mimics.*)—“ A four-foot couch perchance would grace their
chamber !

Their

'Their needs forsooth require a chair—three footed,
Or, for the nonce, two-footed—'twould content them."
He that is vers'd in points and tricks, like Œdipus,
Hears, and escapes perchance with purse uninjur'd ;
The easy fool gapes, gazes, and — hey! presto!
Both purse and person's gone !'

- ART. X.—1. *The Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, as a Colony to Great Britain, independently of the Advantages it possesses as a Military and Naval Station, and the Key to our Territorial Possessions in India.* By Richard Barnard Fisher, Esq. The Third Edition, with Additions. 1819.
2. *Considerations on the Means of affording Profitable Employment to the redundant Population of Great Britain and Ireland, through the Medium of an improved and correct System of Colonization in the British Territories in Southern Africa.* 1819.
3. *Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope.* By William J. Burchell, Esq. 1819.
4. *The Cape of Good Hope Calendar, and Agriculturist's Guide; containing a correct Account of all the Public Offices, Military Forces, and other Establishments in that Colony. Together with a brief Description of its Soil, Agriculture, and Commerce. Intended for the Use of those Persons who may become Settlers. As compiled by G. Ross, Superintendent of the Government Press in that Settlement. Illustrated with a correct Map of the Colony.* 1819.
5. *An Account of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a View to the Information of Emigrants. And an Appendix, containing the Orders of Government to Persons disposed to settle there.* 1819.
6. *A Guide to the Cape of Good Hope, describing its Geographical Situation, Climate, &c.* 1819.
7. *The Emigrant's Guide to the Cape of Good Hope, containing a Description of the Climate, Soil, and Productions of the Colony, from the latest and most authentic Sources of Information—with Directions to Emigrants in general. To which are added, a full Account of the Meeting at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, &c.* By John Wilson. 1819.
8. *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816, with some Account of the Missionary Settlements of the United Brethren near the Cape of Good Hope.* By the Rev. C. J. Latrobe. London. 1818.

IT will not be necessary, for our present purpose, to take up the time of our readers in discussing the *cause* of that distress which, for some time past, has been pressing hard on certain classes

classes of the labouring and manufacturing poor; it is enough to know that it exists;—and more than enough to apprehend, from the result of the active and anxious inquiries of men competent to the task, that the country does not, and cannot, under any circumstances, command the means of regular and permanent employment for its increased and increasing population. This important fact was only not sooner discovered, or, more strictly speaking, not sooner felt, on account of the peculiar circumstances of the war in which we were engaged—a war, novel in its character and unparalleled in its duration. That war having ceased, and with it the factitious provision by which multitudes had been supported, it quickly became manifest, that the supply of labour was greater than the demand; and that a large portion of the population, more particularly that part of it which was connected with the army and navy, to the amount of several hundred thousands, (Mr. Colquhoun says two millions,) being thrown back upon the public, must necessarily remain unemployed, and become a burden to the rest of the community.

In referring to past times and to the history of other countries, it will be found that, whenever population began to press severely against the means of subsistence, the remedy resorted to was emigration;—not by single families, but in whole hordes like the northern Tartars, or whole legions like the Romans; their invariable policy being to cast their swarms when the hive was full. China and Japan are, perhaps, the only exceptions from this practice. Of the latter country we know but little; but enough is known of the former to deter any civilized society from following its example in this respect; or from submitting, if possible to avoid it, to that last and most dreadful of its resources, famine, by which whole provinces are laid waste, and the population brought down to the level of subsistence.

If it should appear, then, that all other measures are little better than palliatives of the evil, wholly inadequate to afford any permanent relief, the only material point to be settled would be that of the *direction* into which the tide of emigration should be turned. The decision became the more urgent when it appeared that ship after ship was regorging on our shores loads of disappointed emigrants who, after fleeing to what they fondly imagined a land of liberty and plenty, but which, on their arrival, they found to be the abode of beggary, bondage, and disease, were returned, stripped of every thing, to swell the surplus population, and to increase the number of unprofitable consumers. That our own colonies claimed the preference could admit of no doubt; and among those which, on every account, might be considered as most eligible, there could be no hesitation in making choice of that which, from
the

the nature of its produce, the salubrity of its climate, and the advantages of its situation, should appear to hold out the most flattering prospect of reciprocal benefit to the mother-country, and to the individuals who might wish to leave it in search of better fortune.

THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE has always maintained a favourable hold on the public opinion. Long before it fell into our possession, the passing visitors of this celebrated promontory were lavish in their praises of its fine climate, equally removed from the extremes of heat and cold; of its beautiful flowers and choice fruits, some of which were always in season; of the excellent quality of its bread, and the variety and abundance of its vegetables; of the neat and cleanly condition of the capacious houses; and of the substantial comforts and the respectable appearance of every class of its inhabitants. It might be urged perhaps, that some little deduction should be made from the glowing descriptions usually given by persons landing at this 'half-way house,' (as it was called) after a long voyage; and yet, making every allowance, it must be admitted, that the excellence of that soil and climate cannot be greatly exaggerated which will produce, at the same time, and in boundless profusion, the apple and the orange, the peach and the pear, the grape and the apricot, the guava and the strawberry, together with a great variety of other fruits and esculent vegetables, the natural growth of countries situated both within and without the tropics. When, added to all this, we behold with our own eyes, the multitude of heaths of surpassing elegance and beauty, the endless variety of bulbous-rooted flowers, and a long list of the choicest flowering shrubs and herbaceous plants which are brought with some care to adorn our conservatories, but which are there scattered in wild and spontaneous profusion over the country, it cannot but enhance our good opinion of a spot favoured with so much beauty and elegance.

That such a feeling for the Cape of Good Hope, whether correct or not, does prevail, was very manifest when, at the close of last session of Parliament, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the intention of his Majesty's government to extend the colonization of that settlement. The measure was not merely approved, but hailed with applause by every part of the House; so that instead of 50,000*l.* the minister might, we believe, with the same ease, have obtained, if he had thought it expedient, a much larger sum.

The same predilection was equally conspicuous in the crowds which daily thronged Downing Street, in order to await the decision of the Colonial Department on their applications to be enrolled in the number of those who were to add to the population

population of this happy country : and it may be inferred to prevail still more generally in the public mind, from the multitude of publications got up on the spur of the occasion, professedly for the guidance and instruction of the new colonists. The titles of a cluster of these productions we have prefixed to this Article, not so much for the sake of investigating their respective merits, which, with the exception of the last, are, in truth, but slender, as from a wish to warn the public, and more especially the emigrant, of the gross mistakes and the exaggerated statements which they contain. From these ephemeral shoots of the press, the sanguine but inexperienced emigrant would be led to conclude the influence of the climate and the fertility of the soil in Southern Africa to be such, that nature there yielded spontaneously her most valuable productions, and that the hand of man was required only to be stretched forth to gather them ; in short, that the feast was prepared, the table spread, and that the guests had nothing more to do than to take their seats, and fall to the repast. If there be any (and we fear there are) about to embark under such extravagant notions, woeful indeed will be their disappointment !

To moderate the indulgence of unreasonable expectation, and to check the ardour of incautious adventure, a plain, concise, and correct view of the present state of that portion of Southern Africa, comprehended within the limits of the Cape of Good Hope colony, would be of great use in a two-fold point of view ;—first, as it regards those who may already be on the eve of departure ; and, secondly, the public at large ; for we should deem it a most unfortunate circumstance, if the disastrous results of improvident speculation, or the disappointed hopes of artisans and labourers, should be the means of throwing a damp on a measure which, by common prudence, cannot fail, in no great length of time, to be of the utmost advantage both to the colony and the mother-country. We intreat our readers to believe that we come to the discussion of this interesting subject with many advantages ; we happen to have some local knowledge of the country, and we have before us every thing, we believe, that has been written on it. In the absence, therefore, of such a work as we are deploring, a few observations from us may not, perhaps, be altogether without their value.

A word or two must be previously offered on the respective publications at the head of this Article. The first is that of Mr. Barnard Fisher, who, we believe, was paymaster to a regiment in Cape Town. It is intended, he says, to prove to England ‘ the importance of the Cape in a colonial point of view : ’ this we presume was sufficiently well understood in England before,—but what are
Mr.

Mr. Fisher's proofs?—a few garbled extracts from the only book,* as he tells us, 'that affords real information, with amusement, on the subject;—assertions, for which he has no authority;—and an extraordinary degree of ignorance respecting those very objects which immediately surrounded him. Scarcely a page occurs in which there is not some gross absurdity, some ludicrous blunder, or some false information. He thus gravely puts forward the profundity of his knowledge: 'Every nation or people on the face of the globe have a language, or mode of conversing with and understanding each other.' We have scarcely signified our assent to this simple truism, when he as gravely tells us that 'the Hottentots certainly have no such thing as language, and many of them have scarcely the power of articulation.' It would seem to follow, therefore, that these 'rational hinds' (as Don Armado called Costard) are neither a 'nation' nor a 'people.' Yet Mr. Fisher means no such thing; for he immediately subjoins that 'they do pronounce a *few words*;' but then, he continues, (as if alarmed at this concession in their favour,) 'those few words upon inquiry, will be found to be either Portuguese or Dutch.' How many hundred or thousand years previously to the arrival of these Europeans the poor Hottentots had remained dumb, Mr. Fisher does not condescend to inform us; but as he obligingly instructs us that 'the garrulity of the magpie, the solemn hooting of the owl, the chattering of the daw, and the cackling of the goose' are 'sounds or language,' in which all these creatures have a prodigious advantage over the Hottentot, who could neither speak nor cackle, hoot nor chatter, it is manifest in what rank of the animal creation he means to place him. (p. viii.) Then these hapless beings, whose harsh and wiry hair is described as 'woolly,' 'have little or no memory whatever; though' (wonderful to relate) 'a knowledge of medicinal herbs and plants, and poisons, is innate in them.' (p. ix).

The qualifications of Mr. Fisher might be settled from his prefatory matter; but as his blunders and absurdities have worked their way (if we may credit the title-page) to a *third edition*, and have been the cause of misleading the principal promoter of the measure for extending the colonization of the Cape, we shall notice a few more of them. 'The finest part of the year,' he says, 'is the winter, when it frequently rains in torrents for many days, and the houses and the whole town are deluged with water;' in this '*finest*' part of the year too, the 'cold damp is intolerable.' (p. 5.) We are then told of 'cascades and torrents from the dissolving of the snow' where snow was never seen, ex-

cepting on the summits of the distant mountains, and even there very rarely. 'The soil,' he says, 'is very different in different places, but the most prevailing *are* a black peaty or boggy sort of soil, like that of the fens in Lincolnshire, or the bogs of Allen, in Ireland : ' (p. 14)—or rather,—for we must take leave to adjust Mr. Fisher's similitude here,—like that of the mountains of the Hebrides! With regard to the products of the soil, he tells us that 'no indigenous vegetables were found, excepting the *article* of trees and grasses, some few fruits and roots ; ' (p. 15)—a pretty broad exception! Naturalists will bear with astonishment, or delight, perhaps, that 'sheep and goats are become so mixed in their breed that it will soon become difficult to separate them : ' in corroboration of this extraordinary fact it is asserted that 'they are indiscriminately eaten as mutton.' This confusion of breeds seems pretty widely spread at the Cape, for we soon afterwards learn that ostriches, whom we have been taught to estimate principally for their tails, are 'very extraordinary and valuable birds, or rather animals, *in as much* as they partake of both ! ' (p. 81). When Mr. Fisher quits ostriches and goats, and comes to the local advantages of the country, he is not much more fortunate in his conceptions. Of Saldanha bay, he states that 'ships might not only be repaired, but built there ; and that ships of all nations would most readily come in for the purpose.'—of being 'built,' we presume. This bay too, we are told, is *centrically* situated, and, therefore, most proper for the site of the capital of the colony.—Centrically! If Mr. Fisher means, as we suppose, centrally, Saldanha bay lies on the coast, distant from one extremity of the colony about sixty miles, and from the other about six hundred.—But enough of Mr. Fisher.

The next work, which bears the title of 'Considerations,' &c. ; and which, though without a name, is ascribed, we believe justly, to Mr. Colquhoun, abounds with good sense in all that relates to the means of affording profitable employment to the redundant population* of the empire ; while the benevolent intentions of its author are every where apparent : but the erroneous information gleaned from Mr. Fisher has led him astray, especially on the subject of Saldanha bay, on the shores of which he has laid his plan for building a town for seven or eight thousand inhabitants, and for obtaining a grant of land from government of *one million of acres*, or a tract of country extending about forty miles in every direction, with a charter for the incorporation of a joint stock company, on certain conditions, which are detailed at full length. The absurdity of such a plan (which, however, we understand, was very seriously entertained, and even proposed to government) will be at once obvious, when we state, from our own knowledge,

knowledge, that freehold and leasehold estates are held on the very margins of the bay, and that the portion of the colony which was to be included within these 'million of acres,' is, at least, as densely peopled, and as extensively occupied and cultivated as any similar extent of land in any other part of the colony; the districts of Zwartland, of Reebeck's Casteel, Groenekloof, and the Twenty-four rivers, the granaries of the colony, all lying within the limits proposed for the new settlement! 'The harbour of Saldanha bay (the author says, the finest in the world) lies in latitude 33° S. bearing nearly east and west, north and south, forming almost a circular bar, about five miles in extent, with a creek about five or six miles in length running parallel to the coast in a south direction towards Cape Town, in which ships and vessels are completely land-locked and protected;' (p. 19.) and this description, which is altogether unintelligible, is copied verbatim in every one of the pamphlets which the occasion has called forth! We are further informed that 'the eastern banks of Saldanha bay, *from the nature of the ground*, is admirably adapted for building a town.'—The 'nature of the ground' is a continued line of moving sand-hills, which we should humbly conceive to be very ill adapted for such a purpose.

In statements of this kind, Mr. Colquhoun has merely been misled: we find it more difficult to account for a person of his experience venturing to inform his readers that 'elephants and ostriches would augment as population increases,' (p. 17.); or that 'Indian corn or maize grows spontaneously without cultivation.' Of his eighteen articles of export which South Africa is to supply to an unlimited extent, we will take upon ourselves to strike off nine as wholly gratuitous.

Mr. Burchell, it seems, travelled far into the interior, and passed some years among the natives who dwell beyond the pale of the Cape government; and we are only surprised that, under such circumstances, his book should contain so scanty a portion of actual information. He was, we understand, a 'culler of simples,' and he certainly seems to have culled little else. The settlement which he recommends lies behind the Sneuberg, on or about the Sea Cow river, and on some of the branches of the Orange river. To this point, and farther, the colony may one day advance, but certainly will never begin there. Mr. Burchell might as well talk of planting a settlement behind the Himalaya mountains. He means well, however; but we do not see that his book can be of any use to those who are about to emigrate.

Mr. Ross, acting under the direction of government, as superintendent of the printing press at the Cape, is no doubt well

qualified for printing the 'Cape Calendar,' and registering the hard and indigestible names of the Dutch functionaries. The queer appellations too of the districts and the streets of Cape Town, and the table of stamp duties, may be very correctly given by him; but when he ventures to dabble in botany, and talk about the '*protes argentia*,' and the '*nycanthis scambac*,' into which name he has tortured the Arabian jasmine, he must excuse us if we question both his knowledge and his judgment:—this, however, and his assertion that 'daisies are as numerous as in England,' in a part of the world where no 'daisy' was ever yet found in a wild state, are harmless blunders; which is more than can be said of those which he has committed in speaking of the depreciation of the paper currency. Having told his readers that a *rix-dollar* is equal to four shillings, and that *four rix-dollars* make *twenty shillings*, (a mode of arithmetic not to be found in Cocker,) he adds this notable piece of information, which is repeated by all the trumpery publications which we have seen on the subject, that 'the rate of exchange is exceedingly advantageous to the settler, being at this present moment about 110 per cent. in favour of England,—consequently, whatever property a person may think necessary to take with him, it will more than double its value on his arrival.'—(p. 19.)

Can Mr. Ross be so ignorant as not to know that the merchant who imports his goods into the colony must lay on them such a price as will cover the premium which he has to pay for his remittance to England? Had he paused for a moment, he might have recollected that when the pound sterling was reckoned at *five rix-dollars*, in other words, when the exchange was at par, a leaguer of Cape wine cost about fifty rix-dollars; and that now, when the pound is upwards of *ten*, a leaguer of the same wine sells from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty rix-dollars, and all other articles of produce in the same proportion.

The next on our list is 'An Account of the Cape of Good Hope, with a View to the Information of Emigrants;' a small volume which unquestionably does convey more full and correct 'information' than all the rest taken together. The writer openly avows, that he 'has freely availed himself of the many interesting pictures of the Cape Colony which modern travels supply; to the superior work of Mr. Barrow, in particular, he has been much indebted; nor has he omitted to consult the observations of Vaillant, Lichtenstein, and Campbell, or the interesting Journal of the Rev. Mr. Latrobe:' and his reason for doing so is a sound and serious one,—that the works themselves would cost the emigrant ten guineas, whereas his contribution amounts only to six shillings and sixpence. We do not hesitate

tate to say, that he has availed himself with judgment of these authors' labours.

The two 'Guides,' we fear, will prove but *blind guides* to those who put their trust in them. The first, however, has made a notable discovery, namely, that, in the happy country to which so many are anxiously flocking, *cotton-wool* is produced from the backs of the *sheep*. (p. 17.) This hodge-podge of ignorance and vulgarity consists of garbled extracts from the pamphlets of Colquhoun and Fisher, with some precious observations made by a certain 'learned traveller of the name of the Reverend Peter Kobel,'—we suppose Mr. Peter Kolbe, who wrote a description of the Cape about one hundred years ago, at a time when the wolves and hyenas prowled nightly before the gates of the castle; and when superstition led the colonists to assert, and Kolbe gravely to publish, that a brilliant flame, in the shape of a serpent wearing on its head a kingly crown, played on the edge of the Table Mountain, night after night, for a month together. But the accuracy with which this compiler quotes, is about equal to that of his designation of the author quoted. John Wilson, who puts his name to the last of these 'Guides,' is merely a simpleton, who, by scraping together the ignorant trash uttered at the Crown and Anchor, and mixing it up with a few paragraphs from the newspapers, circulars from the Colonial Department, &c., has manufactured a cheap article which, like Hodge's razors, is meant for sale, and nothing more.

It has been observed, and with justice, that in these meagre contributions 'none but the fair side of the picture has been exhibited; that no discriminating hand has been stretched forth to separate the bad from the good, and no warning voice lifted up to forbid unfounded expectation, nor prevent improvident adventure.' This task we have set ourselves, and we shall use our best endeavours to perform it, with all the fidelity which the importance of the subject demands; conscientiously believing ourselves to be as free from bias on this as on any other question, in which we have not the least personal concern. We wish well to the undertaking; convinced that, under proper regulations, it will in time be the means of extending civilization in Southern Africa greatly beyond the limits at present contemplated. The objections, or, as the writer to whom we have now alluded calls them, 'the features of less agreeable appearance,' will be noticed as we proceed.

In our reviews of Lichtenstein's and Campbell's 'Travels in Southern Africa,'* we took a general view of the natural history

* See Nos. XVI, and XXVI.

of the Southern angle of Africa. We shall now confine our observations to that part of it which is colonized, and to those subjects which more immediately concern the new settlers who are about to proceed under the conditions laid down by His Majesty's government. In doing this, we wish we could speak in more flattering terms of the literary and scientific labours of our countrymen:—but truth compels us to state that, during the twenty years we have held possession of the Cape of Good Hope, not a single survey has been made:—that it is not known what extent of land is cultivable; what rivers are navigable:—to sum up all in a word, there exists no detailed information on which the government at home can venture to make a single specific grant.

According to the most accurate information we yet have of that portion of South Africa, which is comprehended within the limits of the Cape Colony, its western shore extends about 315 miles, from the Table Mountain to the river Koussie; and its southern shore 580 miles easterly, from the same mountain to the Great Fish river: its narrowest part being about the middle of the latter line, and its widest towards the eastern extremity; comprizing about 120,000 square miles. Several ranges of mountains, nearly parallel to one another and to the southern coast, stretch in the direction of east and west almost across the whole extent,—but approaching each other near the Cape, they turn off to the northward and terminate in a rugged hilly surface, which loses itself in tracts of sand or extensive plains of naked clay. The geognostical structure of these mountains is extremely simple, and, we believe, remarkably uniform throughout all the ranges. Clay slate and gneiss form their bases to the height of a hundred feet or more above the level of the sea; then granite, and lastly, a superincumbent mass of sand-stone, red, yellow and grey, terminating frequently in flat table land, but having the line much interrupted by rugged conical peaks.

The general surface between the nearest range of mountains and the sea coast is broken into hill and dale, the former consisting chiefly of masses of reddish sandstone and feldspar, mixed with sand and quartz crystals; the latter, of sand mixed with vegetable earth. In the deep ravines on the southern side of these mountains, which the Dutch call *kloofs*, and which have been formed by, and now carry off, the mountain-streams, the most exuberant vegetation prevails; and it is in those ravines on the southern side of the range of mountains nearest the sea coast, and in those only, that extensive forests of large timber trees occur, stretching from the point opposite Mossel Bay to Sitsicamma, beyond Plettenberg's Bay, a distance of nearly 200 miles, but frequently interrupted by naked ridges between the ravines.

These

These kloofs, and the valleys into which they open, are the most valuable spots in the colony, and of course are partially, if not wholly, occupied.

Beyond the first range of mountains, and between it and the second, which is called the Zwart Berg, or Black Mountain, the surface is more elevated and of a ruder character, appearing as if composed of the strewn fragments from the broken summits of the two ranges. Though crossed by several mountain-streams, it has little of the luxuriant character of the lower grounds. Beyond the Zwart Berg, and between it and the third range, which forms the northern boundary of the colony, is an extensive plain, differing in its character from both the other two. With little variation of surface, it extends from east to west 300 miles in length, and eighty miles in width from north to south. This elevated region would seem to be on a level with the summit of the granite stratum. It presents to the eye a naked surface of clay sprinkled with quartzose sand and small crystals, with masses of feldspar and hornblende; and wherever this surface rises into a hill of considerable elevation, it is almost invariably composed of horizontal strata of a reddish coloured sandstone, which is that generally found immediately above the granite.

This and similar plains are well known to the colonists by the name of *karroo*; they are utterly uninhabitable; their surface is scarcely ever moistened by a shower; and they produce little or nothing beyond a few stunted and shrivelled plants of the geranium, mysembryanthemum, euphorbia, and some few succulent plants of a humbler kind, which appear to preserve the living principle only by means of their own humidity. The dreary expanse of these karroos is seldom broken, or the eye relieved by the least verdure, except where some mountain-stream has formed a passage in its way to the sea, the winding banks of which are pointed out by a dark waving line of the thorny mimosa. In such places only, under the shade of these trees, are found a few shrubby plants and coarse grasses, just sufficient to afford a scanty supply to the half famished oxen of the distant colonists, whose waggons cross these plains in their way to the Cape.

To say the truth, the general appearance of the Cape is not at any time very inviting, and least of all at the close of the summer months, when the emigrants will probably have their first view of this celebrated promontory. The mass of naked rock which composes the Table Mountain, and its two flanks, equally destitute of verdure, frowning over the cluster of white-washed houses at their feet; the distant range of mountains of the same bald appearance and character; the general want of vegetation and the total

absence of trees, with the exception of a few stunted oaks scarcely visible, in front of the town, and two or three fir-trees in one of the ravines, will be apt to call to his mind the poet's well known description of another country, to which it is much less applicable ;

‘ Far as the eye can reach no tree is seen,
Earth, clad in russet, scorns the lively green.’

On setting his foot on shore, at this season, his eye will meet with nothing calculated to cheer his hopes. He will observe a naked plain of hard clay or gravel, glistening with pebbles of quartz, and evidently impenetrable by plough or spade ; and if he should chance to meet with some of those long trains of eight, twelve, and even sixteen oxen, which are daily seen dragging the produce of the interior into the capital, their lank bodies and bones ready to burst through their skin will materially cloud the flattering prospects with which he set out, and dispose him, perhaps, to ask himself—‘ if this be the land of promise and of plenty for which he left his native country and connections?’ and he will be but too apt to accuse those authors of exaggeration, who have indulged in glowing descriptions of the multitude of beautiful and elegant plants which adorn the surface, and the rich hues of those ever varied flowers whose vivid colours delight the eye, and whose fragrant odours perfume the air.

A very considerable change, however, takes place in the aspect of the African landscape after the rains have begun to fall ; and the same emigrant, landing at the Cape in the month of July or August, instead of February or March, would perceive with surprise those clayey and gravelly plains, which before were naked and hard as a turnpike road, now covered with rich crops of barley ; and, in places not cultivated, meet with an endless variety of beautiful flowers spreading themselves over the surface. It is at this period that the glowing description of Mr. Latrobe (whose work forms a singular contrast to those which precede it in our list, and can only be paralleled, we think, with the interesting and delightful Icelandic Tour of Dr. Henderson,*) may be admitted as bearing no distant resemblance to the truth.

‘ The bountiful Creator,’ says Mr. Latrobe, ‘ has been pleased to clothe this country, unproductive as it generally is in means of subsistence for man and beast, with an astonishing profusion of vegetable beauty. Hardly a spot exists, upon which some curious and beautiful plant does not rear its head in its proper season ; and in the midst of this brown desert, we see the magnificent chandelier (aloe) or red star-flower,

* See No. XXXVIII.

measuring from four or five inches to a foot and a half, in the spread of its rays, growing luxuriantly among stones and sand.'—p. 194.

Of the 120,000 square miles included within the present limits of the colony, one half may fairly be subtracted for 'the karroo plains and naked ranges of mountains; and of the remaining 60,000 we may safely take away a moiety as of little or no value: we shall still have 30,000 square miles of productive country. From the nature of the surface which we have briefly described, and the prevailing scarcity of water which the sandy soil speedily absorbs, it will be readily supposed that these are not all arable; on the contrary we should say that one third part only, or 10,000 square miles, is ever likely to feel the ploughshare; the other two thirds, however, are exceedingly well adapted for sheep, and also for the grazing, or rather browsing of cattle.

These 30,000 square miles (nearly 20,000,000 acres) are held, as it is called, by about 3000 families. Hence it will be seen how very small a portion of this extensive country is occupied, much less put under any kind of culture, and how very thinly the scanty population is scattered over it. Till of late years it was divided into four districts only—the Cape, Stellenbosch, Zwellendam, and Graaff Reynet; over each of which was placed a chief magistrate named the Landrost; but the last three have been subdivided into Tulbagh, George, and Uitenhage; each also having its landrost, and its town or village, church, and school. From this we may infer the improving state of the colony. The strongest proof of it, however, is the great increase of the population. In 1798,* it appeared, from the annual census, officially, but not very accurately, taken, that the total population of whites, slaves, and Hottentots, amounted to about 62,000; of which 22,000 were whites, 26,000 slaves, and 14,000 Hottentots: at present, we understand, it amounts very nearly to 100,000.

The productions of the colony are valuable and varied, but the three great staple commodities may be considered to consist of Wine, Wheat, and Wool; of the importance of which we shall be able to form a better idea, from taking a short view of the situation of the three different kinds of landholders, known in the Cape by the names of the *Wyn-boor*, the *Koorn-boor*, and the *Fee-boor*; that is to say, the wine-grower, the corn-grower, and the grazier.

The cultivation of the vine was first introduced into the colony by some French Protestants, who had fled thither in search of an asylum after the revocation of the decree of Nantz. At that time it was almost limited to the Cape peninsula; but these new settlers had lands assigned to them in freehold or

in quit rent, on the other side of the sandy isthmus which connects it with the continent, but within the boundary of the great chain of mountains. The valley of Drakenstein, the Paarlberg, and Stellenbosch, afforded them a choice of situation; and it was chiefly here, and within a range of thirty miles from the Cape, that they fixed themselves; and here many of their descendants reside at this day. Their establishments are large; their houses spacious and respectable, and wearing the appearance of substantial comfort. Trees of immense size, in clumps or in avenues, of oak, pine, chesnut, and others of European origin, point out at a distance the habitation of the wine-planter. The orange, the lemon, the guava, the pomegranate, and many other tropical fruits mingle with those of Europe in their orchards, and their gardens are abundantly stocked with all the useful culinary vegetables. Their extensive vineyards are enclosed generally with thick and lofty screens of oak, which part with their leaves only three months in the year, and throw out annual shoots of ten or twelve feet in length. These hedge-rows are sometimes of quince, pomegranate, and even of myrtle. Most of the families of the old proprietors are in affluent circumstances. Their dwellings, in fact, resemble villages, and contain mechanics of all kinds, some free, but mostly slaves, who supply them with implements of husbandry, furniture, clothes, &c. In describing one of these comfortable retreats, Lichtenstein says, 'its situation directly under the lofty, steep, and craggy mountains, the bright green of the broad avenues of old oak, the excellently husbanded pastures and corn-fields, the nice-dressed vineyards, orchards, and orangeries; the sight of numberless well-fed cattle, and the widely-extended circle of neat buildings for barns, stables, wine-presses and work-shops, formed altogether a most delightful assemblage of objects. Easy affluence, rational utility, prudent caution, and useful attention to every thing being kept in the most exact order, were every where conspicuous throughout this little domain.'*

Their horses and cattle, of which they have generally a sufficient stock for the supply of their numerous families, are usually kept at some distant loan-farm, held by them in addition to their freeholds, which are generally about 120 English acres. They visit their friends or go to church or market in waggons covered with tents, and drawn by six or eight horses, which they drive, sitting on the front seat, more by the exercise of a long whip than by the rein, guiding them with wonderful dexterity on a full gallop, over heathy and deep sands, or up and down the steep

and stony passes of high and rugged hills. The wealthiest gentleman-farmer in England cannot be more independent than one of these old family freeholders of the Cape of Good Hope.

It might reasonably be supposed that those persons who carried the vine with them to this country knew something of its culture; and it is equally reasonable to conclude that, from its rapid and luxuriant growth, from the excellence and variety of the grapes, which rarely experience an unproductive season, from the different kinds of soil, situation, and aspect, it could scarcely happen by any mismanagement, that some specimens of good sound wine of a neat and delicate flavour should not be produced. Such, however, is not the case; at least none of this description have yet found their way to this country. Those of Drakenstein approach nearest to the Madeira, Vidonia, and Marzala; but are inferior to all of them. The Stein-wines, which were supposed to resemble those of the Rhine, were generally found to acquire by age a sweetish taste, owing to the over-ripeness of the fruit, and perhaps imperfect fermentation: they have now got into the opposite extreme, and produce a wine that is raw, harsh, and without flavour. The dry Pontac is by far the best that we have tasted; it has the roughness of Port with the flavour of Burgundy. The sweet wines are rich and luscious, but without much flavour. Even the Constantia is every way inferior to the Madeira Malmsy, Malaga, Calcavella, or Frontignac. But the manufactured trash which is selling in London under the names of Cape Champagne, Burgundy, Barsac, Sauterne, &c. are so many specious poisons, which the cheapness of the common and inferior wines of the Cape allows the venders of them to use as the basis of the several compositions, at the expense of the stomach and bowels of their customers, and of the little share of character which the real Cape wines had acquired.

The peculiar and disagreeable flavour which all Cape wines more or less possess, and which the Dutch call the *Caap-smaak*, has frequently been the subject of discussion; but the cause of it does not appear to have yet been discovered: this is much to be regretted; for until that characteristic *smaak* be removed, there is little hope that the Cape wines will be generally adopted in the British empire. It cannot arise, as some have supposed, from the vines being cut down to the size of gooseberry bushes, for that is the common practice in France and Germany. It might be conjectured, with more probability, to be owing to the careless manner of throwing the whole bunches, stalk and all, ripe, rotten, and unripe, under the press, and to other uncleanly practices; or to planting various kinds of grapes in the same vineyard,

which

which would, at any rate, prevent the wine from having any decisive character. But we are rather inclined to attribute the peculiar taste to the nature of the soil in which the vine is planted, than to any of these causes. In the whole colony of the Cape there are no volcanic products, no chalk nor limestone; sand and clay are the great constituent materials that compose its soil. Now we have understood that, in all the wine countries, a clayey soil is deemed the very worst for producing neat wine, and that wherever the root of the vine strikes down to the clay, the wines are sure to acquire an earthy taste. This is precisely the *Caap-smaak*; and as most of the vineyards of the colony are carefully brought down into the lowest and the richest tracts of land, instead of being, as in other countries, planted on the sides of the hills; and as the soils of all these lowlands in the Cape are mixed with clay in which the water lodges, (even the sandy isthmus rests on a bed of clay,) we have very little doubt that the soil is the main cause of this disagreeable flavour. We are the more confirmed in this opinion, from the circumstance of the vineyards of Constantia being planted in a soil of deep red decomposed sand-stone, and on the declivity of a hill; and from the well-known fact that the cuttings of the Constantia vines, though planted at a hundred yards below, produce a wine totally different in its flavour and quality. We should therefore strongly recommend to the new planters, the cultivation of the vine on the northern sides of the rugged sandstone hills, instead of the stronger soils of the plains and valleys: the distance from the Cape will be no great obstacle to this species of cultivation, as many years cannot pass away before a regular coasting trade will be established to the farthest extremity of the colony.

A trifling barrier duty of three or four rix-dollars the leaguer of 154 gallons is paid for all wines brought to market, amounting at present to about 12,000 leaguers annually. Brandy pays the same duty; and here we may observe, that the Cape brandies are even worse than the wines; but this is evidently owing to their imperfect distillation. Lichtenstein says, that their empyreumatic flavour was corrected by a friend of his, by means of charcoal, so as to make them equal to the best Cogniac brandies.

The *Koorn-boors* inhabit chiefly that portion of the Cape district to the northward and eastward of Saldanha Bay, and most parts of Stellenbosch, on both sides of the first range of mountains, as far as four or five days journey from Cape Town. Most of them cultivate the vine also for their own use, and that of their more distant neighbours; and since its advanced price, even those beyond the mountains bring wine to the Cape market. Many of them are substantial farmers, who can send to the capital four or five thousand

thousand bushels of wheat annually, besides their own supply, which is not trifling, and that of their neighbours, who content themselves with grazing cattle. Their houses are generally much inferior to those of the wine-boor; and they are usually to be known by six or eight trees, chiefly oak, which look as if they were placed there merely to shew, by their freshness and luxuriance of growth, that the owners might have others in different parts of their premises, if they had not predetermined that it should not be so. The vineyard of the corn-boor is the only patch that is enclosed, unless he should have, which is not often the case, a small garden, with a few straggling cabbages, or, which is still more rare, an orchard of oranges, peaches, and the more common fruits of the country.

The Cape corn-boor is an unskilful agriculturist. He knows nothing of the advantage of a rotation of crops; nor has he the most distant notion of raising any other kind of green food except a little barley and maize; though turnips, carrots, potatoes, lucern, clover, and, we have reason to think, every kind of artificial grass would do well in this climate. No provision of dry food is ever made to meet the contingency of a drought; and in consequence of this neglect the cattle sometimes perish in great numbers. Wheat is the only grain which he cultivates for the market: his plough is an unwieldy machine, which, heavily dragged along by twelve or sixteen oxen, just scratches the surface, and avoids any little patch that may be stony or bushy, or stiffer than the rest. He sometimes turns the ground to let it lie fallow, but seldom gives himself the trouble of collecting manure; yet he rarely reaps less than fifteen for one; frequently from twenty to thirty, and, when he has the command of water, a great deal more. The corn is carelessly trodden out, in circular clayed floors, by cattle; the straw and chaff were left to be scattered by the winds, till a demand for it by the English, who kept horses, induced the farmer to bring it to market. In few parts of the world is finer wheat produced than at the Cape. A *muid*, or $3\frac{1}{10}$ Winchester bushels, weighs usually 180 Dutch pounds, equal to $191\frac{1}{4}$ pounds English. Specimens of it, exhibited in Mark Lane, were considered superior to any other then in the market.

The grounds of the corn-boor being unenclosed, they have all the appearance, when the grain is off, of a heathy waste; though, by a moderate share of labour, they might in two or three years be completely sheltered, and protected by hedge-rows of oak, or of the *keurbroom* (*sophora*) which grows still more rapidly. We have very little doubt that the hawthorn would answer remarkably well; and the lemon makes an excellent fence. By a little exertion

of skill and labour, water might be raised from the rivers, which generally run in deep chasms, and thus be made available to the irrigation of land; in which case the returns of grain would at least double those now obtained. But the proprietors are so insensible, or so indifferent, that when Captain Andrews offered to lead the water of two copious springs to the grounds of a Dutch boor, provided he would sow them with grain, the man coolly observed, shrugging up his shoulders, 'that it was not worth while, as he could purchase what flour he wanted from his neighbour, who lived but five days' journey off.' This person, it is true, was placed at the extremity of the colony; but Mr. Latrobe gives us the reply of one of the most shrewd and sensible of the Dutch farmers who lived within two days' journey of the Cape, which shews that the feeling is very general among them. 'What,' said he, 'would you have us do? Our only concern is to fill our bellies, to get good clothes and houses; to say to one slave, Do this, and to another, Do that, and to sit idle ourselves, and be waited upon; and as to our tillage, or building, or planting, our forefathers did so and so, and were satisfied; and why should not we be the same? The English want us to use their ploughs, instead of our heavy wooden ones, and recommend other implements of husbandry than those we have been used to, but we like our old things best.'

The agricultural emigrant will perceive from this statement, how great an advantage he must, by his superior knowledge and industry, have over the Cape boor. The truth is, these farmers, possessing all the necessaries of life, gave themselves little or no concern about raising produce for which there was no demand; it was enough for their fathers, and, according to their own principle, for themselves, to supply the quota required by their rulers; beyond that no object existed to stimulate their exertion. Since our acquisition of the colony, however, and the abolition of the public granaries, the demand for exportable produce has increased; which, together with the diminution of the number of slaves, has contributed to create in such of the old proprietors, as reside within a reasonable distance of the capital, a degree of activity unknown under their former rulers.

Something of this spirit too, though in a smaller degree, has reached the more distant grazier, or Vee-boor. To understand the situation of this description of colonist, it will be necessary to explain the nature of the tenure by which he holds his farm, and the extent of territory of which he claims the exclusive right.

The Dutch East India Company, in forming a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, had no further object in view than that

of

of making it a place of refreshment for their spice fleets, in their passage to and from the Eastern islands ; and, at the same time, ensuring a comfortable provision for some of the numerous servants in their employ. The country, in the state in which they found it, yielded nothing for the markets of Europe or the East, and the supply of cattle for the small garrison and of sea-stock for their shipping was at first derived solely from the Hottentots. By degrees, the agents who carried on a barter with this simple nation, found their advantage in breeding cattle themselves ; and finally, by means of spirits and tobacco, they contrived not only to juggle the Hottentots out of the whole of their flocks and herds, but to compel them to take care of them. The Company, placing no value on the land, particularly such parts as lay behind the mountains, dealt it out to these graziers with a liberal hand : tracts of about 5000 acres each were granted in perpetual leasehold, on payment of an annual rent of 24 rix-dollars, or about £5 sterling, something less than a farthing an acre. The person desirous of obtaining one of these *loan-farms*, as they were called, having pitched upon an unoccupied spot, erected a *baaken*, or land-mark, on the most convenient spot, from which, as from a centre, all the land that fell within the periphery of a circle whose radius was half an hour's walk, or one mile and a half, was considered as comprized in the grant. The great object in placing this *baaken*, was to bring within the circle so much of some rivulet or water-course, as might leave little or no temptation for a *neighbour* to fix his *baaken* within three miles of it, but to leave as much neutral ground between them as possible ; since, if the distance between the extreme lines of the two farms was less than one hour's walk, no one was allowed to take possession of it. Hence it happened that the nearest neighbours were generally five or six miles apart, and in some places a whole day's journey.

Thus removed from the seat of authority, and placed where no one was near enough to see, much less control his actions, the Vee-boor lorded it over the kraal of Hottentots, with the undisputed power of a feudal chief, from whose tyranny they had no appeal. At length, however, the grievances of this oppressed race reached the Cape ; in consequence of which, and of the growing population, a local magistrate, together with a minister, was appointed and sent to a spot called Graaf Reynet, about five hundred miles from the capital. The turbulent boors, dispersed as they were, found means to act in concert when they conceived the occasion to require it, and accordingly assembled to drive away the landrost and the clergyman. This happened just as the colony fell into the possession of Great Britain ; and it was on this occasion that Mr.

Barrow

Barrow was sent officially to examine and report the real state of the colony, and particularly near the frontier. The disturbances continuing, it was found necessary to establish a small garrison at Algoa bay, and a cordon of posts along the line of the Great Fish river, to keep the refractory boors in awe, prevent their quarrels with the Caffres, and, if possible, put a stop to their mutual depredations.

These stubborn and misguided men, having no regular employment at home, were always ready to assemble what they called a *commando*, which, in fact, was a pretext to rove about beyond the limits of the colony, to destroy game, and, in default of other sport, to shoot the wild Hottentots, whom they call Bosjesmen. Frequently the boor sets out alone in order to kill time and break the even tenor of a lazy life. His enormous musket, which he names a *roer*, is his inseparable companion; indeed he would not consider himself safe without it: with it he travels with confidence; for so expert is he in hitting the mark, that he seldom fails to bring down his object, whether it be a Bosjesman or a wild beast, with a single ball. Of the unerring skill and steadiness of these men, the following may serve as a specimen. The hero of this little narrative was a person of the name of Von Wyk, and we give the story of his perilous and fearful shot in his own words.

‘It is now,’ said he, ‘more than two years since, in the very place where we stand, I ventured to take one of the most daring shots that ever was hazarded. My wife was sitting within the house, near the door; the children were playing about her: and I was without, near the house, bustled in doing something to a waggon, when suddenly, though it was mid-day, an enormous lion appeared, came up, and laid himself quietly down in the shade, upon the very threshold of the door. My wife, either frozen with fear, or aware of the danger attending any attempt to fly, remained motionless in her place, while the children took refuge in her lap. The cry they uttered attracted my attention, and I hastened towards the door; but my astonishment may well be conceived, when I found the entrance to it barred in such a way. Although the animal had not seen me, unarmed as I was, escape seemed impossible; yet I glided gently, scarcely knowing what I meant to do, to the side of the house, up to the window of my chamber, where I knew my loaded gun was standing. By a most happy chance, I had set it in the corner, close by the window, so that I could reach it with my hand; for, as you may perceive, the opening is too small to admit of my having got in; and still more fortunately, the door of the room was open, so that I could see the whole danger of the scene. The lion was beginning to move, perhaps with the intention of making a spring. There was no longer any time to think: I called softly to the mother not to be alarmed, and invoking the name of the Lord, fired my piece. The ball passed directly over the hair of my boy’s head, and
lodged

lodged in the forehead of the lion, immediately above his eyes, which shot forth, as it were, sparks of fire, and stretched him on the ground, so that he never stirred more.*

These rude and uneducated men, aware of their powers in this respect, though contemptible in all others, had the extreme rashness and folly to rise upon the British government, and summon one of the posts on the Caffre frontier to surrender; on the troops marching out to meet them, however, they galloped off in different directions, to their own homes. As this was the second time they had assembled in arms against the constituted authorities, it was deemed expedient, in order to deter them from such attempts in future, to execute five of those who had been the most active in promoting the rebellion.

To an European the whole establishment of a Vee-boor presents a scene of filth and discomfort which could scarcely be imagined. His hovel, generally perched on an eminence that no hostile attack may be made on it unperceived, whether by man or beast, has neither tree, nor shrub, nor blade of grass near it. A few straw huts, with a number of Hottentot women and children naked or half-clothed in sheep-skins, are the principal objects that attract the eye. Between these huts and the boor's house, and immediately in front of the latter, surrounded by withered bushes of the thorny mimosa, is the pen or *kraal* in which his cattle and his sheep are shut up at night, to protect them from the wolves and hyenas, or to prevent their straying. The dung of these kraals, the accumulation of years, sometimes rises to the very eves of the house; this, however, gives no concern to the boor, who would probably see it overtop them with equal apathy: the only chance, in fact, of its ever being cleared away is its taking fire, which in damp weather sometimes happens. The lambing season in this country is the season of rains, and it generally happens that not a few of the little ones, on being dropped, are smothered in the bog; a fate which sometimes attends the young calves—and this takes place within reach of woods or thickets of natural growth, where poles for constructing sheds might be had without trouble or expense!—but a suggestion of this kind leading to a deviation from the good old rule of doing exactly what *vader* had done before him, would be lost on the Cape boor.

Their breed of cattle is capable of great improvement, particularly that of the milch-cow. The long-legged, broad-tailed sheep is the least valuable, perhaps, of the species; it wants the intestine fat or suet; and its wool is little better than hair: but the cross of Merinos and South-down has been introduced with

* Lichtenstein's Travels in South Africa.

advantage, and the wool, which is said to equal the best Spanish, has already become a valuable article of export.

The interior of the Vee-boor's establishment is as slovenly as its exterior accompaniments : a clay floor, in the pits of which are splashes of sour milk or mud ; a roof open to the thatch ; a square hole or two in the wall for windows, without glass ; an old rug or blanket, or a wattled partition, separating the sleeping apartment, are the leading features of his hovel. A large chest, which serves as a table at home or a seat in his wagon when he travels ; a few ricketty stools with bottoms of the thongs of sheep skins ; a bedstead or two of the same fashion and material ; an iron pot and a few dishes ; a musket of tremendous size, and a large horn to contain his gunpowder, constitute nearly the whole inventory of his furniture—yet this man is probably the owner of five or six hundred head of cattle, and four or five thousand sheep. This picture, in which the reader may be assured there is nothing of caricature, may be taken as a general representation, though there are many exceptions to it : several of the farmers, who live at a distance, have carried with them the more polished manners of the Cape ; and almost all of them are friendly and hospitable to strangers.

Barrow and Lichtenstein have both described the filthy abodes of these people, and their accounts are confirmed by the following more recent description of Mr. Latrobe, which offers so true and lively a picture of one of them, that we cannot forbear to quote the whole passage.

‘ Meanwhile Sister Schmitt reported, that on going to procure some milk from the farmer’s wife, living on the hill eastward of our camp, she had found her to be a woman of uncommon size, occupying a huge arm chair, above a yard wide, out of which she was scarcely able to lift herself. She had expressed a wish to see the whole of our party, and certainly, though she herself would excite as much curiosity in England, as the famous Lambert, she had a right to consider us, as Englishmen, equally worthy of attention in Africa. Otherwise, being perfectly content with things of ordinary size and appearance, I should not have gone a step out of my way to see a monster. But being so kindly invited, we went in a body to pay the lady a morning-visit, at her own house, if the hovel she inhabited may be dignified by that name. It consists of an oblong square, inclosed in a wall of unburnt bricks, one half of which was covered with a roof of rushes. The entrance was through the uncovered part. In this vestibule three or four naked slave-children were crawling about ; a woman, partially clothed in rags, with a child strapped to her breast, was cooking some victuals at a fire, and dirt, guts, old shoes, rags of sheep-skins, and other filth, occupied every part of the premises, out and inside. On entering the main apartment, the first thing that met the eye, was the carcass of a sheep just killed, hanging from a cross-beam, with a pool of blood on the clay floor,

floor, under the head; five fox-coloured cats were sitting round, watching for their share of the spoil: a milk-pail, churn, and some other kitchen utensils to the right; and to the left, the lady herself, who kindly invited Sister Schmitt to come and sit down on a stool, between her and the pendant carcass. Her husband, a very civil, old man, with a grey beard, and a large straw hat, sat at the table, and a bench was placed for us, between the carcass and the door. The lady herself entered freely into conversation, told us, that notwithstanding her enormous bulk, she was only forty-three years old, and good-humouredly observed, that Sister Schmitt looked now only like a little girl, passing several jokes on the difference between them. Her face still retained some vivacity and comeliness. Her body entirely filled the vast chair she sat in, on the arms of which her elbows rested. She intended soon to remove to another habitation on Serjeants Revier. When once hoisted into the waggon, she can no more quit it, till she arrives at the place of her destination. From her wooden throne, she issued her commands to her slaves, Hottentots, and brutes, with the same shrill voice for which the African ladies are noted. Close to the dwelling, was the beast-kraal, and the surrounding premises exhibited a congeries of lumber, rags, ruin, and disorder, not to be described. Through all this chaos, ran a small stream of spring-water, clear as chrystal, in vain offering its aid to cleanse the Augean stable. The lady, however, conscious of mortality, had already provided herself with a coffin of immense size, which, with her gigantic bed, is screened off the apartment by a bulk-head of matting.—p. 189, 190.

Though there may be some excuse for the Vee-boor neither ploughing, nor planting vineyards, beyond the demands of his own consumption, there is none whatever for his slovenly habits, his total neglect of the decencies of life, and, above all, his inhuman and frequently dishonest conduct towards the Hottentots in his employ. Insulated as he is, and wholly removed from the benefit of a church or market, it would be unreasonable to expect from him the manners of polished society, or the dress and furniture which the carpenter and tailor could supply; but cleanliness is always within his reach, and it might be naturally supposed that self-gratification would induce a sufficient degree of domestic industry to supply himself with the common conveniences of a household;—not so: he prefers seeking them at a distance, and at an expense of toil and suffering far beyond their worth. The great distance from the Cape, the rough and rugged roads, the rivers frequently unfordable, render the whole value of his waggon load of the lightest articles of produce, by the time they reach the market, scarcely equal to the expenses of the journey; but the wandering life of two or three months suits his habits, and if he carries to the capital enough of butter, soap, ostrich feathers, and leopard skins, to purchase in return a

little coffee, brandy and gunpowder, the purpose of his journey and his life is answered.

To finish the picture of the genuine Dutch cattle-boor.—His appearance is that of indolence personified. Of large dimensions, but loosely put together, his motions are those of an automaton, or of the Brobdnagians in the pantomime. His dress corresponds with his person, consisting of a loose unbuttoned jacket without skirts, hanging over his shoulders; a shirt whose colour is not easily described, and whose open collar discovers a sunburnt neck and breast; skin-breeches unbuttoned at the knees, skin shoes, (stockings are out of the question,) and, to crown the whole, an enormous slouched hat, with a tobacco pipe stuck within the band when not on duty (and it enjoys no sinecure) in the mouth. His children run wild among the little Hottentots, and his wife crouches within the hovel as listless and as unwieldy as himself.

The next class of people, with whom the new settlers will be brought into immediate contact, are the Hottentots, the original possessors of the soil, whose total numbers within the colony (and there are none beyond it except the Bosjesmans or wild Hottentots) may probably amount to twenty thousand. Barrow makes them, according to official returns, about fifteen thousand; and there can be little doubt that, by the protection which they have received from the British government, their improved condition, mainly by the instruction of the missionaries, and their increased importance as labourers in the colony since the abolition of the slave-trade, their numbers, since his visit, have considerably augmented. We sincerely hope that this good-humoured and tractable race will meet with every encouragement from the new settlers, to whom they may be made of infinite service as keepers of their cattle, drivers of their carts or waggons, and labourers in their gardens. Their fate under the Dutch government has been a hard one. The old colonists, not satisfied with swindling them out of their territory, robbing them of their cattle by which alone they subsisted, and making them their slaves, justified their conduct by representing them as the most brutal and filthy of the human race; so that their very name (which by the way does not belong to them, nor is its origin known) became a reproach, and was held synonymous with every thing nauseous and disgusting. It is due to Vaillant to say that he was the first to publish to the world the good qualities of the Hottentot character; but General Craig, after the capture of the Cape, brought forward, experimentally, the physical and moral qualities of this degraded race, by forming them into a military corps, and proving how capable they were of strict discipline, obedience, instruction, and,

and, what had least of all been expected, of cleanliness; their clothing, their accoutrements, and their persons, being kept as neat and in as good order as those of the European troops. The truth is that the filthy appearance of the Hottentot was not from choice but necessity. Had the country afforded him cocoa-nut oil, or his European masters allowed him soap, he would, no doubt, have made use of these ingredients; but having neither, and not meeting with water for many days together, he greased his body with the fat or juices of his meat, to protect it from insects and from the scorching rays of the sun. The readiness and indeed the anxiety which he now shews to get rid of his sheep-skin clothing for cotton, linen or woollen, and to keep his person clean, proves that he is far more sensible than the boor to the comforts of civilized life. Those who have visited the Missionary establishments bear testimony to the decency and propriety which mark the conduct and appearance of the Hottentots, who have been brought within the pale of Christianity; but no traveller has had so good an opportunity of experiencing their many estimable qualities as Mr. Latrobe, the amiable and highly respectable head of the society for Moravian missions in London, of whose interesting observations we gladly avail ourselves. 'Whoever,' says this excellent man, 'charges the Hottentots with being inferior to other people of the same class, as to education and the means of improvement, knows nothing about them;' and again, 'they are, in general, more sensible and possess better judgment than most Europeans, equally destitute of the means of instruction.'

The oldest Moravian establishment is that named *Bavian's Kloof*, or the 'Monkey's Ravine,' which General Jansens thought fit to alter to that of 'Gnadenthal,' or the 'Valley of Grace.' On his approach to this place Mr. Latrobe was met by about a hundred Hottentots, men, women and children, who, placing themselves in a semicircle, began to sing, in the sweetest manner, a few verses expressive of their joy and gratitude to God, for having brought him safely across the ocean to their country. As they drew nearer to the village, through lanes enclosed by hedge-rows, the numbers every moment increased, and Mr. Latrobe thus gives vent to his feelings.

'Little do I now wonder at the rapture, with which this place is spoken of by travellers, who, after traversing a dreary, uncultivated country, without a tree to screen them from the scorching rays of the sun, find themselves transported into a situation, by nature the most barren and wild, but now rendered fruitful and inviting, by the persevering diligence and energy of a few plain, pious, sensible, and judicious men, who came hither, not seeking their own profit, but that of the most

despised of nations; and while they directed their own and their hearers' hearts to the dwellings of bliss and glory above, taught them those things, which have made even their earthly dwelling, comparatively, a kind of paradise, and changed filth and misery into comfort and peace.'—p. 59.

Nearly thirteen hundred Hottentots now inhabit this village, which was once a perfect wilderness, or, which amounts pretty much to the same thing, a loan-farm, held by a single Dutch boor. It consists of two hundred and fifty-six cottages and huts, containing twelve hundred and seventy-six inhabitants. Every cottage has a garden, and from the state of the garden, the disposition of the owner is pretty well known to the good fathers. A few of the poorer class still wear sheep-skins, and their children go naked; but those who have learned trades, and those who are industrious, make a point of providing themselves with jackets and trowsers and other articles of European dress, which they always wear on Sundays. The head-dress of the women is a handkerchief neatly enfolding their heads, with a knot in front, which is smart and graceful. Both before and after meals they sing a grace in the sweetest voice imaginable. 'Nothing,' says Mr. Latrobe, 'would be more easy than to form a chorus of the most delightful voices, in four parts, from among this smooth-throated nation:—the nation, by the way, which Mr. Fisher had the goodness to inform the world could neither speak nor articulate!'

Mr. Latrobe visited the school, at which about one hundred and thirty girls were instructed, and which was now to be given over to the superintendence of Brother Leitner; on this occasion the children took leave of their venerable teacher and founder, Father Marsveld. 'It was affecting,' says Mr. Latrobe, 'to see many of them clinging about Father Marsveld, and, with many tears, shaking hands, to thank him for his kindness towards them, as their teacher. Some of the bigger girls seemed quite disconsolate, and cried for a long time without ceasing.' The following little incident sets the Hottentot character in a very amiable point of view.

'Soon after four in the morning, (says Mr. Latrobe,) I heard the sweet sound of Hottentot voices, singing a hymn in the hall before my chamber-door. It reminded me, that this day was my birth-day, which had been mentioned to them by some of the missionaries. I was struck and affected by this mark of their regard, nor was their mode of expressing it confined to a morning-song. They had dressed out my chair, at the common table, with branches of oak and laurel, and Sister Schmitt's school children, in order not to be behind in their kind offices, having begged their mistress to mark on a large white muslin handkerchief, some English words, expressive of their goodwill towards me, they managed to embroider them with a species of creeper called cat's-thorn,

thorn, and fastened the muslin in front of a table, covered with a white cloth, and decorated with festoons of cat's-thorn and field flowers. On the table stood five large bouquets, in glasses. The whole arrangement did credit to their taste, for Sister Schmitt had left it entirely to their own invention. This table I found placed in my room on returning from my morning's walk. The words were, "May success crown every action."—p. 101.

He experienced a further proof of the affection and gratitude of these people on leaving Gnadenthal. They came one by one to take leave, and, with simplicity and evident sincerity, to wish him success. Among others, two women presented him with a roll of matting made by themselves, and entreated him to use it on his journey for their sakes; and when he told them he would preserve and take it to England, 'the poor people,' he says, 'were almost in extasy at the thought that the work of their hands should go across the great waters to their teacher's land.' We may judge of the impression made on Mr. Latrobe's mind by the description which he gives of his feelings on taking his final leave of these worthy people. As he ascended the steps of his waggon, about two hundred with one voice sang their farewell hymn.

'At this moment, I felt all resistance to my feelings give way. Never have I experienced a keener pang, on leaving any place, or any friends, to whom I was attached. Gnadenthal is indeed a spot, where I have found myself so much at home, and where almost every object conspired to fill my mind with grateful remembrances and contemplations, that, though convinced of my duty to proceed to Groenekloof, where business of importance to that settlement demanded my presence, I found it necessary to do violence to my feelings, to tear myself loose. But my spirit will often dwell in those hallowed groves, accompany the congregation into the house of prayer, attend them during their truly solemn assemblies, behold with affection and delight the pious labours of their teachers, participate in their joys, their sorrows, and their cares, and enjoy an aftertaste of the heavenly comfort attending the administration of the holy sacraments, by the presence and power of our Lord and Saviour.'—p. 290.

We certainly do not envy the feelings of that man who cannot participate in the inward satisfaction and serenity of mind experienced by Dr. Henderson while he was distributing the Holy Scriptures among the simple and innocent Icelanders; or whose heart would not share the rapturous delight of Mr. Latrobe in witnessing the happy and comfortable condition of so many poor Hottentots, rescued from the most degrading situation to which human nature has, in any time or place, been reduced; and in regarding their decent and orderly conduct while listening to the truths of the Gospel, delivered to them by the teachers of that church of which he is so distinguished a member.

There yet remains to be noticed another description of original inhabitants, with which the new settlers may come in contact, very different in their character, condition, manners, language, colour and stature, from the Hottentots: we allude to the inhabitants on the eastern side of the Great Fish River, absurdly called Caffres, or infidels. Though these pastoral tribes have given way to the encroachments of the Dutch on their territory, they have resisted all their attempts to enslave them, and have hitherto maintained a perfect independence. Among the stoutest and the finest-shaped of the human race, they are, at the same time, among the most abstemious, scarcely knowing the taste of animal food, but subsisting chiefly on milk in a curdled state, a few wild roots, bitter gourds and millet. Whether the nature of their food, or the habits of their life, may have inspired that mildness of character by which they have always been distinguished, is not material in this place to discuss; but if it has undergone any change for the worse, it has unquestionably been owing to their connexion with the Dutch boors, near the frontiers. By Vasco de Gama they were named the good people—*boã gente*—and those who have visited their country have found them deserving of the name. Barrow, Lichtenstein, Alberti and General Jansens, all agree in this point; and their humane conduct towards the shipwrecked crew of an American vessel, who fell into their power, is a further proof of their harmless disposition.

‘Cast, with sixty of my people, (says Captain Benjamin Stout) on the shores of *Caffraria*, after combating the horrors of a tempest, which I believe has but few parallels in the history of naval misfortune, I found in the natives a hospitality, and received from them a protection, which on many of the shores that belong to the polished nations of Europe I might have sought for in vain. These unfortunate inhabitants of *Caffraria*, who have been so often and so wickedly denominated savages, that delight and revel in human slaughter, I found possessed of all those compassionate feelings, that alone give a lustre to, and adorn humanity; living in a state of perpetual alarm from the persecuting and avaricious dispositions of the colonists, and instructed by their fathers to consider a *white man* as a being who never hesitates to murder when plunder is in view, still a justifiable revenge yielded to the virtuous impulse of compassion, and our necessities were generously relieved, without even the prospect of a recompense. When thrown, by the raging of the elements, on the sandy shores of their country, we were all unarmed, not having saved from the wreck a single article, either for our defence, clothing or subsistence; in this situation, we were completely at the mercy of the natives; but instead of remembering and revenging the wrongs they and their predecessors had endured from the *savage whites*, they made a fire to dry and refresh us; they slaughtered a bullock, which they gave us for

for our subsistence; they conducted us to a spring of the most limpid and wholesome water, and when we were enabled to travel, furnished us with guides through the deserts of their country. Such was the conduct of a people, who have been described as barbarians, possessing no other semblance of the human character than what they derive from their formation.*

An unfortunate but well-meant interference on the part of the Cape government seems to have been the occasion of the recent irruption of the Caffres into the colony. A feud of long standing had separated those Caffres who dwell on the frontier into two hostile tribes; at the head of one of these, is the chief named Gaika, whose amiable and interesting character is described by Barrow and Governor Jansens. Considered as the legitimate chief, and always on friendly terms with the colonists, the constituted authorities appear of late to have espoused his cause; and not only to have engaged in actual hostilities against the opposite party, but to have assisted in carrying off their cattle. This was, in fact, striking at the very root of their existence; and it is obvious that the sole object of their late inroad was to indemnify themselves for the loss; as, in seizing the herds belonging to the good Missionaries of Witte river, they spared the people themselves, though a few faithful Hottentots who guarded the cattle, and who, we have reason to believe, resisted the invaders, were unfortunately killed. A few cavalry stationed along the frontier line of the colony had kept them quiet, but on their removal, the plundered party of Caffres, watching their opportunity, crossed the river and carried off indiscriminately all the cattle they fell in with; several skirmishes ensued between them and the infantry stationed at the posts, in one of which, it is said, the Caffres marched in regular order, wheeled, and filed off like disciplined troops: they were, however, repulsed. Upon this the boors were called upon to assemble in arms on the frontiers. Thus the matter rests, and it is to be hoped will be suffered to rest; in which case we are pretty sure that the Caffres will give the colonists little further molestation: at the same time it would, we think, be prudent to replace the cavalry at the posts, on the bank of the Great Fish River, till the emigrants shall be fairly settled on their estates.

Having thus cursorily taken a view of the character of the several inhabitants of the colony of the Cape, we shall now state the outline of the plan proposed by government for carrying into effect its benevolent intention; endeavour to answer such objections as have been urged against the measures in contemplation; and then describe briefly the particular district in which it is intended the new settlers shall be placed, and to what

* 'Narrative of the Loss of the Ship *Hereuleus*.'

extent there, and in other parts of the colony, population may be advantageously carried.

The outline of the plan is this: 'That the application of the £50,000 voted by the House of Commons be confined to persons who, possessing the means, will engage to carry out at least ten able-bodied individuals, above eighteen years of age, with or without families ;

That every person, so engaging, shall deposit at the rate of £10 for every family taken out; in consideration of which a passage will be provided at the public expense, and also their victualling from the time of embarkation until the time of landing at the colony.'

That a grant of land will be made to each person carrying out the aforesaid number, at the rate of one hundred acres for every such person or family whom he takes out; one third of the money advanced by him at the outset to be repaid to him on landing, when the victualling at the public expense will cease; a further proportion of one third to be repaid when it is certified to the Governor that the settlers are actually placed on the lands assigned to them; and the remaining third at the expiration of three months from the date of their location.

That the lands will be granted at a perpetual quit-rent to be fixed, but which will be remitted for the first ten years; this rent not to exceed in any case £2 sterling for every 100 acres, subject, however, to a clause, that the land shall become forfeited to government in case the party shall abandon the estate, or not bring it into cultivation within a given number of years.

That in the allotment of lands, the interests and the wishes of the parties will be consulted and attended to, as far as may be consistent with the public and private interests of the colony, the several landrosts having instructions to that effect; with a caution however, in the distribution of ground, to preserve the waters, so that the most extensive accommodation possible may be afforded in that regard to future settlers.

That in case 100 families shall proceed together, and apply for leave to carry out with them a minister of their own persuasion, the government will, on their being actually fixed, assign a salary to the minister whom they may have selected to accompany them.'

These, it must be acknowledged, are most liberal offers on the part of His Majesty's government, and such as cannot fail to be highly acceptable to a great number of families, who may wish to embrace the chance of bettering their condition, and providing for their offspring at the expense of quitting their native country and connections, for a limited period, or perhaps for ever. But they go under

under the lively assurance of procuring a comfortable subsistence; they exchange a climate, certainly not a bad one, for one however which is better; for one which is probably not excelled in any part of the globe; which is scarcely ever too hot for the labourer to expose himself to the rays of the sun, or too cold to remain inactive without a fire. On the plan itself we have but two observations to make: the one is, our hope that the emigrations contemplated are not meant to exclude persons of capital from proceeding at their own expense to the Cape, with the view of obtaining lands by purchase or otherwise in other parts of the colony than the new settlement fixed on by government: the other is of more importance, and relates to that part of the conditions which has, we know, been strongly objected to; and which fixes a perpetual quit-rent on the holders of land. It is not the amount of the rent that is objectionable, for a peppercorn would be equally so, but the principle. An Englishman is proud of the feeling which will enable him to say, 'It is my own, and I can do what I will with it.' We would willingly hope therefore that the settlers will be indulged with the fee-simple of the land they cultivate, or (what perhaps may be thought more eligible) be allowed to redeem the perpetual quit-rent at a fixed rate, and have it converted into a freehold.

There are, however, certain objections made to this plan and arrangement of government, which, with some 'features of less agreeable appearance,' we now proceed to notice: Among others, it has been asserted that the 'time of departure from this country is not at the proper season for embarkation; that it will bring the emigrants to the new settlement, at the season of droughts and barrenness, and not at the *planting season*, which begins with September, &c.'—all of which is founded in a total ignorance of the climate and seasons of the Cape. To prove this it is sufficient to state that the rains begin to fall partially towards the end of March, and rarely, if ever, later than April; that the moment they begin, the labours of the field commence; and that, instead of beginning, these labours end, in September, the harvest being in November and December. Now a ship leaving England in the beginning of December may be expected to reach Algoa bay about the beginning of March. To distribute the respective grants of land, to enable the new settlers to get on shore and transport their stores and implements of husbandry, to pitch their tents or to hut themselves, will require at least a month; by that time the rains will have begun; and instead of waiting for September, the provident emigrant will immediately take care to get his potatoes into the ground, in order that he may dig up the first produce of his labour by the end of September or the beginning

ginning of October: with these potatoes, a crop of maize or Indian corn, and a few culinary vegetables, he should lay his account for his first year's supply: and, in truth, this, with the cattle he may purchase from the neighbouring boors at fifty shillings a-head, and sheep at six or seven, together with the fish which abound on every part of the coast, especially near the mouths of the rivers, will more than suffice to remove every apprehension of suffering from an actual want of food.

As little foundation is there in the reports respecting the injurious influence of the climate on the bodily and mental exertions of Europeans; it being *certain* instead of 'uncertain' that 'European constitutions *are* physically competent to the performance of labour of every kind at the Cape,' and that instead of '*many* moral difficulties in the way,' there is not the shadow of *one* to be found. Bodily exertion is no longer held in 'peculiar contempt': the abolition of the slave-trade and the example of the English have entirely banished that absurd prejudice, even in the atmosphere of the Cape town; and young men of the most respectable families are now seen holding the plough, and directing and assisting in the labours of the field. In the Zuureveld, where the new settlers are intended to be placed, there are few if any Negro slaves to bring the white man's labour into 'contempt;' and the objector may also be quite sure, that it will not be in disrepute, as Mr. Colquhoun supposes, 'from the spontaneous products of nature overbalancing the population.' We are anxious, above all things, to warn the emigrant against the fallacious idea, that he will there reap without sowing; on the contrary, he may lay his account with a few of the first years of his residence being years of toil and anxiety. From the climate however, we again repeat, he has nothing to fear. On all the plains of the Cape a piece of ice is as great a rarity as a snow-storm in England in the month of October; and the days on which the mercury mounts above 80° are nearly as few as with us;—when they do occur, they are generally tempered with a fresh breeze. He will breathe a dry pure air, uncontaminated by the moisture of swamps and savannahs, and will not, as in the western districts of America, have to dread fevers and agues.

But though the climate be favourable and the arable portion of the soil generally productive, the new settler must not always reckon on years of plenty. The rains sometimes fail, and with them the crop. This we believe has happened about once in every seven years, since the colony came into our possession, and these have been seasons of great scarcity; the year 1818 was one of them. The south-east winds also sometimes injure the crops; and the locusts, which visit the country occasionally in

in incredible swarms, devour every green thing that falls in their way; this dreadful scourge however is not of frequent occurrence.

Another objection has been started on the ground of the new settlers being obliged to mix with the old colonists, to learn the Dutch and German languages, and, in fact, to become Dutch and Germans, 'as it would contradict all experience to expect that the imitation will take place on the side of the old inhabitants, and the majority.' This also proceeds from entire ignorance of the state of the colony. The number of new settlers about to proceed to the Zuureveld amounts, we understand, to 4000; while the number of Dutch and Germans in the whole of that district falls short of 400: on the objector's own principle of 'majority,' therefore, the new settlers, having the advantage of ten to one, will be able to stand their ground against both. We conceive it a most fortunate circumstance for the emigrants, that they are to be set down in the midst of a people in the possession of numerous flocks and herds, and, instead of being turned into a wilderness, and exposed to the perils of a toilsome and precarious existence, placed at once in a land which may literally be said to flow with milk and honey.

The want of markets will be felt only when the settlers shall begin to accumulate a surplus produce; and as that produce will be a saleable commodity in Europe, it will no doubt find its way thither, either through the Cape, by means of a coasting trade already put into activity, or direct from the bays and harbours of the colony. To render this advantageous however, the government at home must stretch forth its protection, and instead of considering it as a foreign country, place it on the footing of the British plantations in North America. Its bounty has already been experienced in the reduction of the duties on wine; the same encouragement might, we think, be beneficially extended to the exportation of wool: above all, we should rejoice to see the present restrictions of the corn-laws removed or qualified, as far as regards the produce of the Cape. This may not unreasonably be expected; for while England is compelled to purchase large quantities of wheat from foreign nations, and to pay for it principally in money, the settlers of the Cape will take, in full return for theirs, which, in point of quality, is far superior, the manufactures of England. Tobacco, too, if duly encouraged, would become one of the great staples of the Cape; and when to this and the former articles, we have added hides and skins, dressed and undressed, whalebone, oil and brandies, and dried fruits, wax, aloes, and perhaps barilla, we are not sure that we have not enumerated

rated all the produce that is likely to be sent to the mother-country in any considerable quantities.

We have been thus particular, because a species of delusion has been held forth with regard to the articles of commerce, which are expected to be raised in the new settlement; and expectations excited which never can be realized. Cotton-wool, for instance, (not that which 'grows on the Cape sheep,') we are told by Mr. Colquhoun, 'can *certainly* be cultivated with the same advantage as in South Carolina and Georgia.' Certainly it can not. The 'sea-islands on the coast, and in Saldanha bay,' on which, it is added, the 'finest cotton may be produced,' have, in fact, no existence, if we except a few rocks at the entrance of the bay, as bare as the Table Mountain itself. The cotton-plant will unquestionably grow at the Cape: but the point to be determined is, whether it can be cultivated there to advantage? We say again, decidedly not;—for while a yard of cotton cloth can be purchased for sixpence or eight-pence, and a pair of cotton stockings for a shilling in the shops of London, there will be but little encouragement for the planter of the Cape to attempt the introduction of a new article, which, from the price of labour and the uncertainty of the crop, he could not afford at five times its current price in the market.

The same observation will apply to the cultivation of hemp and flax, both of which will undoubtedly grow in several parts of the colony;—so indeed they will in England, Scotland and Ireland, and yet it is found more advantageous to go to other countries for them than to cultivate them at home. But there is no end to these idle speculations:—thus, because there happen to be two tea-plants and one coffee-tree in a garden at the foot of the Table Mountain, the Cape is one day to supply us with those articles of luxury! We are also, in future, to be served with rice from those well-watered plains, 'akin to the bogs of Allen' which Mr. Fisher discovered in this all-productive colony; and ivory and feathers, for use and for ornament, are to pour in upon us in overwhelming quantities, from the ostriches and elephants whose numbers are to increase with the increasing population!

The hostility of the natives has been mentioned as an objection, but it is a mere bugbear. From the Hottentots nothing whatever is to be apprehended; they are living quietly with the farmers, or at the several missions. The Bosjesmen are some hundred miles removed from the new settlers, and the Caffres are not very likely to attack people who never offended them, and who possess nothing that can tempt them to hostilities. We have besides little doubt

doubt that a friendly communication will be opened immediately with these people, to the mutual benefit of both parties; and it would be wise, in the first instance, to announce to both tribes of Caffres the nature of the intended settlement, with assurances of peace and friendship.

We should hardly have deemed it necessary to class the wild beasts among the 'objections' to the new settlement, had we not seriously been assured that several worthy families had been deterred from embarking solely from this consideration. We do indeed recollect reading, in one of the Morning Papers, a most bitter philippic by that eminent young statesman, John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. on the atrocity of ministers in voting 50,000*l.* 'to enable British subjects to transport themselves to Africa, under a burning sun, for the purpose of fighting the jackalls and tigers of that country.' It is undoubtedly true that some of the emigrants may have the misfortune to fall in with and to fight a tiger; but the Cape jackall, like the jackall of some other countries, will yelp and make a great noise and be as mischievous as his limited faculties will let him; but he will not fight, and is not overfond of facing his antagonist. We wish that we could say as much of the tiger, or, more properly speaking, the leopard, for the striped tiger does not exist in the colony. This beautiful creature is, perhaps, the most ferocious of his tribe; he does not merely spring and make a stroke with his paw, and, if unsuccessful, retire, like his more powerful brother of Bengal, but returns to the charge, and never quits his object until he conquers or is killed. The savage and pertinacious ferocity of the Cape leopard is well described in the following account given to Mr. Lattrobe by the missionary Schmitt, who had the misfortune to encounter one of them, in an expedition against the wolves.

'These animals having done much mischief at Groenekloof, where they even entered the yard and took away a sheep, and worried several beasts belonging to the Hottentots, we determined at length to attempt to find out their haunts, and, if possible, to destroy them. For that purpose, the missionaries Bonatz and Schmitt, with about thirty Hottentots, set out early in the morning, towards the Lauweskleof hill, where they are mostly met with. One of these animals was seen and lamed by a shot, but escaped and entered the bushes. The Hottentots followed; but the missionaries, not expecting to succeed, were returning, when the party called to them, that the wounded wolf was in the thicket. Brother Schmitt rode back, and alighting, entered with a Hottentot of the name of Philip Moses. The dog started some animal, which those within the bushes could not see; but the Hottentots remaining on the outside, perceiving it to be a tiger, called aloud to the missionary to return. He therefore, with Philip, began to retreat backwards, point-

ing his gun, and ready to fire, in case the animal made his appearance. Suddenly a tiger sprang forward, but from a quarter not expected, and by a flying leap over the bushes, fastened upon the Hottentot, seizing his nose and face with his claws and teeth. 'I measured the distance of the place, from whence the tiger made his spring, to that on which the Hottentot stood, and found it full twenty feet, over bushes from six to eight feet high. Brother Schmitt observed, that if it had not been for the horror of the scene, it would have been a most amusing sight, to behold the enraged creature fly, like a bird, over that length of ground and bushes, with open jaw and lashing tail, screaming with the greatest violence. Poor Philip was thrown down, and in the conflict lay now upon, and then under, the tiger. The missionary might easily have effected his escape, but his own safety never entered his thoughts. Duty and pity made him instantly run forward to the assistance of the sufferer. He pointed his gun, but the motions of both the Hottentot and the tiger, in rolling about and struggling, were so swift, that he durst not venture to pull the trigger, lest he should injure Philip. The tiger, perceiving him take aim, instantly quitted his hold, worked himself from under the Hottentot, and flew like lightning upon Brother Schmitt. As the gun was of no use in such close quarters, he let it fall, and presented his left arm, to shield his face. The tiger instantly seized it with his jaw, Brother Schmitt with the same arm catching one of his paws, to prevent the outstretching claws from reaching his body. With the other paw, however, the tiger continued striking towards his breast, and tearing his clothes. Both fell in the scuffle, and, providentially, in such a position, that the missionary's knee, without design, came to rest on the pit of the tiger's stomach. At the same time, he grasped the animal's throat with his right hand, keeping him down with all his might. The seizure of his throat made the tiger let go his hold, but not before Brother Schmitt had received another bite, nearer the elbow. His face lay right over that of the tiger's, whose open mouth, from the pressure of his wind-pipe, sent forth the most hideous, hoarse, and convulsive groans, while his starting eyes, like live coals, seemed to flash with fire.

'In this situation, Brother Schmitt called aloud to the Hottentots, to come to his rescue, for his strength was fast failing, rage and agony supplying to the animal extraordinary force, in his attempts to disengage himself. The Hottentots at length ventured to enter the thicket, and one of them, snatching the loaded gun, which lay on the ground, presented it and shot the tiger, under the missionary's hand, right through the heart. His death was instantaneous, his eyes shut, his jaw fell, and he lay motionless. Had any life been left, his dying struggles might yet have proved fatal to some of his assailants.'—p. 306—308.

The lion is far less ferocious in his disposition than the leopard. Sluggish, timid, and we might almost say, cowardly, he seldom, if ever, attacks, unless hard pressed by hunger, or severely wounded. While he remains erect there is no danger, as he al-
ways

ways crouches before he makes his spring; and it is at this moment that the Dutch boor usually takes his aim, and rarely misses him. It is confidently asserted by these people that he will not attack a man who stands still and looks him steadfastly in the face. This experiment, we suspect, has not often been made; but it is certain that the number of boors or Hottentots who have perished by lions are few in comparison with those who have suffered from leopards.

The elephant is an object of terror rather from his immense bulk than his ferocity. But the race have mostly been destroyed; and instead of five hundred, of eighteen feet high, being seen in a troop, as idly asserted by Lichtenstein, we may safely venture to affirm, that there are not in the whole range of the colony *fifty* of these creatures remaining, and of these the tallest is not *nine* feet.

The buffalo is a large, powerful, and savage animal, but rarely attacks unless he be hunted. On being disturbed, he takes to the thickets, where he remains quietly if not driven out of them. The rhinoceros appears to have no animosity against mankind, and seldom shews himself on the open plain. The hippopotamus has disappeared from the rivers within the colony, but is found in the Great Fish River; and almost the whole of the larger kind of antelopes have been destroyed or driven beyond the present boundary of the colony. We do not therefore apprehend that, with the exception of some partial accidents from the leopards or panthers, the wild beasts will occasion any great annoyance to the new settlers; still, however, this may be fairly set down as a grievance which will ask some care to avoid, (by avoiding the thickets,) and a denser population effectually to remove.

Englishmen may fairly be allowed to feel an objection to the present government and laws of the colony. We are all of us more or less the creatures of prejudice, and an Englishman, perhaps, feels none so strongly as that in favour of trial by jury; he has been in the habit, from infancy, of hearing so much of its blessings, that he thinks it unnecessary to inquire into its merits, and sets down that as a most unhappy country to which it is denied.—We granted to the Dutch the exercise of their laws and their religion by capitulation; we have continued them this indulgence to the present day; and we are not aware that any Englishman has yet had just cause to complain of the oppression or injustice of the one, or the intolerance of the other. If any such complaint occur, we doubt not it will be heard and redressed; in the mean time it must be satisfactory to the new comers to know, that the chief magistrate of the district in which they are to be settled is an Englishman. The first step to the general introduction of our laws and manners will be that of introducing the
English

English language. We cannot help regretting that this important point is most unwisely overlooked in all our conquests; yet it might easily be effected, and without any violence to the feelings of the conquered: let but all official documents, all registers, title-deeds, instruments for conveying and securing property, be made in the English language, and the next generation will become Englishmen.

There are, however, two evils in the colony, which are not merely ideal,—the monopoly of the East India Company, and the depreciation of the paper currency.

The East India Company have, from the first, shewn themselves unfriendly towards this settlement, because (as it is supposed) the government refused to transfer the sovereignty of it to them; yet it has been of infinite importance to their boundless possessions in India, and may ultimately be the safety of them. The Company have the exclusive privilege of supplying the colony with India and China goods, which are doled out in monthly sales by an agent stationed at Cape Town, who takes especial care not to glut the market. The removal of this restriction, and placing the Cape on a footing with the British plantations in North America, would materially tend to raise it to an opulent colony, and to one of the first commercial stations in the universe.

The depreciated paper currency of the Cape is a very serious evil, which presses hard on all the colonists, but more especially on those in public situations with fixed salaries; and is deeply felt by all who are concerned in trade, and mercantile transactions. For some years past it has fluctuated from 80 to 130 per cent. discount, so that no one can be certain for six months together of the real state of his property. As the greater part of this paper was issued by the British government, it seems but reasonable that every possible means should be taken, in order to bring it back to its original value of five rix-dollars to the pound sterling. This will no doubt happen whenever the value of the exports shall exceed that of the imports; but while the merchant lies under the necessity of purchasing bills for remittances, the evil will continue to be felt. It might tend in some degree to alleviate the evil, if the money to be repaid to the emigrants by the government were issued in bills on his Majesty's treasury.

Having thus noticed the principal objections, real and imaginary, to the colonization of the Cape, it only remains for us to describe briefly the district in which it is proposed to place the emigrants; and to inquire to what extent the colony is capable of receiving an additional population.

The spot intended for them, in the first instance, is called by the

the Dutch, the *Zuureveld*, or sour-grass plains, but by the English, Albany. It lies between the Sunday and the Great Fish Rivers, nearly 500 miles to the eastward of the Cape peninsula, and stretches about 70 miles along the line of the sea-coast, by 30 inland, containing about 2000 square miles, or 1,280,000 acres, of which 280,000 may perhaps, at this time, be occupied by 50 or 60 families: the remaining million will be disposable; and of this the greater portion is convertible to useful purposes; the rugged summits of the hills lie favourably for sheep and cattle; their gently sloping sides for vineyards; and the plains and valleys for grain, pulse, artificial grasses, and culinary vegetables. The surface of this district is beautifully variegated by hill and dale, and, what is rarely met with in other parts of the colony, it is tolerably well covered with a thick coarse grass, which, being suffered to wither on the ground from year to year, springs up with that rankness which has given name to the district. When the Caffres were in possession of these plains, their custom was to set fire to the grass, which spreading over several square miles, made the whole surface, when the rains came, wear the appearance of a field of young corn.

The plains of Albany are interspersed with fine clumps of vigorous brushwood, mixed with trees of a considerable size, having all the appearance of a gentleman's park in England; and the deep ravines near the sea-coast are choked up with forests of a superior growth. The whole district is intersected by several streams of water flowing from north to south, besides a number of streamlets and springs which have never been opened, or prevented from running to waste.

The nearest bay to the settlement is that of Zwart-Kops, or Algoa, which though open to the south-east or summer winds, affords good and safe anchorage; the only inconvenience being the almost perpetual surf which rolls upon the beach during their continuance. The bar of Zwart-Kops is alternately open and closed, but the river, within the bar, is navigable by small vessels for several miles. Near its bank has recently been established a new town, called Uitenhage, which is also the name of the whole district, formerly a part of Graaf Reynet. Here is the residence of the local magistrate or landrost. For the present, therefore, this place will be the general mart for the new settlers; but as population multiplies, and the surplus produce increases, some of the rivers will no doubt be made accessible, and fishing towns or villages be established along the shore of Albany. The coasts of the colony every where abound with a variety of good esculent fish, which, except in the bays near the Cape, have never been molested. So little indeed do either the Hottentots or the Caffies

know or care about fish, that they have not a single embarkation of any kind, not even a canoe, from the Cape Point to Delagoa Bay. The boor sometimes, but very rarely, makes a party of pleasure to fish near the mouths of the rivers, and ill furnished as he is with fishing tackle, he is always successful. It is to be hoped, therefore, that among the families about to proceed, will be found a few fishermen by profession. Besides the certainty of an abundant supply, they will have the advantage of obtaining salt in any quantity from the salt-pans of Uitenhage, or indeed with great facility by the mere evaporation of sea-water.

The rivers that flow through Albany into the sea are the Sunday, the Bosjeman, the Kareeka, the Kasowka, the Kowie, and the Great Fish River, or Rio d'Infante of the Portuguese. The last is perhaps the only one that will admit vessels of burden. Within, it is of sufficient depth and capacity for the largest ships of war; but, like all the rivers on this coast, its mouth is crossed by a bar of sand. We doubt, however, whether it has been examined since the colony came into our hands: the presumption is, that vessels of considerable burden may pass, otherwise the Portuguese would scarcely have erected a fort at its entrance for their protection. Should this prove to be the case, it will be of infinite advantage to the settlers of Albany, as a harbour from which they will at all times be able to export their produce, and to open a trade with Mozambique, the Isle of France, and Madagascar, whence cattle may be imported in any quantity at a very trifling expense.

Besides these rivers and their several branches, numerous springs of water are met with in all the finely wooded dells, which still remain, as the boors found them, in a state of nature. Within land, on the northward, Albany is skirted by thickets of luxuriant growth, abounding with aloes, euphorbias, and other succulent plants, and extending, with few interruptions, thirty or forty miles in depth; not one foot of which has ever been cleared—because, as the boors alleged, the milky euphorbias put out the fire whenever they attempted to burn the thickets.* The few elephants that yet remain take shelter in these coppices, in which are also found the various beasts of prey peculiar to this part of Africa. Not many years ago the plains of Albany literally swarmed with game of all kinds; but the number of troops which have of late been stationed there, the incursions of the Caffres, and above all, the Hottentots collected at a missionary establishment on the lower part of the Kasowka, have very considerably thinned them.

From the general view which we have taken, it is evident that

* Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa.

the colony affords ample scope for an extended cultivation. Including Albany, there are not less than seven millions of acres of unoccupied and cultivable lands, besides three times that amount of an inferior quality—an extent of territory capable of affording an affluent provision for seventy thousand industrious and agricultural families. The loan-farms, in present occupation, amount in number to nearly 2300; in quantity to eleven millions of acres. If, under a better system, these farms were parcelled out, and each made to support but one-tenth part of the number of persons residing at Guadenthal, itself once a loan-farm, they would give employment and maintenance to a population of 270,000 souls, instead of 20,000, the utmost number residing on them at present, including slaves and Hottentots: and if to the numbers employed in agriculture, we add the tradesmen and artificers in the towns, those occupied in the fisheries, and the coasting-trade, we may safely conclude, that the colony is capable of supporting a population little short of a million of souls.

That many of the neglected and wholly uncultivated loan-farms, now in the possession of Dutch boors, will fall into the hands of more active and industrious proprietors, can scarcely be a matter of doubt, or regret. Hemmed in on every side, and all his old habits broken in upon, the boor, finding that neither he nor his cattle can any longer take their accustomed range, nor Hottentots be procured to attend his flocks and herds, will be too happy to dispose of his interest in the land, and betake himself behind the Snowy Mountains, to that delightful retreat, among the Bosjesmans, recommended by Mr. Burchell.

To those British farmers, and others, who, having small capitals to carry with them, may proceed on their own account, and select their own situation in the colony, either by purchase or grant, we would particularly recommend some of the following positions as most likely to meet their purpose. To the northward, Zwartland, Twenty-four Rivers, and Picquetberg, all excellent for the cultivation of corn and wine, and in the neighbourhood of Saint Helena and Saldanha bays—To the eastward, the banks of the Breede river, and the plain, through which it flows from Waveren to the sea-coast, both well adapted for the culture of grain, which can be transported to St. Sebastian's bay, by the said river, *just now*, for the first time, discovered to be navigable by vessels of considerable burden, thirty or forty miles into the interior!—On the same coast, in the neighbourhood of Mossel, Plettenberg and Algoa bays, where the soil is fit for any species of culture—and lastly, the shores of the Knysna harbour, situate about twenty miles on the Cape side of Plettenberg's bay, in the immediate vicinity of the only forests of timber in the whole colony.

lony. The entrance into this secure harbour is about two hundred and eighty yards in width, the depth of water twenty-one feet, and it deepens and widens within to a spacious lake, communicating by a river with the best part of the forest, and surrounded by a beautiful and fertile country, occupied at present by *two* persons, one of whom is an Englishman, who, in possession of another Mount Edgecombe, with his black wife, and three or four dingy daughters, has adopted all the slovenly habits of a Dutch boor. A place so situated, and so admirably adapted for a dock-yard, or ship-building establishment, for the coast fishery, and, above all, as a central mart for the coasting trade, cannot long remain in its present state.

We shall mention but one spot more, and that chiefly with a view to shew how much this neglected colony is open to improvement, and how little its advantages appear to be understood. On the coast of the Cape peninsula, within ten miles of the capital, is an excellent harbour, completely land-locked, and perfectly secure at all seasons of the year, (the bottom sandy, with good anchorage,) and capable of holding at least twenty sail of the line. Such is Hout bay! It abounds with a great variety of good fish, and numerous rills from the wooded ravines on either side uniting in the middle, flow in a clear and copious stream down a beautiful valley, containing at the least 3000 acres; the whole of which is in the possession of one man, whose house, situated near the margin of the bay, is surrounded by a few roods of corn-land and vineyards; the rest being a complete wilderness, overgrown with what in India would be called jungle. Thirty industrious English families, with a hundred acres apportioned to each, would, in the course of a very few years, convert this unprofitable desert into a perfect paradise.

It would be a waste of words to dwell on the political and commercial importance of a colony so happily situated as that of the Cape, commanding, by its position, a ready communication with every part of the civilized world, and which, if deemed advisable, might be made the great entrepot of the eastern and western hemispheres. But we cannot pass in silence, one of the beneficial results which we anticipate from the extended colonization of the Cape, namely, that of the improved condition of the bordering Caffres. The example of an industrious population of Europeans will not, we are persuaded, be thrown away on this well disposed and fine race of men; on the contrary, we augur that, when they shall have adjusted their disputes among themselves, they will cheerfully set about the cultivation of a grateful soil, not with coarse millet and bitter gourds, as heretofore, but with productions of a more useful and salutary nature. These people, being
entirely

entirely free from idolatrous prejudices, would be ready to embrace the benevolent doctrines of Christianity; and this field will perhaps be occupied by the Moravians, though we much fear that Methodists of a less useful character have already got the start of them. These enthusiastic ranters have spread themselves over the colony and gone beyond its limits, encouraging idleness by instructing the natives in their own peculiar doctrines, and in nothing else, as is but too apparent in their filthy and wretched establishments, swarming with Hottentots still in a state of nakedness, or in their ancient sheep-skin clothing. Instead of expressing their gratitude to their Creator in hymns and songs, the Methodist Hottentots do nothing but whimper, whine, and groan, which, one of their teachers told Mr. Latrobe, 'was considered as a sign of conviction by the power of the word,'—'though I don't think,' said a Hottentot to this gentleman, 'that there is any great good in our *groaning* so much.'

Should the Caffres however, contrary to our expectation, continue to commit depredations on the new settlers, their certain expulsion from the plains of the coast and behind the mountains will necessarily be the consequence. The possession of the country intervening between the Great Fish river and Delagoa bay, skirted by a sea-coast of about six hundred miles, has always tempted the cupidity of the Dutch boors. A party of these people, who went in search of the shipwrecked crew of the Grosvenor Indiaman, travelled about 500 miles beyond the limits of the colony. They crossed upwards of thirty considerable rivers intersecting the plains in their way to the sea, passed through several magnificent forests, and traversed an undulating surface of hill and dale, finely clothed with grass, and abounding in every description of game, from the elephant to the hare, but so destitute of the human species, that for twelve days together they did not meet with a single straggler.

At length however, after travelling about 400 miles, they fell in with an interesting party dwelling in villages, on the banks of the Mogasie river, under a chief of the name of Camboosa. These people called themselves Hamboonas. They had fair complexions, inclining to a yellowish tint, and their long black coarse hair was frizzled out so as to give the appearance of a turban. Their European and Hindoo features made it probable that they were the mixed descendants of some unfortunate people who had been wrecked on the coast; which seemed afterwards to be put out of doubt by the appearance of three old white women, who, however, could give no account of themselves, having in all probability been children when wrecked. The number consisted of about four hundred; they had extensive gardens of millet, maize,

sugar-cane plantations, sweet potatoes, and other fruits and vegetables, with some cattle, and appeared to be living in quiet and comfort; which furnishes no slight proof of the inoffensive conduct and character of the Caffres.

The Dutch pretend (but we are sure the English will set up no such claims) that this beautiful country belongs, by purchase, to the colony. Their historian Kolbe, we recollect, asserts the same thing, and says, that their High Mightinesses gave 30,000 guilders (1,800*l.*) worth of toys for the whole country, from Mossel bay to Mozambique, that is to say, about 300,000 square miles! They might just as well have extended their purchase to the straits of Babelmandel.

But it is not the Dutch only who have coveted the Caffre country. The same Benjamin Stout, whom we mentioned above,* strongly recommended to Mr. President Adams the formation of a settlement in a country which, he says, ‘abounds in timber of the best quality; possesses many excellent harbours; is blessed with the richest pasturage; that feeds innumerable herds of the finest cattle; whose lands, during the season favourable to vegetation, are carpetted with flowers that perfume the surrounding atmosphere; and whose shores are frequented by fish of every quality and decription.’ At that time, however, the American government had not extended its ambitious views beyond its own continent; but now, when they appear to be prowling about in search of foreign establishments, in the West Indies, the Mediterranean, the Pacific, and on the western coast of Africa, we should not be greatly surprized if they discovered the Portuguese settlement of Delagoa bay to be convenient for their commercial intercourse with India and China. *Di meliora!*—Though we do not much admire the Portuguese system of colonization, we yet prefer it to that of America, as exemplified by ‘David Porter, Esq.’ (the only specimen with which we are acquainted) at Nooaheevah, where that redoubted commander put to death one part of the inhabitants in order to obtain a plea for plundering the rest.

* See p. 230. Benjamin has been rather scurvily dealt with by our critics.—Not satisfied with pronouncing his Narrative a mere fable, they have even denied the existence of the poor man, as well as of the good ship *Hercules*. Now we know something of Captain Stout. He was, to be sure, very illiterate, not to say ignorant, and wonderfully apt to wander into those ‘beautiful obliquities’ in point of fact, for which the mercantile marine of his country is so justly celebrated; but he certainly did not deserve to be altogether annihilated. We can assure our sceptical brethren, that we not only witnessed the appearance of Captain Stout and some of his crew at the Cape, but that we saw, with our own eyes, the wreck of the *Hercules* on the coast of Caffraria, and on the precise spot indicated by the Captain: his testimony, therefore, to the general appearance of the country, and to the humanity of the Caffres, is beyond the possibility of question.

ART. XII.—*De l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle en Angleterre et de l'Esprit du Gouvernement Anglais.* Par M. Cottu, Conseiller à la Cour Royale de Paris. à Paris. 1820.* pp. 317.

IT is not a little remarkable that, at the very moment when the mischievous and the ignorant amongst us are industriously employed in slandering the Institutions under which England has attained so large a share of individual happiness and national glory, the other 'nations, not so blest as she,' should look upon them with wonder, respect, and emulation; and that, after thirty years of revolution in which every theory and mode of government have been tried in turn, the French themselves should begin to direct their serious attention to the sober and practical convenience of the British constitution.

It is true that at the very beginning of the revolution they professed this principle of imitation, and, in their *anglomane* ardour for freedom, eagerly applauded and demanded the three great principles upon which the liberties of England are built—a representative legislature, the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury. They hastened, therefore, to establish these *names* as parts of their constitution; but they had not patience, nor leisure if they had had patience, nor the means if they had had leisure, to introduce the indispensable preliminary qualifications into their social and political habits. To have good juries and a satisfactory representative assembly, the manners and principles of the class which are to compose the former and to elect the latter, must be previously imbued with the spirit of the institutions themselves. The result was what might have been expected—they had the *names*, but not the *things*—their freedom of the press from 1790 to 1818 only meant that the strongest party might publish what it pleased, and its antagonists nothing. Their representative chambers have been all elected at the will of the government, and have all (with the exception of the chamber of 1815) implicitly and basely obeyed the nod of their creators. Their juries have been something worse than nullities, they have been the tools of the predominant party, and have done infinite mischief by screening, under their respectable name, the judicial enormities which have been committed.

There is, however, in the essence of those noble institutions themselves a power which would make its own way, and create, as it were, men fit to carry them into execution—why then have they not yet had this effect in France?—why were they still, in the be-

* Such is the date in the title-page.

ginning of 1819, as imperfect and inefficient as they were in 1789?—Simply because France, from 1789 to 1814, was enslaved by *the reign of terror*, which paralyzed every action and benumbed every thought and feeling. The respectable classes of her people never had fair play; the sword, the guillotine, and the dungeon were the only lawgivers of France; and juries were sworn only to sanction—and deputies assembled only to approve—and the press was tolerated only while* it applauded—the system of the dungeon, the guillotine, and the sword.

The bursting of the Buonaparte-bubble restored to France the use of her eyes, her ears, and her tongue, but, like the patient couched for cataract, she did not quite comprehend the nature of her new-born senses, and for the last four years she has been tottering, and groping her way. At every step indeed she seems to acquire an increase of strength and light, and whatever may be her future destiny, and through whatever troubles she may have yet to struggle, it may be confidently expected that any future reign of terror can be but momentary, and that, finally, the representative system, and the trial by jury, will be inseparably interwoven with the national system, and, in good time, amalgamate themselves with the national character.

A ministry such as we now see in France,* without public weight or private fortune, without services, talents, or friends, trimming and shuffling, and kept only on its legs by mere favouritism, is not, we think, unlikely to bring the French to a sense of national dignity, as the drunken Helots were exhibited before the youth of Sparta to teach them, by the contrast, the dignity of sobriety and freedom. ‘*Malheur* (as their own proverb says) *est bon à quelque chose* ;’ and this good, at least, will be derived from the weakness and folly of the present ministry, that a more bold and, at the same time, temperate discussion of their political and moral interests becomes every hour more necessary and more easy. An ultra-royalist administration might move too slow, and an ultra-liberal administration too fast: but those who, like the *Sieur de Caze* and his creatures, have no authority but what their places give them, and who are only anxious to keep those places, are obliged to flatter and to conciliate both parties, and to balance them one against the other; but while they are doing this, they are teaching these

* Even while we write, the account reaches us of a new change in the ministry, which affords additional proof and weight to what we have said above. About thirteen months ago, the king's favourite, M. Caze, had power to turn out the Prime Minister, the secretary of State for the Home Department, and the Minister of Finance, because they desired a change in the election law, which he opposed; and now he has had power to turn out their three successors, for opposing the same change in the same law, which he now desires! What a mockery of a representative constitution!

conflicting parties and the nation how to turn them out. The great lesson which the French have yet to learn is,—that the system of choosing ministers by personal favour is absolutely incompatible with a representative government, and that, to have sufficient weight and authority, an administration must have a large party in the country, and, consequently, a respectable portion of what is called public opinion. Convinced as we are that whenever the nation shall really be freed from the thralldom of fear and favouritism, it will show itself more and more attached to a legitimate monarch and a representative constitution, and finding that M. Cottu unites a spirit of rational freedom with a strong attachment to monarchy, and believing that his work is likely to give weight to these principles, we enter upon the examination of it with pleasure.

M. Cottu, one of the judges of the Royal Court of Paris, was directed, it would seem, by the government to make himself acquainted with the criminal jurisprudence of England, and more especially with all that relates to the trial by jury. It matters little by whom and with what intention this mission was sped. Its execution is creditable to M. Cottu, and cannot, we think, fail to be useful to France.

At first sight it will seem that M. Cottu's task was not very difficult—we are ourselves, from the nature of our law, so individually mixed up with the whole administration of justice, that we are too apt to consider that which we know, as it were by intuition, as very easily to be learned by others. But when we call to mind the volumes of monstrous absurdities which people, not otherwise deficient in acuteness and accuracy, publish daily in France relative to England, and in England relative to France—and when we recollect the difficulties which every one must have found in making himself acquainted with even the commonest customs, and the most ordinary habits of a foreign country which he visits for the first time, it will appear that the task which M. Cottu undertook of informing himself upon a subject of such complexity and extent as the whole of our jury system, was one of extreme difficulty, and from which we confess we should not, *a priori*, have thought it possible that he could have extricated himself so well as he has done.

He was fortunate in bringing letters of introduction to some of our eminent counsel, and amongst others, to Mr. Scarlett, who very judiciously advised him, as not only the easiest, but indeed the only effectual way of making himself acquainted with the subject, to attend one of the circuits then about to commence, and to study at once the principles and the practice. This advice M. Cottu very wisely took, and gratefully acknowledges; he also returns very ample thanks to the gentlemen of the northern circuit, which

which he attended, for the personal kindness which he received and the ready assistance which they were forward to give to his research;—and he acquaints us that ‘Messrs. Scarlett and Grey were so good as to look over his work before it went to the press, and that Mr. Scarlett, in particular, had withdrawn a short time from his numerous avocations, to correct the errors into which he (M. Cottu) had fallen; and even to supply him with some notes of *his own*, on the spirit of the British Constitution.’—p. viii.

This must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*—there are perhaps no very important errors in M. Cottu’s report, but there are undoubtedly several inaccuracies into which it is scarcely possible that Mr. Scarlett should have fallen in a work of his own, though it is probable that they either may have escaped him in reading that of another written in a foreign language, or have been overlooked and forgiven, as it were, as the *paucæ maculae* which were hardly worth correcting in the great mass of accurate facts which M. Cottu had collected. To the original contribution of Mr. Scarlett to this work we shall advert by and bye.

It certainly proves great kindness and not less attention on the part of M. Cottu’s English friends, that he has made only such mistakes. He intimates (indeed his English quotations prove) that he is utterly unacquainted with our language; but Mr. Scarlett, junior, had the goodness to assist him as interpreter; and he tells us he found that most of the gentlemen on the circuit spoke French:—yet even with these aids, M. Cottu must be a very acute and able man to have made his way, as he has done, through the chaos of great sessions and petty sessions, arrays and pleadings, arraignment and challenges, impannellings, and verdicts general and special; and to have given so clear, and on the whole so correct a summary both of the criminal and *nisi prius* practice of the assizes.

We do not intend to follow him through his circuit—all that he sees with wonder is familiar to us, and from what he found it most important to his purpose to record, our readers would derive no new information. Still less are we inclined to pick out, as topics of reproach or ridicule, the errors, whether in fact or in taste, (and there are some of both) into which he has fallen. His intentions are honest; his principles are good; many of his general observations will be found original and interesting; and some comparative views which he takes of the administration of the law in England and France are worth the attention of both nations.

The following passage relative to the power of the judges to respite convicted criminals and the authority which their recommendation has in determining the too numerous questions of life and death which arise, exhibits towards its close one of those
errors

errors of taste to which we have alluded, and which we should rather have expected from a pupil of one of the Lycées than from a person of M. Cottu's age, profession, and general good sense.

'Thus the Judges, by this system, find themselves invested with a kind of discretionary power of life and death over the great majority of criminals capitally convicted by the jury. I am well aware that this power is confined by practice and custom within limits tolerably narrow, but even those limits, so narrowed, would still be of alarming extent, if the authority were entrusted to magistrates less indulgent and less respectable. If we reflect that there are every year a thousand or twelve hundred capital convictions in England, and that the judges have the power of deciding at their pleasure the fate of all those unhappy persons, that they can suspend death over those twelve hundred heads, and at last inflict it when they please,—it will be confessed that there seems in this power something too exorbitant to be ever extended to any man, *were it even Socrates himself*.*—p. 72.

Absurd as this allusion is, the observations themselves are just, and, with all our confidence in the 'indulgence and respectability' of our judges, we cannot but feel that 'this power is too exorbitant.' The judges themselves, we believe, would gladly get rid of so painful an office—it is one which does not properly belong to them, and it is referring to the feelings, the temper, nay, the infirmities of man, the most important duty of the law itself. We remember to have heard one judge, whose conscience led him to a more severe exercise of his duty than others, called a hanging judge, while others, whose temper was more indulgent, were sneered at as imbecile and pusillanimous, to the great and unjust scandal both of the judges and of justice.

The power of respite can never be taken away from the judges, and their recommendation must always continue to be of the greatest weight with the crown; but it is impossible to deny that the cases in which this extraordinary intervention is required, ought to be narrowed as much as possible, and that the judges should not be obliged to make a mere mockery of the highest function of their office—the gravest and highest transaction of human society, by passing a score or two of sentences of death, none of which—as they and the culprits and the audience too well know—are ever likely to be executed.—Hear how a scene of this nature strikes M. Cottu.

'Sentence is not passed on each offender at the conclusion of his trial, but at the end of the assizes all the convicts are placed at the bar together—the moment of passing sentence creates a painful and impressive feeling very different from the coolness in which all the parties assist in all the previous stages of the trial. I have already said that the greater number of capital sentences are subsequently com-

* Buonaparte brought Themistocles on board the Bellerophon, in the same good taste in which M. Cottu brings Socrates into the castle at York.

muted for inferior punishments, therefore the greater number of the convicts know, to a moral certainty, according to their respective cases, the ultimate indulgence which they are to receive. Nevertheless the judge (obliged on every case to pronounce the dreadful sentence of the law) covers his head with a kind of black coif, exhibits on his countenance the expression of solemn and dignified regret, and addresses the prisoners in a severe and melancholy recapitulation of their offences, and laments the necessity in which society at large feels itself placed of securing itself from a continuance of their crimes, and concludes with pronouncing the fatal sentence,—but this mournful ceremony, this touching address, this dreadful sentence, so far from producing on the prisoners the terrible effect which one would expect, makes little or no impression on persons who are beforehand prepared to consider it all as an empty show, and in their audacious security to brave the very judge in the midst of his sentence.’—p. 112.

The *audacious security* is perhaps a little exaggerated—but there can be no doubt that it is sometimes visible, and—when joined with the benumbing frequency of these occasions, and the pride which most of these unhappy persons place in receiving their sentences with coolness—produces a good deal of that apparent apathy which had so much effect on M. Cottu.

The following contrast between the interest of a French and the calmness of an English trial is well drawn.

‘In England the criminal himself plays little or no part in the trial—he might, without much inconvenience to the proceeding, be tried in effigy. No great public interest seems to be excited either by the appearance of the prisoner, who in general is placed with his back to the spectators, or by the successive detail of the proofs, nor by any vehement defence on the part of the prisoner, nor by any efforts on that of the judge to trace the transaction and elicit the truth. There is no struggle between the prosecutor and the prisoner, and the latter seldom appears in any other character than that of a man who looks on, almost with indifference, while his lawyer and his adversaries are disputing for his life. Neither the sound of his voice, growing more hesitating and feebler as the proofs seem to accumulate against him—nor the gradually increasing paleness of his countenance—nor the sweat which starts from his forehead—nor, finally, the overwhelming silence of detected and convicted guilt—none of these disturb the feelings of the spectators nor excite in their minds those vicissitudes of pity, horror, vengeance, and other violent sensations which a French trial is sure to create. In England all is calm and cold—lawyers, judges, the public, nay, the prisoner himself! who holds little or no communication with even his counsel, and seems hardly to be aware of the peril in which he stands or of the strength of the case that is made out against him.’—p. 111.

Here again M. Cottu is guilty of a slight exaggeration: it is true that, on the whole, the more staid character of our nation, the merciful rule of our law which prevents a prisoner being questioned, and

and above all, the small number of sentences which are carried into effect, make the interest which is shewed on a trial for life and death—or for *what is called* life and death—much less lively than with our more enthusiastic neighbours, where the accused is frequently convicted out of his own mouth; where the judges exhibit all their arts and all their eloquence to entreat or persuade, or entrap the prisoner into confessions, or contradictions, and where the conviction, if obtained, is generally inflicted.

But whenever an occasion of great moment, from the magnitude of the offence, or of great interest from the obscurity of the case, or of great curiosity from some personal circumstances, occurs, the feelings exhibited in an English court of justice are, not perhaps as quick as in a French auditory, but they are, at least, as solemn and as deep; and we just mention this because, we think, that M. Cottu has been induced to draw general inferences, some favourable and some unfavourable, from the ordinary routine of an uninteresting circuit, which certainly are not true of the administration of justice at large.

One of these particulars of difference between the English and French criminal jurisprudence, which we have just referred to, M. Cottu observes upon, but not, we think, with that weight and attention which it merits; we mean the interrogating, both on the first accusation, and finally, at the trial, the prisoner himself. M. Cottu rather seems (p. 99. and more decidedly p. 267.) to reprobate this practice, (in common indeed with most other parts of the criminal process of France,) as showing a too cruel anxiety to convict the culprit; and he even compares it to the torture. Notwithstanding the partiality which we naturally feel for our own law, and the praise with which the maxim ‘that no one is bound to criminate himself’ has been always accompanied, we doubt whether France ought, in wisdom or justice or even in mercy, to abrogate this practice. It seems to be one of the first and most natural principles of human justice, that when you have proofs enough to authorize you to imprison a citizen, you should hear what he has to say in his defence. That his defence may lead to his conviction is true, but surely so it ought if he be guilty; no man speaks falsely against himself, and no one but the individual can truly relate all the circumstances which justice has a right to know, or, at least, a right to inquire into. In no case can it be supposed that a prisoner is to be *forced* to answer; and even in France prisoners frequently refuse to answer at all, or persist in some short formulary of denial which comes to the same purpose. Prisoners, if they were all guilty and all prudent, would soon learn the advantage of holding their tongues, but if the innocent or the indiscreet choose to speak, what principle of justice or equity forbids us to examine them?

No

No human crime can be committed but at a particular time and in a particular place; and, generally speaking, no one but the guilty person can have been in *that place at that time*. If then there be evidence enough to justify the committal of a suspected person to prison, to the danger of his morals and the ruin of his character, why should it not authorise the asking of him, 'Where were you on such a day?' Why should he not be bound to explain where and how he passed the suspicious hour? Truth and innocence never could suffer by the consequences of such an interrogatory, while guilt could hardly ever escape but by silence, and even silence would be rendered all the less effectual refuge. England is the only country on earth whose laws forbid such examination; and this only proves additionally, M. Cottu elsewhere remarks, that though the English Statute Book seems written in letters of blood, and though the whole system of jurisprudence tends to make almost every crime capital, there seems to be amongst judges, juries, prosecutors, lawyers, the forms of the procedure, the rules of evidence, and the circumstances of the trial, a humane and general conspiracy to defeat the law and acquit the prisoner. We look with so much dread to any alteration which is not made absolutely necessary by some great and urgent practical evil, that we are far from wishing to see the practice of England changed, but we are pretty confident that it would not be wise to introduce our principle into the law of France, which in all times has followed what appears to us, on abstract principles, the more rational course.

M. Cottu observes too, in connexion with this part of the subject, the strange extremities to which this general solicitude to acquit the guilty is pushed; he notices the difficulty which a prisoner finds in being permitted to plead *guilty*. Overcome with the consciousness of his crime, which is perhaps flagrant,—of which perhaps he bears the very marks about his person—the horror of which is in his countenance and the remorse for which is cutting his heart—he desires to relieve his conscience by pleading guilty;—no! the jailor, the crier, the sheriff, the jury, the counsel, the bystanders, nay, the judge himself, all oppose themselves to the words of compunction and of truth;—the poor wretch is persuaded, nay forced, into a crime which he abhors, and after a trial (which, under such circumstances, is a mere mockery) he is sent into the other world with a falsehood in his mouth, a falsehood prompted by his judge! This surely is lamentable; this surely is not mercy: True and rational mercy should conceal its feelings on such an occasion, and not interfere between a dying man and his conscience.

M. Cottu gives a detail clear and accurate enough, though rather superficial, of our courts and their proceedings—he makes few mistakes of any importance, either in principle or practice, as to those

those which he himself saw, but in others he is not quite so fortunate. Surely it could not have been Mr. Scarlett who gave him the following account of the Court of Chancery, in which the highest and most important object of that Court is wholly overlooked, and its general practice considerably misrepresented:—

‘A fourth Court is called the Court of Chancery, to which peculiarly belong the affairs of minors and bankrupts, and questions of injunction; but another object of its authority is, as a Court of Equity, to interfere in behalf of a debtor when two different actions are brought at once against him, without (the matter) having been particularly specified in the contract, as when a creditor having a mortgage on his (his debtor’s) lands, and being able to sell the estate, should also proceed by arresting his body. It is also a part of the business of this Court to furnish creditors with the *means of enforcing the literal execution of their contracts*, which cannot be obtained in the ordinary law courts, as I have already shewn. Thus a creditor may proceed either at common law to recover damages for the non-execution of a contract, or in Chancery to force the contractor to deliver in kind the article contracted for; but the proceeding in this Court is so long, so difficult, and so confused, that persons very seldom bring their actions voluntarily into it. I had not time to penetrate all these obscurities, and I prefer holding my tongue on this subject to exposing myself to the chance of giving an erroneous account.’—p. 138.

This last consideration occurred to M. Cottu a little too late—His whole view of the Court of Chancery is singularly narrow, and we may add erroneous. He seems not to have been aware, and it is strange that his legal friends should not have apprized him, that the highest and noblest jurisdiction of the court was the administration of what is called *equity* in opposition to strict law—the moderating the hardships which a literal construction of any laws must of necessity produce, and softening down, by the application of the rules of rational justice and discretion, a harshness and rigour which in particular cases would have operated too severely and unjustly.

This noblest function of our British law is, we believe, peculiar to it; indeed it has grown up amongst us by the modern increase of civilization, the diffusion of wealth, the multitude of contracts, and the infinite variety of transactions by which property is acquired or secured.

Other countries must of necessity have something of the same nature. It is impossible to lop or lengthen every case to the Procrustean bed of an unrelenting and invariable law. In most countries this moderative and equitable authority has been vested in the king and his council; and so it was formerly in England. But as the chancellor was always the first member of that council, in process of time, his weight and legal authority, and our old and rational dislike

dislike to vesting a discretionary power in the crown, or in any but responsible magistrates, produced by degrees the equitable jurisdiction of the chancellor, which is now become the most distinctive and valuable attribute of his high office.

As to the delays and intricacies of the practice, which M. Cottu lays to the peculiar charge of this court, we shall only say that the *principles* upon which it proceeds are less intricate, and its *forms*, on the whole, less tedious, than those of the other courts: the delays so often complained of exist, not in the construction of the court, or the nature of the law, but, in two principal and, we may call them, extraneous causes: the one is, the enormous mass of business which daily increases and accumulates on its head; and the other, that, whereas in the common law courts every thing is conducted by regular steps to a strict issue upon which a plain *yes* or *no* may be pronounced, it is of the essence of a Court of Equity to relieve parties from this very strictness, to hear mitigating and explanatory circumstances, and often to decide,—not *yes* or *no*, but that the parties are both right and both wrong, and to measure out between both their proportionate shares of justice. It is quite evident that such discussions as these, are, from their very nature, indeterminate, however plain the *principles* and *forms* of the court may be, and that parties, who rest their respective claims, not upon the strict and written laws but upon their own views of natural equity and indulgent justice, cannot be restrained within limits of proceeding so narrow as those courts who have only to inquire into *facts*, and not into motives or expedien-
cies.

But the chief object of M. Cottu's research, and, to do him justice, that which he has accomplished the most satisfactorily, was a minute and progressive inquiry into the Jury System, from the first principle of the qualification of a grand juror down to the mode of delivering the verdict of the petty jury. Upon this part of his work, it is needless to enter into any details, they are new and interesting to France, but not so to us; but that which is indeed of great importance to her, and of no small interest to us, are the measures which ought, in M. Cottu's opinion, to result from this inquiry, and the modes in which he thinks these institutions should be naturalized in France.

The French had, in the beginning of their attempts at the jury system, two juries like us; their jury d'accusation answering in some respects to our grand jury. This part of the system was abolished in the formation of the present code of French laws, and M. Cottu, smitten with the love of our grand juries, laments its loss, and would re-establish it, but with such modifications as would render it really a grand inquest like ours. We, however, candidly confess, that we do not see that this is within the scope of probability, and so far

far as criminal justice is concerned, we think M. Cottu attaches too much importance to the share of the grand jury. Its functions are now little more than a matter of course. In some few instances (as we have seen of late) the ignoring a bill makes a more early and more striking reparation to an unjustly accused individual; but even this occurs but seldom, and there are never wanting persons to say that an acquittal before a special jury would be still more satisfactory. If indeed the grand jury were to decide, in the first stage of the proceedings, whether or no the prisoner should be committed for trial, and thus save the palpably innocent from the disgrace and duress of imprisonment, we should have concurred in M. Cottu's anxiety for its establishment; but as the practice stands, though we think it useful, we do not feel with M. Cottu that it is indispensable, or that it would be worth while to make any great sacrifices for its introduction into France. Caution in receiving accusations, and in committing offenders for trial—responsibility on the part of the committing magistrates—an early trial—and a respectable and impartial composition of the petty jury, which is to pronounce on the prisoner's fate,—appear to us to be all that is necessary; and these objects, M. Cottu seems to admit, may be attained without forcing into the institutions of France a new element which it would be extremely difficult to organise. We are confident that if our grand juries had no other functions but their criminal duties, they would have long ago ceased to be composed as they are, and we doubt whether they would have even continued to exist.

But there is another consideration of much greater and more extensive importance which applies to the whole of this question, and which affects the magistracy of all ranks, and jurors and electors of all classes, and upon which M. Cottu dwells with becoming earnestness and with irresistible force—we mean the state of the law in France with respect to landed property, and the condition in which the gentry or landed proprietors of that country stand with regard to their capabilities of duly administering either the trial by jury or a representative constitution. Well may M. Cottu call the law of France, in this particular, monstrous and disastrous, which not only excludes all the rights of primogeniture, but stifles even the affections, the partialities of nature; loosens the bonds of paternal fondness and filial duty, and throws into a great lottery the distribution of all the property of the country. No property in France is now property of inheritance—no property in France depends in its future distribution on the will of its present possessor. The law has taken into its own hands the whole arrangement, and, without exception or discrimination, it divides, amongst all the brothers and all the sisters, equal portions of the wealth of their parents. No man, whether he has received his property by descent, or by gift,

or created it by purchase, or by industry, has any thing more than a life-interest in it, without the power even of sharing it amongst his children according to their conduct, their talents, their dispositions, or their professions;—all is done by the iron hand of the law, and the dearest ties of kindred and affection, and the most obvious considerations of propriety, and the most essential interests of families, are all rent and overthrown by this eternal, irremediable, division and subdivision of property. A country-gentleman has sons and daughters; his eldest son shows a fondness for agricultural employment and rural life; the second makes his way in the army, and is there provided for; a third, perhaps, called by religion, (for *interest* cannot now a-days direct the attention of a Frenchman *that way*,) embraces the clerical character;—the daughters are married—perhaps well married—perhaps married against their parents' consent, and to their shame and sorrow; yet there is no possibility by which the eldest son can become possessed of the paternal estate, nor even of a larger portion of it than his brothers and sisters—the whole must be equally divided, and the head of the family, if we can so call him, and the colonel, and the parson, and the sisters, whatever be their circumstances or conduct, receive their equal shares.

A citizen has by his industry and integrity raised himself a name in his neighbourhood, and his shop is favoured by public confidence; one son follows his father's steps and conducts his business; another, of a more roving disposition, goes to sea.—Well! the tradesman and the sailor become equally intitled to the paternal shop, and, as it cannot be divided, it must be sold, that its proceeds may be divided, and thus the name, character and business of the father are lost to his children. It seems surprising that so cold-hearted, so demoralizing a system should have ever been adopted; but its continued existence is a still greater enigma.

How can it be expected that any man will devote his time, his talents and his feelings to the improvement of an estate, the establishment of a commerce, the embellishment of a residence, which he knows after his death must be parcelled out and destroyed? How can a nation, M. Cottu asks, have a representative government without country-gentlemen, without substantial citizens? and how can you have either under the operation of a law which disregards all conveniences, dissipates all feelings, and scatters all property?

M. Cottu states that the general agriculture of France is adduced as a proof of the wisdom of this law; but he replies very properly that this may be, and probably is, owing to other causes; that agriculture is equally thriving in countries where it does not exist: but even if it were admitted that it had a tendency to cause the cultivation of every spot of land in the country (and it cannot be denied that for a time it will have somewhat of this effect) it must, after

after a certain point, have a direct contrary one, and the eternal subdivision of land will at last produce indifference, carelessness and waste. But neither this supposed advantage nor this eventual evil is to be placed in comparison with the higher evils which it is even now producing, and which every new descent increases. It annihilates what little remains of aristocracy in France, and puts a final bar to its re-establishment; and, as M. Cottu observes, what country ever could exist which did not possess that kind of aristocracy, within the ranks of which a citizen may hope, by his industry, his talents, his virtues, or his public services, permanently to place himself and his family? From what class are representatives, magistrates and jurors to be taken? What the effect of this extraordinary system may be hereafter on the nation at large it is not easy to determine; it will probably operate as an agrarian law, and no man or woman will be richer or poorer than another. How long society so circumstanced can exist is hitherto a matter of theory, for such a system never before in any effective degree prevailed in the civilized world.

One exception to this levelling law has been lately made; the peers of France are allowed to create and entail properties to a certain amount on the inheritors of their titles—these are called *majors*; but, as M. Cottu observes, (p. 242.) the effect of this law is too narrow to make a national aristocracy, and the limited amount required (about 1250*l.* per annum for a duke, 900*l.* for an earl, and 450*l.* for a viscount or baron*) will hardly secure the comforts, to say nothing of the splendour of life, to the peerage itself. Perhaps we may be blinded by our old prejudices and national predilections, but it really seems to us, as it does to M. Cottu, that no constitution can prosper under such a state of things; and we confidently trust, for the sake of that great country, whose happiness and prosperity sincerely interest us, that some degree of preference will be restored to primogeniture, and parents allowed some discretion in measuring to their children the portions which they may appear to need or to deserve.

We cannot pursue all M. Cottu's observations on this subject, nor enter into the reasoning by which he shews that the rights of property involve themselves with every part of the criminal and constitutional law. Suffice it to say, that he appeals to England as the happy country which holds a wise medium between a system of accumulating entails and one of eternal division; and he traces the greater part of our constitutional liberty and impartial justice to this source.

M. Cottu naturally mixes with his legal disquisitions some notices of our general manners and habits, in all of which he is liberal, and we should even say flattering; he at least does us no

* Ordinance of the 2d September, 1817. But ineffectual as this law was, it was altogether suspended in the cases of the sixty peers made in the beginning of this year.

injustice, and his report is, upon the whole, calculated to raise us in the esteem, and to conciliate towards us the good will of his countrymen.

We shall say nothing in answer to his assertions that our beds are bad, our cooking unsavory, and our vegetables insipid. We submit to these imputations, because they are mere matters of taste; but there is an objection in matter of fact, and in point of honour, which, without directly making, he more than insinuates, and upon which it seems necessary for us to say a few words.

Of many of the absurd and malicious tales with which the Jacobins and Buonapartists for so many years inundated France, with regard to this country, M. Cottu has seen with his own eyes and heard with his own ears, the falsehood; and he does not hesitate to confess, that in all the cases which he had opportunities of examining, he found that we had been misrepresented and libelled; but he does not do us the same justice with regard to the charge of ill treating our prisoners of war, which (though he thinks, from what he has himself seen of our manners and character, that it has been exaggerated) he still believes to have been but too liable to those imputations.

‘I own that, previously convinced as every Frenchman is that our nation is profoundly hated by the English, I had believed that it was in consequence of this hatred, that they inflicted on *our* prisoners in particular, such rigorous severity; but when I had become, by personal experience, able to appreciate the generous and active philanthropy of this people, I have not been able to reconcile the contradiction between their general desire to alleviate human suffering, and their barbarous conduct towards our soldiers. I have spoken to several Members of Parliament on the subject, and the answer I received was—that having no fortified places in the interior to confine our prisoners, and having no political police to watch them, they were obliged to confine them in prison-ships; the only places of security at their disposal. This explanation may have some truth, but this necessity, even supposing it to be as urgent as it was represented to me, did not, at least, require that the prisoners should have been heaped together in such unproportional numbers, and without regard to the sickness occasioned by such an accumulation; nor should they have been condemned to the intolerable punishment of a total want of exercise, and of breathing an infected and never purified air. Nothing excites against England such violent and such well-founded hatred as this conduct, or reflects such an indelible stain of cruelty on the national character.’—p. 233.

As we wish to stand well in M. Cottu’s own opinion, and as we should regret that his sensible and useful work should give consistence to these horrible calumnies,—calumnies propagated by that second father of lies, Buonaparte,—we trust we shall be excused for making a few observations on this interesting point, If the regimen of the prison-ships could have been submitted to the
the

the impartial eye of M. Cottu himself, he would have been the first to justify us from the accusations of the scum of the prisons, who, on their return to France, imputed the consequences which the infamous conduct of individuals brought upon themselves, to the inhumanity of the English towards *all* their prisoners. We have ourselves seen works published in Paris, for no other purpose than to spread and record this atrocious falsehood; and lest *words* should be too feeble to produce the desired effect, *prints* were added, representing such horrors as could only be imagined in a slave-ship; and indeed these very plates were copied from those which were published about twenty years ago, of the atrocities of the slave-trade. To all these calumnies, we shall reply by a 'few plain facts, which we recommend to M. Cottu's candid consideration.

1. There are, as he was well informed, no fortified places or political police in England for the confinement or superintendence of prisoners of war; but the government had always fitted up, at a great expense, prisons on shore for the average number of prisoners which could be reasonably calculated upon.

2. Situated as France and England are, the number of prisoners in former wars never exceeded a few thousands; cartels of exchange relieved, periodically, the prisoners of both nations, and the prisons of England, limited as they are, always sufficed for their purpose, and there was neither inconvenience nor complaint.

3. But Buonaparte, upon one pretence or another, always rejected all overtures for an exchange: the fact was, that the prisoners had seen, in England, examples of political independence, and had heard the judgment of Europe upon the character of their jacobin emperor, pronounced through a free press, and he did not choose to risk the introduction of any portion of light or liberty into the obscurity of his despotism.

4. Instead therefore of a few hundred of prisoners or at most a few thousands, Buonaparte's barbarous policy had accumulated in our custody from 60,000 to 70,000 men, a body sufficient to have alarmed even a country of greater extent and of securer modes of confinement than ours. It therefore became indispensably necessary to look to their security, and to our own.

5. In the first place, anxious *at any expense* to provide for the comfortable residences of the prisoners, upwards of £540,000 (about 13,000,000 francs) were expended in building large and commodious edifices for the reception of the prisoners.

6. These new prisons, together with the old ones, accommodated no less a number than 45,000 men, being more than ten times as many as in any former wars ever remained in England.

7. For the remaining 20,000, which it was impossible to dispose

of on shore in England, and whom Buonaparte would not receive into France, it was urgent to find some *temporary* accommodation; and as these men were almost all sailors, it appeared natural to place them in ships, to which their health and habits were already accommodated.

8. They were accordingly placed in ships; but so far from being improperly accumulated, the numbers exceeded in no one instance the numbers of *our own sailors* allotted to the ship in sea-going service: and inasmuch as all guns, cables, stores, &c. were removed, it is evident that the French prisoners had considerably more room for exercise, &c. than British seamen would have in making a voyage round the world.

9. So untrue is it, that no attention was paid to the discrimination of the sick from the healthy, that to each detachment of the ships was attached an hospital; and in the month of March, 1814, of the 9,000 prisoners in the ships at Plymouth, only 130 were in hospital, and of the 9,000 at Portsmouth only 150, and of the 3,000 at Chatham only 75—a proportion of sickness not greater than that of persons at perfect liberty, nay, less than the militia of England, the flower of the youth of the nation, suffered, at the same period.

10. To these facts must be added, that there were at this time no less than 4000 French officers on parole in several of the most agreeable country-towns in England, and no officer was ever put into confinement who had not broken his parole of honour.

We hope that this plain statement of facts, to be found in papers laid before Parliament in the year 1813, and in communications made to the French commissioners themselves in 1814, and which are beyond all doubt and suspicion, will satisfy the mind of M. Cottu, and that he will do our country the same justice in this particular, that he has so candidly done in many others.

We have reserved for the last a kind of general view which M. Cottu takes of our political state, and which suggests many considerations of great importance at all times, particularly so at the present moment.

‘It is on striking political questions which happen to interest the feelings of the great body of the people, that England displays all the force, or, I might say, all the copious powers and compensations of the political machine. Meetings are held on all sides; the corporations, the grand juries, the magistrates, the freeholders all discuss the charges against the ministers, and in their addresses they encourage the House of Commons to proceed against the offender, or suggest their opinions of the innocence and merit of the accused.

‘This facility, with which all the classes of the people may convey to their government through legal modes, and without riots, disturbances or insurrections, their sentiments upon public affairs, is the highest perfection of the British constitution.

‘This

‘ This constitution could never have been imagined by one mind or erected by one effort.—It is not written in any single treatise, the fruit of the study and meditations of some great theoretical legislator—No ; it is the effect of time, experience, and patience, and of the admirable address with which the nation has put to profit the seeds of liberty which it found in its old Saxon institutions.—While the other nations of Europe permitted these seeds to be wasted or stifled in their growth, by neglect or tyranny, the English, on the contrary, cultivated them with pious care, and they are this day enjoying the harvest of peace and liberty.—*Their* National Assembly, from patriotism, or from a regard to its own authority, has added, from age to age, new bulwarks to public freedom, and has not neglected any proper opportunity of confirming the rights of the people at large—rights which belong to every member of the assembly as a portion of the people, and on which every public man must build his reputation and his power.

‘ The first care of their parliaments was to secure the individual citizens from the unjust power of the crown, and the aristocracy—this is accomplished by the trial by jury, the habeas corpus act, and the freedom of the press. The next object was to assure the nation at large a due superintendence and controul over its government, but aware of the impossibility of assembling the people in a mass for any deliberative purpose, and convinced of the *danger of assembling large bodies of men for such purposes*, were it even practicable, they wisely divided the great body of the people into a number of smaller bodies and distinct classes, which have a right, *each within itself*, to assemble, for the purposes of discussing the conduct of the government and the acts of its agents—thus the freeholders of each county assembled for any public election, as of a Coroner for instance—the inhabitants of towns when called together by their mayors or aldermen—the grand juries or magistrates at the assizes and sessions—all have a power of addressing their petitions or remonstrances to the throne or to Parliament, and it is a power which they exert very frequently and with unbounded freedom.

‘ Add to this number (already so great) of citizens *by law entitled* to deliberate, the whole mass of the people, which during the elections, though they may have no right to vote, surround the hustings and proclaim pretty audibly their wishes and partialities: and it will be confessed that it is not without good reason, that the English nation is said to have a share in its own government. And accordingly there is nothing which such a government in union with such a public opinion cannot accomplish. When an important measure is submitted to parliament, the king and the two houses may be clearly informed of the state of public opinion upon the subject, and may persist or recede accordingly ; and by this excellent system the authority of the *people*, which, if united in one mass, would form a torrent, whose accumulated waters would on the first opposition overthrow the government and devastate the country, becomes by this subdivision into classes, many streams and channels of irrigation which adorn and fertilize the happy land through which they roll their peaceable currents.

‘ This admirable expression of the public opinion, so powerful, so vigilant, is *principally* maintained, supported and put into activity by the

manner in which justice is administered, and by the entire liberty of the press. With the exception of the twelve judges of England, all the civil and criminal justice of the kingdom is administered gratuitously by the intervention of the citizens themselves, and at their own expense.

‘The justices of the peace and the sheriffs perform their offices without any remuneration, and it is extremely rare to find them accused of the least negligence.

‘All these and similar circumstances keep up a salutary agitation and balance in the opinions of all classes of people. They bring together the higher and the lower orders of society, and maintain a combined spirit of equality of rights and mutual independence of persons, which renders palatable the inequality of riches and of rank.’—p. 200.

These observations, and many more which we could extract, are remarkable not only for their general truth and justice, but for the time in which they were written and the circumstances in which they appear.—We should not be surprized if these were the very ‘observations on the spirit of the British constitution,’ which Mr. Scarlett himself furnished to M. Cottu.—If they be, they do more honour to his constitutional principles, than to his consistency; for they develop the true tests of public freedom, and the real rights of public meetings in a much more open and intelligible manner than Mr. Scarlett appears to have done on other occasions. Our constitution abhors the assemblage of masses of population, incapable of judging even while they are quiet, and incapable of restraint if they become violent: for the safe and free conveyance of the public sentiment, the country is divided into classes, each of which may always legally and often usefully express its opinions, and these classes embrace as large a proportion of every rank and condition of men, as in any practice or even in theory (except that of the venerable Major and Sir Francis Burdett) have been considered as entitled to a voice in the affairs of the state. Our constitution glories in its magistracy,—gentlemen who sacrifice their time and their trouble, and even risk their fortunes and persons for the public interests; whose motives are above all undue influence, because they are themselves a part of the people, and can have no interest different from theirs; whose conduct is above all suspicion, because they are men of rank, education and intelligence; whose labours are above all price, and which are therefore unpaid; and whose usefulness is above all calculation, and can never therefore be too highly appreciated or sufficiently honoured.

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her,—and of the Sunderland collection. From these, from various other manuscript collections which have been opened to Mr. Coxe, in the liberal spirit of the present age, (properly called liberal in this point,) and from the printed works, the author has produced the first full and satisfactory account of Marlborough, a name which must ever hold one of the first places in military history. And now that the character of this illustrious man is brought into open daylight, it is delightful to see, after all the calumnies which have been heaped upon him, how nearly it is without a spot.

The Churchill family, obviously as that name might seem to explain its English origin, is traced to the Courcils of Poitou, who came over with the Conqueror. John Churchill, the subject of this history, was born at Ash, in Devonshire, on the 24th of June 1650. The father and grandfather had been conspicuous for their loyalty in the civil wars, and of course suffered in their estates: that loyalty, however, led to the subsequent elevation of the family. The father, Sir Winston Churchill, was rewarded with certain offices under government; his daughter, Arabella, was appointed maid of honour to the Duchess of York; and John was made page of honour to the Duke. He had previously been placed at St. Paul's school, and it has been affirmed, that he acquired his first inclination for a military life from perusing a copy of Vegetius in the school library. At a review of the foot-guards, the Duke asked him what profession he preferred, and received the answer which he probably expected when he put the question at such a time; the boy fell on his knees, and asked for a pair of colours in one of those fine regiments. His first essay in arms was at Tangiers. His second campaign was in 1672, during the disgraceful alliance between England and France: he then served with the English auxiliaries under Monmouth in that army which Louis XIV. commanded nominally in person, but which was really directed by Turenne and Coudé. In that campaign he attracted the notice of Turenne, and received the thanks of the King of France, at the head of the army. And continuing till 1677 to serve with the French in their war against the Emperor, he acquired under Turenne, and the other distinguished French generals of the age, that knowledge of the art of war which was afterwards so well and so worthily employed in protecting Germany, and preserving Europe from the yoke of France.

His person was so remarkably fine, that Turenne distinguished him by the name of the handsome Englishman, and it is said that he did not escape from the vices which at that time disgraced the English court. In the twenty-eighth year of his age, however, he married Sarah Jennings, who was ten years younger than himself:

self: she was of a good family, had been placed in her twelfth year in the Duchess of York's household, and had there become the favourite companion and chosen friend of the Princess Anne. Her figure and countenance were commanding and animated, indicating at once the character of her mind; and licentious as were the manners of the sphere in which she moved, her own conduct was such as to obtain respect, while her person and talents were objects of admiration. The attachment which Colonel Churchill formed for this lady, redeemed him at once from all licentious courses; it was equally permanent and strong; and into whatever faults this celebrated woman may have been hurried by the vehemence of an ardent mind, certain it is that she possessed his full esteem and confidence, as well as his undivided love, and that she deserved to be the wife of Marlborough.

During the latter years of Charles II., Colonel Churchill was confidentially employed by the Duke of York, and he was one of the few persons who escaped with that prince from the miserable wreck of the Gloucester yacht in Yarmouth Roads. In 1683, he was created Baron Churchill of Aymouth in Scotland; and upon the marriage of the Princess Anne, his wife was, at the Princess's earnest desire, made lady of Her Royal Highness's bedchamber. Upon the accession of James he was raised to the English peerage by the title of Baron Churchill of Sandridge, in the county of Hertford; and during Monmouth's insurrection, he was promoted to the rank of major-general. Churchill had saved Monmouth's life at the siege of Maestricht; and was now summoned to acknowledge him as king of England. By his dispositions, this unhappy and misguided man was compelled to risk an action; and by his vigilance the royal army was saved from a surprise. But his favour with James ceased after this time. Upon the great question by which the country was disturbed, his opinions were those of a wise and good man. He had considered the conduct of the whigs in Charles's reign toward the Duke of York as disrespectful, unjust and unconstitutional. 'Though I have an aversion to popery,' he observed, 'yet am I no less averse to persecution for conscience sake. I deem it the highest act of injustice to set any one aside from his inheritance, upon bare suppositions of intentional evils, and when nothing that is actual appears to preclude him from the exercise of his just rights.' After the accession of James, however, he declared to Lord Galway, that if the king should attempt to change the religion and constitution of the country, he would quit his service. That intention was unequivocally manifested; and Lord Churchill was among the first who made overtures to the Prince of Orange: but he discharged his duty as a faithful friend and subject by telling the King

King what the feelings of the people were respecting his conduct, and warning him of the consequences which were likely to ensue.

At the Revolution, Lord Churchill was one of those peers who voted for a Regency. In such times the wisest statesman can rely little upon his own foresight, and must sometimes alter his course, as the physician is compelled, by the symptoms which he discovers to-day, to depart from the plan of treatment which he had yesterday prescribed. When there appeared no alternative but to recall James, or confer the crown on William, he absented himself from the discussion, and submitted, as was his duty, to the decision. On this occasion Lady Churchill used her influence with the Princess Anne, in persuading her to let her own succession be postponed in favour of her sister. Soon afterwards Lord Churchill was made Earl of Marlborough, a title which seems to have been chosen because of a family connection with the last earls of that name. He served during a short campaign in the Low Countries, under the Prince of Waldeck, who declared that in a single battle he manifested greater talents than generals of longer experience had shewn in many years. It is believed that he refused to serve in Ireland, when his former sovereign and benefactor was in that country; but as soon as James had retired to France, he offered his services to reduce Cork and Kinsale, and effected the object with such skill and celerity, that William said of him, he knew no man equally fit for command, who had served so few campaigns.

There is now proof before the public, that Marlborough was in correspondence at that time with the exiled King; had expressed contrition for the part which he had taken in the Revolution, engaged to make amends by his future conduct, and obtained a promise of pardon for himself, his lady, his friend Godolphin, and some others. Actions which cannot be justified may often be extenuated, if we give but a just consideration to the circumstances and the spirit of the times. In all great revolutions, the foundations not of government alone, but of morality also are shaken. There is so much villainy and falsehood at the commencement, (for they who aim at revolutionizing a country scruple at no arts, however base, and at no crimes, however atrocious,) and so much wickedness of every kind in the progress, that from seeing right and wrong habitually confounded, men insensibly adapt their principles to the season, and self-preservation and self-advancement become the only rule of conduct. This was exemplified in the state of England during the interval between the Restoration and Revolution; the standard of general morality was never at any other time so low. The persons who figured in public life had grown up in an age of anarchy, and there were few
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among them who made any pretensions either to public or private virtue. Marlborough was far superior in both to his contemporaries, but he was yet young in state-affairs; and when a well-rooted attachment to the laws and religion of his country led him to concur in inviting over the Prince of Orange, the strong measure of deposing the sovereign was not contemplated by him, as the necessary, or even as the possible consequence.—‘I do solemnly protest,’ says his wife, in the account of her own conduct, speaking of William’s accession, ‘that if there be truth in any mortal, I was so very simple a creature, that I never once dreamt of his being King. I imagined that the Prince of Orange’s sole design was to provide for the safety of his own country, by obliging King James to keep the laws of ours; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy: that there was no sort of difficulty in the execution of this design; and that to do so much good would be a greater pleasure to him than to be king of any country upon earth.’ In saying this, the Duchess had no intention of offering any apology for herself, still less for her husband. Want of sincerity was not among her faults—for she was of a frank and honourable nature—and as it is certain that Marlborough reposed in her the most entire confidence, and even, on great political occasions, sometimes submitted his own better judgment to hers, it may fairly be presumed from this passage, that his views in inviting William went no farther than are there stated. The motives which may have induced him to correspond with the exiled King are briefly indicated by Mr. Coxe. He was personally attached to James—a prince who, with all his grievous faults, was not without some redeeming virtues. He was displeased by the measures of William in favour of the dissenters—measures which he believed injurious to the welfare of that church, the preservation of which had been the immediate cause and object of the Revolution. Something too is ascribed to the cold and repulsive manners of the new King, and to his imprudent predilection for foreigners. But undoubtedly what chiefly influenced him was a distrust of the stability of the new government, which made him provide means for his security in case of a restoration. So James himself understood it; ‘they were to be pardoned and in security,’ he says, ‘in case the King returned, and yet suffer nothing in the interim, nor to give any other proofs of their sincerity than bare words and empty promises.’ This conduct cannot be justified; but it should be remembered, that on both sides Marlborough saw much to discontent him; and that though in certain states of public feeling, a desire of martyrdom is the strongest of all ambitions, and per-

haps that which is most easily excited, men will never sacrifice themselves for a cause which they only half approve.

The Mogul Sultan Acbar bore this inscription upon one of his seals, 'I never knew a man lost upon a straight road.' It had been well for Marlborough's reputation, and for his happiness, if that saying had been taught him in his youth; for by the crooked policy which he pursued, he brought upon himself greater dangers than those which he was endeavouring to avert. He was committed to the Tower upon an accusation brought by one Young, a villain who, having forged letters with such skill that Marlborough said he himself should have been deceived by the imitation, hid them in a flower-pot at the Bishop of Rochester's. The place was searched upon his information, and the evidence which was then discovered, appeared at first to be conclusive against the persons whose lives this wretch intended to sacrifice. The forgery was detected, but Marlborough was dismissed from his employments. His name was erased from the list of privy-counsellors, and he was detained some time after the falsehood of the accusation against him had been proved. Undoubtedly William was apprized of his correspondence with the exiled King. Marlborough had the consciousness of innocence to support him, as to the specific fact of which he was accused; but he must have felt very differently, when Sir John Fenwick, in the hope of saving his own life, charged him with having accepted a pardon from James, and undertaken to secure the army for his service. Fenwick had good reason to believe the charge, but he had no means of proving it, his information resting only upon the indirect communications of certain French agents, who told him all they knew, and probably passed upon him their hopes and conjectures for facts. On this occasion Mordaunt, then Lord Monmouth, afterwards the famous Earl of Peterborough, acted with peculiar infamy; he supplied Fenwick with written directions how to conduct his defence so as to implicate the persons whom he had accused; and yet when Fenwick did not think proper to follow these directions, this most inconsistent man voted for the attainder against him. The charge could not be substantiated, and Fenwick died with the shame of having betrayed the cause for which he suffered.

Magnanimity was William's characteristic virtue—and in that how many virtues are included! he knew how far Marlborough had gone, and could make allowance for the motives which induced him to play a double part. And though he had prejudices against him arising from court-quarrels and the jealousies between the Queen and her sister, he was nevertheless sagacious enough to perceive, and just enough to acknowledge, his extraordinary

dinary capacity. He frequently expressed his concern that he could not employ a nobleman who was equally distinguished for political and military talents. 'Other generals,' he said, 'found every thing impracticable which was proposed to them; but Marlborough appeared never to discover a difficulty.' At length he appointed him governor to the Duke of Gloucester; and with a gracefulness of compliment which has seldom been exceeded, when he delivered the Prince into his care, said, 'Teach him to be like yourself, and he will not want accomplishments.'

When the ungenerous usage which William had experienced from Parliament led him, in the bitterness of his heart, to determine upon renouncing a throne where his best intentions were thwarted by a party-spirit which has from that day been the worst evil and the peculiar disgrace of England, Marlborough was one of the few persons to whom he imparted his design. And when, after the accession of Philip V. to the throne of Spain, William prepared for war, he appointed Marlborough to command the forces in the Netherlands, and to negotiate the treaties for the renewal of the Grand Alliance. This was an arduous task: he had to reconcile jarring interests, to allay or at least suspend inveterate enmities, to moderate extravagant pretensions, and to conciliate impracticable young sovereigns, in whom will and passion were paramount, and obstinate ministers who had grown old in imbecility and error. In addition to these difficulties, both William and the Dutch government urged him, in his treaty with the Emperor, to fix the number of troops which England should supply, without waiting for the sanction of Parliament. On this point Marlborough stood firm; in his correspondence with the English ministers he says, 'I am fully persuaded that if the King should be prevailed upon to settle this by his own authority, we shall never see a quiet day more in England, and consequently not only ruin ourselves, but also undo the liberties of Europe; for if the King and parliament begin with a dispute, France will give what laws she pleases.' And to Godolphin he says that, if the cabinet should be induced to take this step, and send out orders to him, 'I am so persuaded that the doing of this by His Majesty's authority would prove fatal to himself and the kingdom; that I should desire to be recalled: for, before God, I will die sooner than do so fatal a thing.' These representations had the effect of dissuading the King from an intention which seems to have originated in an imperfect understanding of the constitution, certainly not in any desire of increasing his power by unconstitutional means. The last advice of William to his successor was, that she should look upon Marlborough as the most proper

per person in her dominions to lead her armies, and direct her councils.

Well was it for England and for Europe that Marlborough, owing to accidental circumstances, possessed that influence over the mind of the new Sovereign to which he was justly entitled by his surpassing talents: for the exigencies of the time required the full exertion of such talents. William himself, great general as he was, had scarcely been able, with the aid of all his allies, to make head against the overwhelming power of France: but Spain was now detached from the alliance, and ranged on the side of France; and by virtue of that connection Louis XIV. had obtained complete possession of the Spanish Netherlands, (which had been the bulwark of Holland,) for all purposes of offensive war. Bavaria also was become the ally of the French, whose arms, by this connection, were at once introduced into the heart of the empire: The power of France exceeded all precedent in modern history. The French are eminently a military people: their education, their habits of mind and of body, their universal cleverness, their vivacity, their buoyant spirit, the hardness and the lightness of their character, their virtues and their vices, fit them above all others for a military life: and half a century had brought their armies to the highest state of discipline, under officers alike characterized by the love and knowledge of their profession. The kingdom had also the advantage of a firm government under a sovereign of no common talents, who, more than any other of the European kings, possessed the unbounded affection of his subjects, because his character was completely suited to that of the people whom he governed. There was no vacillation in his councils; whoever might be minister, the same system was steadily pursued; a system of aggrandizement, which disregarded all treaties, all obligations moral and religious, and against which there could be no security; that system during the whole of his long reign, the longest in the annals of Europe, he had pursued without intermission and without remorse.

It would have been easy for Louis to effect the subjugation of Europe, had not this country opposed. But the situation of England must have appeared to him as unfavourable as that of his own kingdom was advantageous, in all those points which he had been accustomed to contemplate as constituting the essential strength of states. A woman was at the head of a feeble government, a factious legislature and a divided nation. Her talents were of the common standard; there was little in her personal character which deserved respect, but few persons have ever been more largely entitled to compassion. The rank in which she was born placed her in an unhappy situation, wherein the path of duty

duty was not plain. The strongest intellect and the purest mind might have hesitated how to act, between a sense of what was due on the one hand to the king her father, and on the other to the religion of her country, in which she had been so carefully brought up, that neither her father's example, nor the perversion of her mother had, in the slightest degree, shaken her attachment to the principles of the English Church. Her part was taken, not with deliberation, but in a time of confusion, alarm and fear: in that crisis she preferred her public to her private duty, and her own heart ever afterwards punished her for the sacrifice of a natural and sure feeling to a doubtful obligation. When the king heard that she also had deserted him, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, God help me! even my own children have forsaken me! Anne must have called to mind this exclamation with a bitterness at least equal to that in which it was uttered, when, after having borne eight immature births, and nine living children, she saw the last of them expire, when he was the acknowledged heir to the crown, and when the promise of his virtues and talents might have satisfied the wisest desires and the most ambitious hopes. 'She attended on him,' says Burnet, 'during his sickness, with great tenderness, but with a grave composedness that amazed all who saw it; she bore his death with a resignation and piety that were indeed very singular.' It might have occurred to the bishop that this composedness was the demeanour of one who submitted to the stroke as a judicial visitation, and in her inward soul acknowledged how fitting it was that she, who had sinned against a parent, should be punished in her children. Under that impression she corresponded with her father, and requested he would sanction her acceptance of the crown in the event of William's death, declaring her readiness to restore it whenever it should be practicable. James would hear of no such compromise.—If he had survived William, Anne would have had a second conflict with herself, more painful than the first. His decease placed her in a different situation. She could have no personal affection for her brother, and it appears that she had been so far imposed upon by the impudent story of the warming-pan as to doubt his birth,—though not to disbelieve it.

Louis, who knew of her correspondence with her father, could not have supposed that she should, in any degree, be the dupe of so gross a falsehood. He reckoned the Queen's conscience among his allies; and he was statesman enough to understand that public measures depend more upon the personal disposition of the governors, than upon any principle of policy, or any other causes whatsoever. He had not yet learnt to fear the English armies, and probably thought that in losing William they had lost their greatest strength.

strength. The English councils he had a right to despise,—*fluctuation perpétuelle dans la conduite d'Angleterre*, was the indignant exclamation of De Witt. Unanimity in a nation was regarded by him as of such importance, that, for the sake of obtaining it, he had stained his history by a most inhuman and wholesale persecution: it is likely, therefore, that he calculated the religious animosities which prevailed among the English, at more than they were worth in his favour. With the strength of the jacobites he was perfectly acquainted, and he knew the price of a patriot. Every thing in the comparison seemed to ensure the success of France in the approaching contest, for he was altogether ignorant of the spirit and the resources of England.

The hopes which he entertained from the disposition of the queen were frustrated by the ascendancy of the Countess of Marlborough. The intimacy between them, which had commenced in early youth; had ripened into a romantic friendship, in which rank on the one side, and talents on the other, established something like equality. The happiness of the countess was not increased by the power of which she found herself possessed upon the queen's accession; her influence, however, at this time was one of the most fortunate accidents in English history. The garter was given to her husband, he was appointed captain-general of the forces at home and abroad, and at his instance Godolphin was made lord high treasurer—a statesman worthy to be his colleague. The only son of Godolphin had married Marlborough's eldest daughter, Lady Henrietta. Lady Anne, the second, was married to Lord Spencer, son of the Earl of Sunderland. Marlborough and Godolphin were both Tories, but more than any men of their generation free from the narrowness and asperity of party-spirit; for they were both men of sound judgement, as well as mature years and political experience, upright principles, and true English feeling. The ministry was formed by the queen, without their interference; she consulted her private inclinations and antipathies, and composed it of the most decided Tories, men who were so intolerant that, not contented with filling all the higher offices of the state and the law, they would not have suffered a single Whig to officiate as justice of the peace, if Marlborough and Godolphin had not interposed and restrained them. This interposition became a cause of disunion in the ministry, even from its commencement. The queen's uncle, Lord Rochester, was at the head of the tories; his father, in all important respects the most valuable of our English historians, is also the model of an English statesman, for the general justness of his views, and the uniform integrity of his life. Rochester had neither inherited his moderation nor his wisdom, nor his

his manly and decided character. When the question of peace or war was now at issue, and it was time for England to come forward in fulfilment of the alliances which William had concluded, he and the more violent Tories would have drawn back and temporized; and they proposed the miserable expedient of engaging in the contest only as auxiliaries, not as a principal. This paltry policy was combated and exposed by Marlborough, and the better genius of England for that time prevailed; but a schism was thus occasioned in the party, and a coldness followed between Rochester and Marlborough, who, till that time, had been friends, and Rochester became his secret opponent first, and ultimately his open enemy.

But Marlborough had a nearer inquietude. His wife had long been inclined to favour the Whigs, and from the marriage of her daughter with Lord Spencer, that inclination had increased, till it became a strong and decided preference. If fortune had placed her in the situation of her royal mistress she would have made a queen like Elizabeth, or the Russian Catharine, without the personal weakness of the one, or the vices of the other; her character was of the same stamp, commanding and imperious. The political sphere in which she was placed made her, of necessity, interested in political affairs; the wife of Marlborough and the favourite of Queen Anne could see, or hear, or think of little else; her talents qualified her to take a part, but unhappily she was unable to act with moderation, for her temper was warm, as well as frank and generous. During William's life all difference between herself and the queen, upon political opinions, was suspended by their common dislike to the king: but upon Anne's accession, a dispathy immediately began, which, though only perceptible at first in the point of difference, insensibly extended, till it leavened the whole feelings of both, and converted old friendship into inveterate ill will. Such a woman could not withhold from interfering when her interference might well have been spared: her husband's interest and welfare and glory were now inseparably connected with the prosperity of the state, and it was impossible for her to refrain from suggesting measures which, in her judgment, seemed essential to his success. Obedience was the only virtue in which she was deficient:—perhaps the fault was in Marlborough himself, who loved her too fondly to exact submission, when he failed to persuade her that she was acting from mistaken views. The family connection with Godolphin gave her greater means of interfering than she would otherwise have possessed: in this respect, therefore, it was unfortunate. One of her first letters to that statesman after the formation of the new ministry, shews both her judgment and her disposition in a favourable light.

light: 'If I had power to dispose of places,' said she, 'the first rule should be, to have those that were proper for the business: the next, those that had deserved upon any occasion; and, whenever there was room without hurting the public, I think one would, with pleasure, give employments to those who were in so unhappy a condition as to want them.'

In May 1702, Marlborough, who had been appointed Ambassador-extraordinary to the United States, embarked from Margate to take the command. He parted from the countess at the water-side, and in a hasty note which he wrote to her from the ship, he says it was impossible to express with what a heavy heart. He would have given his life to come back, he said, though he durst not, knowing his own weakness, and that he could not have concealed it; and he told her, that for a long time he stood upon the deck looking toward the cliffs through a glass, in hopes of having one sight more of her. All his influence had been used to obtain the chief command for the Prince of Denmark, for, when the good of the general cause was concerned, never was any man more perfectly indifferent to his individual interests. The Dutch could not be induced to consent; they had little confidence in the talents of the Prince, and, what perhaps weighed more with them, they thought he would not submit to the controul of the field-deputies whom they sent to the army for the purpose of inspecting and regulating the conduct of their generals. This post was also desired by the Archduke Charles, for whom Spain, to which he laid claim, was a fitter scene of action; by the Duke of Zell, by the King of Prussia, and by the Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. There were objections to all these; and the Prince of Nassau Saarbruck and the Earl of Athlone withdrew their pretensions in favour of Marlborough, who was accordingly appointed Generalissimo, with a salary of £10,000 a year.

The principal army of the allies under Athlone was at this time in the vicinity of Cleves, to cover that part of the frontier between the Rhine and the Meuse, and to favour the Prince of Saarbruck who, with 25,000 men, was besieging Kayserswerth. Cohorn had 10,000 men near the mouth of the Scheldt to secure that quarter, and threaten the district of Bruges. On the part of the enemy, the Count de la Motte and the Marquis of Bedmar covered that side against Cohorn. Marshal Tallard was detached from the Upper Rhine with 13,000 men to interrupt the siege of Kayserswerth; and the powerful army of the French commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, with Marshal Boufflers to assist him, was assembled on the Meuse, and occupied the fortresses in the bishopric of Liège, which were of essential advantage to them. It

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was rightly supposed that the Duke of Burgundy would not have been sent to the army, unless there had been an expectation of some signal success; and before Marlborough could arrive to take the command, there was a danger that his operations would be confined to the defence of the Dutch frontiers. Athlone threw 12,000 men into Maestricht, and thus provided for the security of that important town; but Nimeguen was without a garrison, and even without a single cannon mounted on the ramparts: the duke was joined by Tallard, and made a sudden move against it. It was saved by the vigorous resistance of the burghers, and by Athlone, who entered at the very moment when the enemy had advanced within gunshot of the works. But the Dutch were frightened at the danger they had escaped, and would now have made self-defence the principle of their timid operations. When Marlborough arrived at the army, it was posted along the Waal between Nimeguen and Fort Schenk. Three plans were proposed, one to attack the French, who were on the right bank of the Meuse between Goch and Genep; this was at once rejected on account of the strength of their position: the second was to advance up the Rhine, cut off the enemy's communication, and reduce Rheinberg, as the commencement of an offensive system: the council of war referred this to the decision of the States; and upon the third, which was Marlborough's suggestion, that they should move upon Brabant, and thus draw the whole attention of the enemy to the Spanish Netherlands, it was determined, after two consultations, to apply to the Dutch government for instructions. The proverb, that in the multitude of counsellors there is safety, is not applicable to military affairs, where every thing depends upon decision and promptitude. No general was ever more crippled in his operations than Marlborough at this time.—The field-deputies, men entirely ignorant of war, always impeded him by their slow deliberations, and their fear of responsibility, and could at any time paralyze his movements. Too many of the generals regarded him with an invidious feeling; Athlone in particular, a man cold and wary by nature, rendered by age more cautious and more phlegmatic than by his constitution and Dutch blood, and now soured by ill-will. Irretrievable time was lost, when every day was of value; and to add to the embarrassments and vexation of the commander, points of punctilio arose concerning the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. At length, after the loss of fourteen precious days, the States determined—that they would determine nothing; but that the general officers, making the safety of Nimeguen and of the Rhine their first object, should determine for themselves. They resolved to pass the Meuse and march to the siege of Rheinberg. The

The reason for crossing the river was to alarm the French, and spare that part of the country from which they were to draw their subsistence during the siege. The plan was not what Marlborough would have chosen. He knew that if the enemy had good intelligence, they might so act as to compel the allies to change it. 'If the fear of Nimeguen and the Rhine,' said he, 'had not hindered us from marching into Brabant, they must then have had the disadvantage of governing themselves by our motions, whereas we are now obliged to mind them.'

The plan thus hesitatingly adopted, was not pursued, and Marlborough was allowed to act upon his own judgment. Pointing to the enemy's camp, he said exultingly to the Dutch deputies, 'I shall soon deliver you from these troublesome neighbours!' The event justified his confidence, for no sooner had they heard that he had crossed the Meuse than they also passed the river, and hastened, by forced marches, in the direction of Peer and Bray. Marlborough was now assured that he should draw them entirely from the Meuse, be able to besiege Venloo, and to subsist in their territory during the remainder of the campaign. In these hopes he was not disappointed, though the timidity of the deputies prevented him from attacking the enemy in a position where, according to the undeniable testimony of Berwick, then in the French army, their defeat must have been inevitable. A second time he was prevented from attacking them and obtaining an easy victory, by the tardiness of the allied troops in executing his orders. The factious party in England complained that he had suffered the enemy to escape; in this they proceeded upon the half-information which they possessed, without any regard to justice, or any feeling of generosity; but the spirit of party went farther than this, and with its usual malignity accused him of endeavouring to prolong the war for the sake of his own interest. Meantime the soldiers did justice to their commander, and loudly exclaimed against those by whom his purposes and their eager hopes had been frustrated; and Marlborough, while he submitted patiently to the cruel calumnies with which he was assailed at home, had some difficulty to silence the discontent which the officers as well as the men expressed in his favour. His movements, however, had been so far successful that the Duke of Burgundy withdrew from the French army, lest he should have the mortification of witnessing conquests which there was little hope of preventing. Venloo, Stevenswaert and Ruremond were taken, notwithstanding the tardiness of the Dutch; the campaign was concluded by the capture of Liege. Boufflers attempted to storm this city by taking post under the walls, but Marlborough anticipated him by occupying the ground,

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and the French were a third time indebted for their safety to the Dutch deputies, always timid, and therefore always in the wrong. They now retired within their lines, and Marlborough distributed his troops into winter-quarters.

When the campaign was closed, an accident occurred which might have counterbalanced all its advantages, and given a fatal turn to the events of the war. Leaving Maestricht for the Hague, Marlborough embarked on the Meuse with the Dutch deputies and a guard of five and twenty men. The next day he was joined at Ruremond by Cohorn, with three score men in a larger boat, and fifty troopers escorted them along the banks of the river; but in the night the troopers lost their way, the larger boat went on without attending to its companion, and a French partisan from Guelder who, with thirty-five men, was lurking among the reeds and sedges, seized the tow-rope of Marlborough's boat, fired into it, boarded it and overpowered the guard. The deputies had provided themselves with French passes; it would have been beneath Marlborough's dignity to take the same precaution; and he was saved by his own coolness and the presence of mind of an attendant, named Gell, who having in his pocket a pass granted to General Churchill, slipped it into his hand unperceived. Marlborough presented it; the darkness, the confusion, perhaps the ignorance, perhaps the civility of the Frenchman, prevented a scrutiny of the passport; and after pillaging the boat, extorting the usual presents, which on this occasion were gladly given, and detaining the guard as prisoners, the partisan suffered Marlborough and the deputies to proceed. He rewarded Gell for this essential service with an annuity of £50. The alarm presently spread over the country. The Governor of Venloo prepared to attack Guelder, whither he supposed the prisoner had been conveyed; and the States, who were then assembled at the Hague, passed a vote by acclamation that all their troops should instantly march for the purpose of rescuing a commander, whose importance to the common cause was now instantaneously and instinctively acknowledged. The conduct of the Dutch on this occasion was highly honourable. The common people crowded to meet him when he landed at the Hague, all crying out welcome, and some pressing to take him by the hand, and many men as well as women weeping for joy at his escape. The pomp of a Roman triumph would have been less gratifying to a heart like Marlborough's than this reception, for he was as quick in feeling kindness as he was ready to bestow it.

The success of the campaign, inferior as it was to what it might have been had not the masterly spirit of the commander been controuled, far exceeded the expectations and hopes of the States.

States. They deputed the Pensionary Heinsius to congratulate him, and the orator, in alluding to his escape, said that no hope would have been left if France had retained in bondage the man whom they revered as the instrument of Providence for securing independence to the greater part of the Christian world. Athlone himself made the most honourable amends for his past conduct; he called him an incomparable general, and declared that the whole success was owing to him alone, 'since I confess,' said he, 'that I, serving as second in command, opposed, in all circumstances, his opinion and proposals.' The queen immediately acquainted his wife with her intention of raising him to a dukedom. This intelligence, though communicated in terms of the most affectionate friendship, gave no pleasure to the countess. That extraordinary woman was not ambitious of any higher rank; 'there is no advantage in it,' she said, 'but in going in at a door, and when a rule is settled, I like as well to follow five hundred as one.' 'The title of duke,' she added, 'was a great burden in a family where there were many sons; and though she had then but one, she might have more, and there might be a great many in the next generation.' As far, therefore, as her inclination might weigh with the queen she declined the dignity, and she earnestly pressed her husband to do the same; their estate, she thought, was not sufficient to support the title, and she observed that his elevation to that rank might draw upon the queen solicitations which would greatly embarrass her. The queen, however, persisted in her purpose; Godolphin urged him to acquiesce, and his friend the Pensionary Heinsius represented to him in strong terms the good effect which it would have with the foreign princes. At any after-time, he said, such an elevation might look like the effect of favour, for it was not reasonable to expect that so much success would ever be obtained in any other campaign;—now it would appear, as it was meant to be, and as it was, an act of public justice, honourable to himself and his family, honourable to the queen, and for the good of the common cause. He acquiesced in these reasonable representations, and was created Marquis of Blandford and Duke of Marlborough. The queen conferred upon him at the same time £5000 out of the post-office for her own life, and requested Parliament to devise a proper mode for settling this grant on him and his successors in the title, but the proposal excited so much opposition that, at the duke's desire, it was withdrawn.

In less than three months after Marlborough had been rewarded with the highest title that an English subject can attain in his own country, he lost his only surviving son, a youth of seventeen, and of the highest promise, moral and intellectual. He died at
Cambridge,

Cambridge, of the small pox. It was well for the father that duty soon recalled him to a scene where he had little leisure for dwelling on the past;—yet Lord Blandford was soon to have followed the army, and served under him in that campaign; many circumstances, therefore, with which the recollection of his loss would not otherwise have been associated, brought it to Marlborough's mind, and in one of his letters to Godolphin, touching upon this with the unreserve of perfect friendship, he says, 'since it has pleased God to take him, I do wish from my soul I could think less of him.'

The military operations had not been entirely suspended during the winter. Rheineberg had been reduced, and Guelder blockaded,—the capture of this latter place would clear Spanish Guelderland from the enemy; but the French, in whose councils there was unity of will and of purpose, had concerted their plans with a decision which Marlborough vainly endeavoured to infuse into the allies. Never wanting in alacrity, nor in vigour when the glory of their country is concerned, (however mistaken they may be as to its true interests, or indifferent to the justice of its cause,) they had made great efforts for strengthening their armies, and concerted a plan of wide and well-arranged operations. Villeroy was to act on the offensive in the Low Countries, reduce the places on the Meuse, and threaten the Dutch; the united troops of France and Savoy were to penetrate from Italy into Germany through the Tyrol, and another army was to make its way from the Upper Rhine through the Black Forest, meet the Italian force, form a junction with the Bavarians, and march upon Vienna, where it was supposed they might dictate their own terms to the emperor; for, on the one hand, the insurgents in Hungary were acting in their favour, and on the other, it was believed that the maritime powers would be occupied by Villeroy, and wholly incapable of making any movements for his relief. The liberties of Europe were never in greater danger, and Marlborough was the only person who could have preserved them. It is awful to reflect how much may sometimes depend upon a single life.

But Marlborough's operations were again shackled by the States. They insisted upon besieging Bonn, in the vain opinion that the Elector would capitulate rather than expose that fine town to destruction. It was against his judgment; but when preparations had been made, and the intention had become so public that to desist from it would have been adding loss of reputation to loss of time, Cohorn, who should have taught engineering instead of practising it, would have delayed the siege till the end of the year, if Marlborough had not insisted upon proceeding. He knew that it was better resolutely to pursue a plan

which had not been wisely chosen, than to betray infirmity of mind by change of purpose. So the siege was pushed with vigour; and when it had succeeded, he directed his thoughts to what he called the great design, which was to carry the war into the heart of Brabant and West Flanders. The French lines extended from Antwerp to the Mehaigne, a small river which falls into the Meuse a little above Huy, and they had another series of fortifications stretching from Antwerp towards Ostend; for the protection of these lines there were two flying camps, one near Antwerp under the Marquis of Bedmar; the other under Count de la Motte, near Bruges. Marlborough's intention was to bring the French to battle if he could; this, he said, with the blessing of God, would be of far greater advantage to the common cause than the taking of twenty towns. He knew his own military skill, and the temper of his men, and, like a right Englishman, he never doubted of victory. But it was not the interest of the enemy to risk a battle, and therefore he did not expect it. He hoped, however, to make them retire behind their lines, to force them by a combined operation, and get possession of Antwerp and Ostend. This plan was defeated by the misconduct of the Dutch generals Cohorn, Spaar and Opdam. They broke through on their side, having obtained the leave of the States, for the purpose of raising a contribution in the country of Waes. If any part of the world might deserve, by the common consent of nations, to be held sacred in war, because of the excellent industry of the inhabitants, it is this; so perfect is the cultivation, and so delightful the beauty and the comfort which have been produced. The contribution was the motive, which Marlborough observed these people liked but too well, and it operated strongly upon Cohorn, who, as Governor of West Flanders, would have the ninth of all that should be raised. Contrary to the commander's express orders, they made the attack, when he was at too great a distance to support them, and the consequence was, that Opdam's corps was surprized, and he himself, narrowly escaping from being taken on a reconnoitring party, fled to Breda with intelligence that his whole force was cut off. The panic was premature, for Slangenberg assumed the command, and, by availing himself of the dikes, repulsed the enemy, and effected his retreat. It had, however, ill consequences. The Dutch generals quarrelled with one another, each seeking to excuse himself; and Slangenberg, who, for his impracticable temper, had been laid aside during the latter years of William's reign, though he would otherwise have been a good general, basely accused Marlborough of having designedly exposed the Dutch troops to defeat, because he was jealous of them. The endless bickerings of these men,
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and the irresolution of the States, so harassed Marlborough as to draw from him a complaint in his correspondence, that they made his life a burden. Even the Pensionary Heinsius, and the other official men, whose wishes and opinions coincided entirely with his, sheltered themselves on all occasions under his responsibility, and shrunk from it themselves; and from the violence of factions in Holland, and the weakness of a popular government, or, as Marlborough called it, the want of a government, he began to fear that things would go wrong at last. So far wrong they went, that after the enemy declined an action and retired within their lines, a council of war prevented Marlborough from attacking them there. Thus his hopes for the campaign were effectually defeated, and he was obliged to content himself for the remainder of the season with reducing Huy, Limburg and Guelder.

Even-minded and master of himself as Marlborough was, continual vexation affected his health. He complained that the unreasonable opposition which he had met with had, by heating his blood, almost made him wild with head ache. This was an affliction to which he was peculiarly subject, and which must have been grievously aggravated by continual fatigue, both of mind and body. The state of parties in England was a constant source of anxiety to him. He saw the evil of that party-spirit which was then, and has continued to be, the bane and the disgrace of England. Godolphin also saw it. Both parties were equally violent, and equally indifferent as to any means whereby they could advance their own views: of this too Marlborough was convinced. The whigs, who were for a vigorous prosecution of the war, were yet for thwarting and embarrassing government on every occasion—because they were not in power; and many of the tory ministry, because the war was contrary to their system, and to their secret wishes, were desirous of crippling the general in his operations. No people have ever experienced so much evil from the contention of parties as the English, and no people have ever profited so little by experience. A cry was raised, as in our own days, that we were wasting the resources of the kingdom; that it was necessary to contract our exertions, and confine ourselves to a defensive system. And when Godolphin, wearied by their clamour, intimated a disposition to yield to it, Marlborough resolved to retire from a situation, which, if it could not be supported with honour and advantage, was too painful to be borne. The Duchess communicated this intention to the Queen. The Queen's answer, written in the assumed name used in the friendly correspondence between them, was in the most affectionate terms. She did not wonder, she said, that persons in such posts should be weary of the world; but they ought a little to consider their

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country, which must be ruined if such thoughts were put in execution ;—‘ As for your poor unfortunate faithful Morley,’ the letter continued, ‘ she could not bear it ; for if ever you should forsake me, I would have nothing more to do with the world, but make another abdication ; for what is a crown when the support of it is gone ?’ Unfortunate, was an epithet which she always applied to herself, in her private letters, after the death of her son. She concluded by saying, that she never would forsake the Marlboroughs and Godolphin, but always be their constant and faithful friend :—‘ We four,’ said she, ‘ must never part, till death mows us down with his impartial hand.’ After such a letter, it was not possible for Marlborough to persist in his resignation. Some changes in the ministry also made his situation for a time less irksome, though they proved eventually in the highest degree injurious, both to himself and the interests of Europe. By his influence Harley and St. John were made Secretaries of State. Marlborough had the most implicit confidence in both these men ; but they did not deceive the Duchess ; she perceived their true character, and warned her husband against them : unhappily this was the only instance in which he did not suffer himself to be guided by her opinion in such cases.

Meantime the Emperor was in a situation of great danger. The well-concerted operations of the French and Bavarians in the preceding year, had failed through the resolute defence of the Tyrolese, who displayed the same loyal attachment to the House of Austria, and the same determined spirit of resistance to the Bavarians, by which they have distinguished themselves so heroically in our own days. The allies had also obtained a most important accession to their strength, in the Duke of Savoy. But on the side of Germany the French had obtained some important successes. M. Tallard had taken Brisac, which was the strongest bulwark of the empire on that side, and was regarded as one of the best fortresses in Europe, and he had recovered Landau. By these conquests they had a way open into the heart of the Empire ; and the Elector of Bavaria, commanding the course of the Danube from its sources to the frontiers of Austria, communicated on the one side with the victorious French armies on the Rhine, and with the Hungarian insurgents on the other. The head-quarters were near Ulm. He had an army of 45,000 men, against which scarcely 20,000 could be brought by the exhausted means of the Emperor. Leopold even prepared his capital for a siege. The army of the Empire, under the Margrave of Baden, was employed to defend the lines of Stollhoffen, and was far from being competent to that important service. The defiles of the Black Forest were left to a handful of troops, who were to be supported by the militia

litia and the peasantry. On all sides the means of defence were miserably inadequate; and the French cabinet had good reason to believe, that while they amused the allies in the Netherlands, the next campaign would enable them to dictate their own terms at Vienna.

Marlborough comprehended the full extent of the danger, and perceived that there was only one means of averting it, which was by moving his army to the Danube, and saving the heart of the empire from a meditated blow, which would otherwise be fatal, not only to Austria and the empire, but to the protestant succession in England, and to the liberties of Europe. If this were not done, all would be lost; an attempt therefore for preventing it, though so hazardous that at other times it might be deemed temerity, became prudent now. The Emperor had one general in his service worthy, for his military talents, to co-operate with Marlborough in any plan of operations, however arduous, and generous enough to serve with him, or under him, with the perfect confidence of friendship, and perfect devotedness of duty. This was Prince Eugene, who had been removed from the command in Italy, to be made President of the Council of War at Vienna. With him Marlborough corresponded and concerted the scheme of a campaign, so bold in itself, and so unlike any thing to which the English had been accustomed, that he did not venture to communicate the whole design even to Godolphin, much less to the cabinet. In that quarter he contented himself with obtaining an augmentation of 10,000 men to the 40,000 already under his immediate command. At the Hague he proposed a campaign on the Moselle, with the British and part of the foreign auxiliaries, leaving the remainder, and the Dutch troops under General Overkirk, to protect the Netherlands. Even this plan, far as it fell short of that which he intended to pursue, appeared too bold for the States; but he was seconded by his friend the Pensionary, and their assent was finally given. He looked to the interests of the various allies, and used every means to conciliate, as well as to serve them. To the King of Prussia he made a confidential communication of the proposed campaign on the Moselle: and the Emperor, through Prince Eugene's agency, was induced to write a letter to the Queen, entreating an assistance proportioned to the emergency. Still the difficulties were so great, that he relied more upon the chance of circumstances, or, in wiser and more religious language, which better represents his own feelings, upon Providence, than upon the means which he could expect to command. Writing from the Hague in February, whither he had gone to concert measures, in the depth of winter, he says to the Duchess, 'For this campaign I see so very ill a
B 3 prospect,

prospect, that I am extremely out of heart ; but God's will be done ! In all the other campaigns, I had an opinion of being able to do something for the common cause ; but in this I have no other hopes than that some lucky accident may enable me to do good.' And on informing Godolphin that he had concluded every thing in Holland, as far as could be done in a country where nobody had power to conclude any thing, he expressed a hope that the blessing of God would make them succeed much better than they could propose to themselves ; ' for,' said he, ' Providence makes the wheel go round.'

The letters of Leopold, and the representations of the Imperial minister, produced the intended effect upon the English cabinet ; and without yet entirely disclosing his views, even to Godolphin and the Queen, he obtained general powers for concerting with the States such measures as might be deemed proper for relieving the Emperor. The first hint of an effort in Germany awakened in England a party cry against hazardous enterprizes and continental connections ; and the Dutch were so averse to go beyond a mere defensive system, that Marlborough declared he would lead the English troops alone to the Moselle, ceasing any further to consult with so inefficient and impracticable a government. This declaration alarmed the hostile faction ; and the same timidity which had made the States refuse their assent before, induced them now to vest him with sufficient powers. He then apprized Godolphin that he thought it absolutely necessary to march into Germany, and take measures with the Margrave of Baden against the Elector of Bavaria ; and in a subsequent letter he added, that if he found at Philipsburgh that the French had joined the Elector, he should make no hesitation at marching to the Danube. The main difficulties were now removed ; the impediments that might be expected from a person with whom he was to co-operate seemed little in comparison to what he had overcome : he felt no doubt of success when he should reach the scene of action ; and in that confidence looked forward to the good name which he should leave behind him. It is curious to contrast the feelings of the general relying thus hopefully upon Providence for the success of a good cause, with those of an officer in his army, who had been bred up among the Scotch covenanters, and whose melancholy temperament suited their austere opinions. ' Lord,' says this officer, a man as thoroughly brave as he was religious, ' I tremble to think on the profanity and wickedness of the army that I am in, and what judgments we are like to pull down upon our own heads. For the English army are sinners exceedingly before the Lord ; and I have no hopes of success, or that this expedition shall prove to our honour. Howsoever much
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we think of ourselves, Thou wilt humble us.' Nor was it merely because of the profligacy of the troops that he augured thus unhappily of the event; he thought it unlawful to act in behalf of the Emperor, because of his intolerance. 'When I consider this,' says he, 'that we are assisting those oppressors who have wasted the church and people of God, persecuted and oppressed them, it makes me afraid the quarrel is not right, and that we shall not prosper, though I be satisfied that our quarrel against France is a very just one. O Lord, it is sad to be in an army, where I have not confidence to pray for success, and dare not seek in faith.' If any thing could have made this brave man a coward, it would have been his wrong notions in religion.

Colonel Blackader, from whose journal these passages are extracted, describes the troops as the scum and dregs of mankind—earthly devils, who seemed as if they were broke loose from hell. Allowing for the exaggeration of a man who says of himself, that all his comfort was poisoned by a melancholy temper, inclined to discontent; and who, in addition to this, had from his childhood been dosed with the essential acid of puritanism, it may be believed that the morals of the army were like those of all men whose moral and religious education has been totally neglected. The manner therefore in which Marlborough, without any extraordinary severity, (for of that, his nature was incapable,) made such an army a model for its discipline and good behaviour wherever it went, will not appear the least remarkable, nor the least meritorious part of his character. Wherever the French went, their armies were at free quarters, and the Germans followed the same cruel system. But Marlborough was particularly careful to spare the people whom he came to defend. He saw the men regularly paid, and duly provided with all things necessary (as far as was possible) for their well-being and comfort. And by the order which he established the inhabitants were conciliated, and the troops supplied better and more surely than could have been done by any measures of oppression and severity. In his first interview with Eugene, that Prince expressed his admiration at the appearance of the men. He had heard much of the English cavalry, he said, which were reviewed before him, and he found it to be the best-appointed and the finest that he had ever seen: money, of which there was no want in England, could buy clothes and accoutrements, but nothing could purchase the spirit which he saw in their looks; and that spirit was an earnest of victory.

It had not been possible for the enemy to perceive what were Marlborough's intentions for this campaign; the secret had been confined to himself and Prince Eugene till the latest moment; and

the plan itself was so much beyond the usual policy of the English cabinet, and its vacillating allies, that the French were as little able to divine as to discover it. When they heard that he was at Coblenz, they apprehended an attack on the Moselle; when he advanced to Mentz, they feared for Alsace: lastly, they suspected that Landau was to be besieged; and when at length they knew that he was on his march toward the Danube, it was too late to take any measures for opposing him on the way. At Huppach the Margrave of Baden joined him. It was Marlborough's wish that this commander would remain with the army on the Rhine, and leave Eugene to be his colleague on the Danube; but as the Danube was likely to be the more brilliant scene of action, the Margrave claimed the privilege of seniority in rank, and it was not without great difficulty that he was prevailed upon to share the command with the English general by alternate days. Eugene therefore was sent to the Rhine, against his own inclination, and against the judgment of Marlborough, who had full confidence in the Prince, and rightly appreciated his generous character, as well as his military genius; but the Margrave was a man whom it was scarcely possible to guide, and by whom it might easily have been destruction to be guided. There were difficulties enough before him; the States, alarmed at a report that the Netherlands would be attacked, reclaimed a part of the auxiliary force: Villeroy and Tallard had had a meeting at Landau; and it was reasonable to suppose that they had concerted some important enterprize; and though he himself was not shackled as he had been by Dutch deputies, and generals who were more desirous to frustrate his plans than to execute his orders, he knew too well the evil which might result from an alternate command, when the moment for action was to be seized. But Marlborough was of a hopeful nature, without which no man is fit for the charge of an army, be his other qualifications what they may.

The first object, after the junction of the confederates, was to secure Donawerth as a place of arms for the invasion of Bavaria. This city, upon the frontiers of Bavaria and Swabia, is situated where the Wernitz flows into the Danube. The Elector, who occupied a strong position between Lawingen and Dillingen, and was waiting for reinforcements from France, had detached General D'Arco with 10,000 foot and 2500 horse, to protect this point by occupying the Schellenberg, a commanding height on the left bank of the river near the town, from which the course of the Danube may be seen as far as Ingolstadt. Its ascent is gradual, and on the summit, which is about half a mile wide, the enemy were encamped, and fortifying themselves with the utmost exertions. Marlborough well knew that if they arrived before
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this position on the day of the Margrave's authority, it would be wasted in deliberations. Seizing therefore his own time of command, he marched fourteen miles, though a heavy train of artillery was to be conducted over roads that had been drenched by incessant rains, and resolved upon immediately making the attack. To those who expressed a doubt whether this celerity were advisable, he replied with characteristic decision, 'Either the enemy will escape, or will have time to finish their works; in the latter case, the delay of every hour will cost the loss of a thousand men.' While the preparations were making, dispatches arrived from Eugene with news that Villeroy and Tallard were at Strasburgh, preparing a powerful reinforcement for the Elector, and the intelligence made him the more anxious that a blow should be struck without delay. The Bavarian generals did not believe that an army, after such a march, would begin an attack toward the close of day; and they hoped to complete their works during the night, and to receive a further supply of troops. But it soon appeared that their men **must** desist from work, and take their arms. Surprised as they were, they made a skilful and brave resistance. The position was strong; the works, although unfinished, gave them great advantage, and having broken the assailants by a tremendous fire, they boldly rushed out and charged them with the bayonet. They were repulsed principally by a battalion of English guards, who maintained their ground singly while most of their officers were wounded or killed. At length the enemy were giving way, partly in consequence of a panic occasioned by the explosion of some powder, when the Margrave came up with the Imperialists, and completed the victory. The carnage was very great; the fugitives broke down the bridge by their numbers, and many perished in the Danube; the general's son was among them. Only 3000 of the Gallo-Bavarians escaped to rejoin the elector, and every thing upon the ground was taken. But the victory was not purchased without a heavy loss. 1500 were killed, 4000 wounded, and among the slain were 8 generals, 11 colonels, and 26 captains, for the officers exerted themselves particularly in the action, and Marlborough exposed his own person greatly. The action lasted from six till eight in the evening. 'We have no reason to boast,' says Colonel Blackader; 'the British value themselves too much, and think nothing can stand before them.—Oh that God would reform this army, that good men might have some pleasure in it!—I see that the smallest accidents give turn to the greatest actions, either to prosper or defeat them, in spite of human reason, prudence, or courage. In the evening (of the ensuing day) I went into the field of battle, and got a preaching from the dead. The carcasses were very thick

thick strewed upon the ground, naked and corrupted: yet all this makes no impression upon us, seeing our comrades and friends' bodies lying as dung upon the earth. Lord make us humble and thankful!

Marlborough too was a religious man, though of a different stamp. In announcing his success to the queen he ascribed it to the particular blessing of God, and the unparalleled bravery of the troops. It was because the British thought that nothing could stand before them, because they felt and knew themselves capable of doing whatever could be done by determined courage, that they won the victory. Their general said they had done so well that the cannon ought to be fired in London; he understood the value which brave men set upon the honour they have deserved. The victory also was important enough to be entitled to this mark of public approbation. Donawerth, which might have held out ten days, was immediately evacuated, and Leopold, who knew that had it not been for this timely and effectual expedition of the English, the elector would then have been in Vienna, wrote with his own hand to congratulate the victorious commander. Already Marlborough's merits were properly appreciated on the continent. Writing to him from Rome, the Duke of Shrewsbury says, 'In this holy ignorant city they have an idea of you as of a Tamerlane; and had I a picture of old Colonel Birch with his whiskers, I could put it off for yours, and change it for one done by Raphael.' There was now a probability of detaching Bavaria from its fatal alliance with France; the victory laid that country open to the allies; and the elector, who could not speak without tears of the favourite regiment which had been destroyed there, entered into a treaty with the conquerors; the terms had been agreed upon, and the day fixed on which he was to ratify them; but before it arrived he received an assurance that Marshal Tallard was on the way to his assistance with 35,000 of the best troops of France, and he broke off the negotiation. The consequence was that, by the severe laws of war, his country was given up to military execution. This has been foully misrepresented by the French historian M. Targe: he says it was done pending the negotiations, and that Marlborough made no satisfactory reply when the elector accused him of proceedings more suited to the barbarity of the Turks, than to the observance of war among civilized nations. Whereas the threat was held out to induce him to make terms, and the blow was struck, when the treaty was put an end to on his part. What the feelings of Marlborough were in executing the threat appears in that private correspondence which has now for the first time come before the public. In one letter to his wife, he says, 'this is so contrary to my nature, that
nothing

nothing but absolute necessity could have obliged me to consent to it, for these poor people suffer for their master's ambition?' and in another—'my nature suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that must be burnt, if the elector will not hinder it.' Yet he did his utmost to restrain the depredations of the German soldiery, and expressed his satisfaction that he had saved the fine woods which were at once the ornament and the riches of the country.

The Imperialists who were acting with Marlborough had neither cannon nor money. The Margrave had promised artillery and stores for besieging Munich, but neither were forthcoming when they were wanted. This commander was by no means fitted to act with the English general; attempts were made to give him the credit of the victory of Schellenberg, because he had first entered the lines, and a medal was even struck to perpetuate this false claim. Marlborough complained heavily of his inertness, and of his captious and jealous temper, but he felt the comfort of being emancipated from the controul of a council of war; and had obtained that ascendancy over the officers of the allies, that they were all willing to obey what he said, without knowing any other reason than that such was his desire. Our greatest difficulty is, said he, that of making our bread follow us; for the troops that I have the honour to command cannot subsist without it, and the Germans that are used to starve, cannot advance without us. What he hoped for was a battle, for that, he said, would decide the whole; and his confidence in the British troops was such, that no doubt of victory seems ever to have crossed his mind. That hope was soon realized, and that confidence was justified, as it deserved to be. The French succours arrived and effected their junction with the elector. Eugene with 10,000 men made a parallel march from the Rhine, and to the great satisfaction both of the prince and Marlborough, the Margrave was persuaded to undertake the siege of Ingoldstadt. It was their intention to take up a position beyond the river Nebel, near Hochstadt; but as they were proceeding to survey the ground, some squadrons of the enemy were perceived at a distance, and the two generals ascending the towers of Dapfheim church discovered the quarter-masters of the Gallo-Bavarian army marking out a camp between Blenheim and Lutzingen. Immediately they determined upon giving battle before the enemy could strengthen themselves in their new position. Some officers who knew the strength of the ground and the superiority of the adverse force ventured to remonstrate with Marlborough, he replied, I know the dangers, yet a battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops which will make
amends

amends for our disadvantages. Indeed it was here as at Schellenberg, every hour's delay would have rendered success more difficult, and if time were allowed for Villeroy to advance into Wirtemberg, that movement would cut off his communication with Franconia, whence he drew his principal supplies. Marlborough was not dealing with enemies who could be despised, but with generals who understood the art of war, who were not likely to let any advantage slip, were always active and enterprising, and had ample means at their command. He passed part of the night in prayer, and received the sacrament towards morning; then, after a short rest, concerted with Eugene the arrangements for the action. When the regiments were drawn up for battle, the chaplains performed the service at the head of each, and Marlborough was observed to join in the prayer with fervour. His next act was to point out to the surgeons the proper posts for the wounded. He then rode along the line while the men were waiting for the signal. As he passed along the front, a ball from the enemy's batteries glanced under his horse, and covered him with earth.

The battle of Blenheim (of which more careful plans than have ever before been constructed are given in Mr. Coxe's work) is one of those few actions which have produced a change in the fortunes of Europe. Had it been lost by the allies, Germany would immediately have been at the mercy of the French, and their triumph would have been fatal to the Protestant succession in England. The enemy were the stronger, and very advantageously posted, and Marlborough knew their superior strength, and understood perfectly the advantages of their position: as if excusing himself to his wife for having, as it might seem, set every thing upon the hazard, he says, 'believe me there was an absolute necessity for the good of the common cause to risk this venture, which God has so blessed. She,' he said, 'who loved him so entirely well would be infinitely pleased with what had been done upon his account, as well as for the public benefit which must result, and therefore he could not refrain from telling her, that within the memory of man there had been no victory so great.' The imperial troops behaved so ill, notwithstanding the great ability and great exertions of Prince Eugene, that Marlborough, though from policy and a proper regard to Eugene's feelings, he forbore from expressing any sense of their misconduct in public, avoided writing in reply to the compliments which he received from the Emperor, and from the King of the Romans, because he could not mention them with approbation. The total loss of the enemy was not less than 40,000 men: of the allies 4,500 were killed, 7,500 wounded: the field, therefore,

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was well fought, however much the French, for the sake of palliating the defeat, depreciated the conduct of their unsuccessful general. Blackader,* speaking of what the victory had cost the English, says, ‘when I consider that on all occasions we conquer, but with much blood, I am at a loss to assign the reason; perhaps it is that our cause is good, but our persons very wicked.’ It was not his custom ever to look for secondary causes, or he would have perceived that a sufficient one was to be found in the discipline, and courage, and strength of the enemy.

As soon as it was known in England that Marlborough had marched into Germany, the whole hostile faction opened against him in full cry. They exclaimed against the rashness of the expedition; they censured him for leaving the Dutch exposed, and they accused him of having gone beyond his instructions, and exceeded any power of a subject for the sake of his own private interest; he was even menaced with being brought to the block if the event should be as disastrous as these base enemies predicted and hoped; and one of the leading members of the opposition declared that whenever the general returned, he and his friends would pounce upon him, as hounds pounce on a hare. These were people of whom Mrs. Burnet, the wife of the bishop, said, ‘they would hardly ever believe any tale that lessened France, but swallowed any to its advantage;’ their hopes were raised to the highest pitch; and when tidings arrived of the greatest† victory which had ever done honour to the British arms, their

* The account of the action in his diary is a fine instance of enthusiasm mingling itself with constitutional courage. — ‘We fought a bloody battle, and by the mercy of God have got one of the greatest and most complete victories the age can boast of. In the morning, while marching towards the enemy, I was enabled to exercise faith, relying and encouraging myself in God; by this I was made easy and cheerful. I was looking to God during all the little intervals of action for assistance to keep up my own heart, and to discharge my duty well in my station. My faith was so lively during the action, that I sometimes said within myself, “Lord, it were easy for thee to lay these men flat upon the ground where they stand, or to bring them in all prisoners!” And for encouraging the regiment I spoke it out, that we should either chase them from their post, or take them prisoners; and I cannot but observe the event:—against seven o’clock at night, twenty-six regiments (some say thirty) laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion to the Duke of Marlborough, and our regiment was one of those who guarded them. O Lord, thou assisted me, and gave me such liberal supplies during the action, that I was helped to discharge my duty even with credit and reputation. Dear Lord, I lay down all at thy feet; I have no reason to be lifted up. It was none of my own, it was a borrowed stock from thee; so the praise is thine, not mine: for hadst thou withheld thy support from me, I had behaved scandalously. *EBENEZER!* This would have been a soldier after Oliver Cromwell’s own heart. He wrote from the field of Blenheim to Lady ——— Campbell at Stirling, in the height of his joy—‘I am just now retired from the noise of drums, of oaths, and dying groans. I am to return in a few minutes to the field of battle, and wrapping myself up in the arms of Omnipotence, I believe myself no less safe as to every valuable purpose, than if sitting in your ladyship’s closet.’

† The effect produced in our own days by a more decisive victory upon a wiler faction shows

their disappointment was in proportion. But as Burnet truly observes, 'men engaged in parties are not easily put out of countenance;' their business then was to depreciate the victory; they admitted that a great many men had been killed and taken, but as for weakening the French king, they said this was no more than taking a bucket of water out of a river. Upon this Marlborough remarks, 'if they will allow us to draw one or two such buckets more, we might then let the river run quietly, and not much apprehend its overflowing and destroying its neighbours.' But the heart of the country was sound, and never, perhaps, except at the Restoration, had there been felt so great and general a joy. The common people, who knew only that a battle had been won, great as any that their fathers had heard of, and which would for ever be remembered to the honour of their country, partook in the triumph with honest and generous exultation. They who understood the interests of England and of Europe perceived that the spell of the French king's fortune, upon which Louis XIV. had relied almost as confidently as Buonaparte, was broken,—that his power was materially weakened, and the opinion which had contributed to render it so formidable, destroyed. The queen expressed her feelings with a becoming sense of devotion; we could never, she said, thank the Almighty enough for these great blessings, but must make it our endeavour to deserve them,—and this was the language which she used in the confidence of private friendship. 'I can lament for no private loss,' says another person, 'since God has given such a general mercy. In death it will be a matter of joy to me to have lived so long as to hear it.'

The subjugation of Bavaria was the immediate consequence of this battle. The Elector continued to follow the fortune of the French, and sent his wife, a daughter of the great John Sobieski, with her children, back to Munich. Marlborough said the separation made his heart ache, for he knew what it was to

shows us that in all times party-spirit is the same, and that it utterly destroys all true English feeling. An eminent patriot in the country happened to have a dinner party on the day when the news of the battle of Waterloo arrived at his post-town: it was concealed from him by a pious fraud, lest the shock should render him incapable of entertaining his friends; so he passed the day in that ignorance which to him was bliss, and slept one night more in peace. Among the consequences of that battle we may be allowed to regret the destruction of a certain prophetic paper, written by one of those wise men of the north who, to use their own language, were '*seriously occupied with the destinies of Europe.*' This precious paper (more curious than the sealed prophecies of Joanna Southcote) was printed: but, either from some distrust of the second sight, or from a recollection that some of their prophecies had not been so exactly fulfilled as they could have wished, the seers thought it prudent to suspend the publication, till it should be seen in what manner the campaign had opened. And so the prophecy was cancelled, to the irreparable loss of literature, and of the Occult Sciences.

be separated from those we love. Judging from his own pure heart, he gave the Elector more credit than was due to him, for that Prince had a mistress at Brussels. The allies were returned to the Rhine; and to the surprize of Marlborough, Villeroy neither attempted to defend the passage of the Queich, nor the camp of Langencandel, at all times famous for being a strong post. 'Had they not been the most frightened people in the world,' he said, 'they would never have quitted those two posts.' The Margrave besieged Landau; the king of the Romans repaired to the army there; and Marlborough, finding that the siege was likely to continue as long as skill and courage on the part of the Governor could protract it, made an arduous expedition to the Moselle, through so difficult a country, that had the rains come on, it would have been impassable for artillery. The object was to get possession of Treves, give orders for the siege of Traerbach, and thus secure winter-quarters in that country, for the purpose of opening the next campaign there, looking upon that as the most vulnerable part of the enemy's frontier. A man of less moral intrepidity would not for the public good have exposed himself to the difficulties and dangers of this movement, in which success could bring with it no popular praise, and failure would have drawn after it all the ignominy and obloquy of defeat. Had the siege of Landau been ended, he would have marched with all the troops under his command, and so have made success as sure as any event in war can be; but being obliged to leave the greater part to cover the siege, with Eugene, he says in his letters written upon the way, 'I am exposed to the enemy, if they will venture, which I hope they will not. The taking our winter-quarters on the Moselle is as necessary for the good of the common cause as any thing that has been done this campaign; and I am persuaded, that if I had stayed till the siege was ended, the season would have been so far advanced, that it would have been impossible to attempt it. These difficulties make me sensible, that if I did not consider the good of the whole before any private concern, I ought not to be here. This might be better said by another than myself, but it is truth; and I am very sensible, that if I should have ill success, the greatest part of mankind will censure me for it.' And in another letter to the Duchess he says, 'This march and my own spleen have given me occasion to think how very unaccountable a creature man is; to be seeking for honour in so barren a country as this is, when he is very sure that the greater part of mankind, and may justly fear that even his best friends would be apt to think ill of him, should he have ill success. But I am endeavouring all I can to persuade myself that my happiness ought to depend upon my knowledge that I do what I think is for the

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the best.' Marlborough was of so sensitive a nature that he felt the breath of censure keenly, and the villains who slandered him with such persevering malice wounded his peace. The greater therefore is his merit for the undeviating magnanimity of his conduct as a general, for never having in any instance forborne to act according to his judgment from the fear of failure; and when his measures were frustrated by the misconduct and treachery of those with whom he acted, for having endured reproach without uttering a word in his vindication which could possibly have injured the public cause.

This expedition was successful. By the celerity of his movements he arrived just in time to prevent the enemy from pre-occupying Treves; and having settled the distribution of winter-quarters in its vicinity, and taken steps for reducing Traerbach, measures which he said would give France as much uneasiness as any thing that had been done that summer, he reckoned the campaign well over. He stood in need of rest. His attacks of fever and head-ache were so frequent, that had he been an idle man he would have been pitied as a confirmed valetudinarian. After the action at Blenheim, where he was seventeen hours on horseback, he was obliged to be bled, when he had 'no time to be sick;' and during the subsequent operations, when he had not an hour's quiet, his state of body was such that he said, if he were in London, he should be in his bed in a high fever. The fatigue and anxiety of three months had made him in his own feeling and appearance ten years older, and he was so emaciated that he apprehended nothing but extreme care and good nursing during the winter could save him from consumption. But the cares of the whole confederacy were laid on him. At this time affairs in Italy bore the worst aspect; on that side every thing must have been lost without a prompt reinforcement of troops; the only power who could supply them was Prussia; and the Duke of Savoy, the emperor and the king of the Romans, whose admiration for the great Englishman amounted almost to a feeling like friendship, knew that Marlborough's personal representations to the King of Prussia might succeed, when every other mode of negotiation would surely fail. In the worst season of the year therefore, Marlborough undertook this fatiguing journey of eight hundred miles, less, as he himself said, from any hope of success, than that he might not be reproached for leaving any thing undone. He was however successful, and the force thus obtained was the means of saving the Duke of Savoy from being totally overpowered. On his way back he met the welcome tidings that Landau and Traerbach had surrendered; and he then returned to England to reap the

the well deserved reward of public applause, and to counteract the machinations of what he properly called a villainous faction;

Such was the effrontery of that faction, that in the House of Commons as much praise was bestowed upon a naval action so ill-fought, or so ill-followed, that both parties claimed the victory, as upon the battle of Blenheim, and a campaign arduous and glorious beyond all former example. Amends were made for this injustice in the Upper House, where the naval action was passed over in silence; and Marlborough now received those marks of honour which he had so well deserved. He was thanked by both Houses of Parliament. The trophies of the victory were paraded from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and through the Green Park, that the Queen, from one of the palace windows, might behold them. England had seen no such triumph since the defeat of the Armada. The City gave the victorious general a splendid entertainment: the Commons presented an address soliciting that means might be taken for perpetuating the memory of his services; the crown-lands at Woodstock were conveyed to him and his heirs, and orders were given to erect a palace there at the royal expense, to be called the Castle of Blenheim.

On the last day of March Marlborough again embarked for the continent. At the Hague he found, as usual, want of order, want of vigour, want of unanimity, want of resolution, want of authority, all the vices, absurdities and evils which are inherent in a feeble and many-headed government. Harassed and fretted by the perpetual opposition which he endured from the half or whole traitors of the hostile party, he says to the Duke of Savoy, 'like a sick body that turns from one part of the bed to the other, I would fain be gone hence, in hopes to find more quiet in the army; God only knows what ease I may have when I come there!' This fore feeling was lamentably justified by the event. The death of Leopold, and the consequent succession of the king of the Romans, made no favourable alteration in the wretched system of the Austrian court, notwithstanding the personal good will of the new emperor toward Marlborough, and his good intentions. That court still continued poor in resources, and poorer still in statesmen. Its main efforts were directed toward the subjugation of the Hungarians, whom a wiser and juster policy would have conciliated; and the troops which were sent to the Moselle wanted more than one third of their complement. Not a single draught horse was supplied:—the Emperor, the German Princes and the States, acting for once alike, all disappointed him; and instead of an army of at least 80,000 men, for which the campaign had been planned, he found himself with little more than half the number. Villars was opposed to him with 55,000.

‘I do not,’ said Marlborough, ‘apprehend his venturing a battle; but it will put him in a condition to act in such a manner as may make us want all sorts of provisions, which we ought to be more afraid of than fighting; for our men are in great heart, so that with the blessing of God we might expect good success.—It would be very happy for us if the marshal would venture a battle, for in all likelihood that would put us at ease.’ Villars was too wise to do this. He took the position of Sirk, well known in military history by that name, on the right of the Moselle, and arranged his forces so as to protect Luxembourg, Thionville and Saar Louis. The latter places Marlborough would have besieged if the allies had not deceived him. ‘If I had known beforehand,’ says he, ‘what I must have endured by relying on the people of this country, no reasons should have persuaded me to undertake this campaign. I will, by the help of God, do my best, and then I must submit to what may happen. But it is impossible to be quiet and not complain, when there is all the probability imaginable for a glorious campaign, to see it all put in doubt by the negligence of princes whose interest it is to help us with all they have!’

While the English general was thus crippled by the failure of his allies, the French were enabled to make an effort on the Meuse, where Villeroy got possession of Huy, entered Liege, and besieged the citadel of that great city. The terrified Dutch immediately sent to recall thirty of their battalions from Marlborough’s army. This, with the want of all means for executing his own intentions, made him determine upon marching to the Meuse. The many disappointments which he had endured, he said, made him weary of his life, and I think, he adds, that if it were possible to vex me so for a fortnight longer, it would make an end of me. No part of Marlborough’s history has been more misrepresented by the French writers than this. Villars, with a gasconading style, and a disregard to truth which would be dishonourable to any one, and especially to a general of such unquestionable abilities as himself, has doubled in his Memoirs the number of Marlborough’s army, asserting that it contained German auxiliaries of all the provinces, commanded by their princes in person, and that the Margrave of Baden (to whose neglect more than to that of any other person the failure is imputable) was there; he declares that he threw up no entrenchment, insinuates that he repeatedly offered battle, which his antagonist declined, and concludes with a remark to which, Mr. Coxe rightly observes, no language can render justice but his own: *ces gens-là ont voulu m’avalier comme un grain de sel. Ils ont fini par nous croire de trop dure digestion.* Upon such representations as these, Villars has the credit among French readers of having foiled

foiled Marlborough in this campaign! and even the last historian of these wars, who, writing Marlborough's life by order of Buonaparte, for the instruction of military men, has detailed his campaigns for the most part with remarkable impartiality, adopts in this instance the falsehoods and fanfaronnade of Villars in their full extent. To complete the Duke's vexation, Treves and Saarbrück were abandoned by the allies in mere panic. His private letters at this time are full of the breathings of a wounded spirit. He says to his wife, 'Pray press on my house and gardens, for I think I shall never stir from my own home.—It is impossible to serve with any satisfaction, where it is in so many people's power to do mischief.—The Moselle most certainly is the place where we might have done the French most hurt. But I see but too plainly that the jealousy of Prince Louis and the backwardness of the German princes will always hinder us from succeeding there.' What stung him most was the pleasure which the opposition in England felt and openly expressed at his disappointment, saying, that if he had succeeded this year as he had the last, the constitution of England would have been ruined. He did not conceal the pain which this base ingratitude gave him: 'as I have no other ambition,' he says to Godolphin, 'but that of serving well her Majesty, and being thought what I am, a good Englishman, this vile enormous faction of theirs vexes me so much, that I hope the Queen will, after this campaign, give me leave to retire, and end my days in praying for her prosperity, and making my own peace with God.'

The campaign however was not yet over, and Marlborough's spirit, when it could make its way into action, always recovered its tone. Huy was presently recovered, the French withdrew from Liege within their formidable lines, and he resumed his plan of forcing them, and bursting into Brabant. Villeroy and the Elector were deceived by his movements, and while they directed their attention to one point, and waited all night in momentary expectation of an attack, he effected his object at another, and with little loss carried the posts of Hespen and Helixem, which, from their strength and distance, had been deemed secure, and therefore almost stripped of troops. Upon the first intimation, that the blow had been struck, the enemy's generals hastened to the spot,—too late to repair the evil; they retreated, therefore, with the utmost speed. To those who congratulated him, Marlborough replied, with a smile which evinced his confidence of succeeding further, 'all is well, but much is yet to be done.' But the Dutch generals, as usual, interfered, and prevented him from pushing on between the enemy and Louvain, in which case they would not have been able to take refuge behind the Dyle; and Louvain, Brussels and Antwerp

would in all likelihood have been open to the conqueror. Blackader saw that an error had been committed, and imputed it to Marlborough, whose fate it was always to be censured for the faults of others. 'This shews us,' he says, 'men are but men, and the weakness and flaws that are in the wisest men's prudence. One day an heroic action, the next a great blunder. But let God have all the glory, and all flesh be grass.' What had been done, however, was of such importance that it raised Marlborough's spirits as well as his pulse, and writing to the Duchess while his 'blood was so hot, that he could scarcely hold the pen,' he told her that his heart was full of joy. The Dutch had been cheated into this action; they did not believe he would make the attack, so much had they exaggerated the strength of the enemy; and their deputies had grace enough in the first warm feelings of success, to acknowledge to him that the lines could not have been forced if he had not been there. Overkirk's army did not come up till the business was over, and this gave the men who had been actually engaged occasion to speak of their general in the heat of action with so much affection, that Marlborough owned the pleasure which it gave him, and said that it made him resolve to endure any thing for their sake. And to the Duchess, who had expressed her uneasiness lest he should expose his person unnecessarily, he says, 'I am now at an age when I find no heat in my blood that gives me temptation to expose myself out of vanity: but as I would deserve and keep the kindness of the army, I would let them see that when I expose them, I would not exempt myself.' Perhaps if there was any error in Marlborough's conduct, it was that he let this feeling sometimes carry him too far: for at this time Harley cautioned him upon that subject. 'Your friends and servants,' said he, 'cannot be without concern upon your Grace's account, when we hear how much you expose that precious life of yours upon all occasions, and that you are not contented to do the part of a great general, but you condescend to take your share as a common soldier.' This very Harley was afterwards base enough to encourage and sanction libellers who insinuated that Marlborough was deficient in personal courage!

The improved disposition of the Dutch generals did not last long. A few weeks afterwards, when he could have brought the French to action nearly upon the ground where, in our own days, the most momentous victory in modern history has been achieved by the British arms,—these wretched Dutchmen again forbade him to engage when he expected a greater victory than Blenheim, and when the enemy was so sure of defeat, that it was afterwards ascertained they would not have ventured to stand their ground.

In the bitterness of his disappointment he exclaimed, I am at this moment ten years older than I was four days ago! Marlborough wrote to the States, controuling, as he always did, his own personal feelings deeply as they were wounded, but pointing out the fair occasion which he had lost. He even talked of throwing up the command of the army, rather than be perpetually placed in situations where his character must be compromised in the eyes of the enemy and of the world. His indignation was increased by the manner in which the affair was misrepresented by the gazette-writers in England, either from gross carelessness or secret malice, or, as Marlborough supposed, because the writer took more care not to offend the Dutch ambassador than to do him justice. He pointed out to Godolphin the effect these gazettes must produce in Holland, and hoped the Queen would appoint some other person to the command, 'for I must be madder, said he, than any Bedlamite, if I should be desirous of serving, when I am sure my enemies seek my destruction, and that my friends sacrifice my honour to their wisdom.'

The evil was not without some good consequences. Marlborough's letter to the States was surreptitiously printed, and the popular opinion both in England and Holland was expressed loudly in his favour. The Dutch government was alarmed by his intention of withdrawing, and made some amends by removing Slangenberg, the most culpable of their generals, a man who, the Duke said, was resolved to give all the hindrance he could to whatever should be proposed, and whom he seems to have suspected of acting from a worse motive than that of a most perverse temper. The Queen herself wrote to express her concern for the embarrassments which were thrown in his way, and called herself his friend and his humble servant. He received also a letter from Eugene, which testified the sympathy to be expected from such a man. 'It is extremely cruel,' said the Prince, 'that opinions so weak and discordant have obstructed the progress of your operations when you had every reason to expect so glorious a result; I speak to you as a sincere friend, you will never be able to perform any thing considerable with your army unless you are absolute, and I trust your Highness will use your utmost efforts to gain that power in future.'

After demolishing the French lines, and taking measures for securing his winter-quarters in Brabant, Marlborough, for whom there was no rest, turned from the toil of war to the no less urgent affairs of negotiation, and at the close of autumn, repaired to Vienna, to Berlin and Hanover. At all these courts there were difficulties which required his presence. No man possessed a greater perfection in the art of bringing difficult ne-

gociations to the termination which he desired, and this was owing not more to the clearness of his judgment, and the quickness of his comprehensive mind, than to his native courtesy and to that genuine candour which men are in some degree led to imitate when they feel and admire it. Moreover the rank which Marlborough held in the eyes of all Europe, for no subject had ever before stood so conspicuously eminent in modern times, had its imposing effect. Means and measures for the ensuing campaign were arranged during these discussions, and he was created a Prince of the Empire; the lordship of Mendelheim being erected into a principality and conferred upon him and his heirs in the male line. The dignity was expected to descend in the female line also; but it is not to the credit of the Emperor Joseph that he would not consent to make the grant hereditary in that line, knowing that Marlborough had no son to succeed him, and that there was little or no probability of his having one. The title was of some value when he had to serve in countries where so much importance was attached to high sounding names and sovereign power however insignificant its scale.

The humanity of Marlborough's disposition appears in his correspondence with Godolphin at this time. Inclosing to him a letter from a young French lady to the Comte de Lyon, who was a prisoner in England, he says, 'I am assured that it is a very virtuous love, and that when they can get their parents' consent, they are to be married. As I do from my heart wish that nobody were unhappy, I own to you that this letter has made me wish him in France; so that if he might have four months leave, without prejudice to her Majesty's service, I should be glad of it.' Marlborough was now attacked in inflammatory libels. One of the authors, a clergyman, was convicted and sentenced to the pillory. Through the intercession of the duchess his punishment was remitted, greatly to Marlborough's comfort. 'I should have been very uneasy,' he said, 'if the law had not found him guilty, but much more uneasy if he had suffered the punishment on my account.' It was Marlborough's opinion, and that opinion is well worthy of serious consideration in these times, that 'if the liberty may be taken of writing scandalous lies without being punished, no government can stand long.'

It was the Emperor's pressing desire that Marlborough should resume his plan of attacking France on the side of the Moselle, but the English general knew how little he could rely upon the promises of the Imperial Court, or the co-operation of the German princes. His own desire was that the great effort should be made in Italy, where he proposed to join Eugene. Godolphin reluctantly

reluctantly acquiesced in this; but the German princes and the king of Denmark, whose troops were to be thus employed, objected; the Dutch were not to be persuaded, and some successes of Villars and Marsin upon the Upper Rhine so alarmed the States, that looking upon Marlborough's presence as their only and sure protection, they offered either to give him secretly the choice of the field-deputies, or privately instruct them to conform implicitly to his orders. Godolphin was not displeased at this.—'For,' said he, 'besides that I could never swallow so well the thoughts of your being so far out of our reach, and for so long a time,—I think it may be almost as well for the allies to have the balance kept up in Italy, as to drive the French quite out of it, which would enable them to contract both their troops and their expense, and more expose us on this side to their force.' Marlborough's own feelings upon this disappointment were expressed to the duchess,—and the more his private and unreserved feelings are made known, the more admirable does this great and excellent commander appear in thought and deed. 'You will see,' he says, 'by my letters to the Lord Treasurer, that in all likelihood I shall make the whole campaign in this country, and consequently, not such a one as will please me. But as I infinitely value your esteem, for without that you cannot love me, let me say for myself that there is some credit in doing rather what is good for the public, than in preferring our private satisfaction and interest: for my being here in a condition of doing nothing that shall make a noise, has made me able to send 10,000 men to Italy, and to leave 19,000 more on the Rhine.'—To Godolphin he says, 'God knows I go with a heavy heart, for I have no prospect of doing any thing considerable, unless the French would do what I am very confident they will not—unless the Marshal de Marsin should return, as it is reported, with thirty battalions and forty squadrons; for that would give to them such a superiority as might tempt them to march out of their lines, which if they do, I will most certainly attack them, not doubting, with the blessing of God, to beat them.'

That hope was soon realised. The French made a great effort. They withdrew forces from the Rhine, and reinforced Villeroy and the Elector with the best troops of France, so as slightly to outnumber the allies, Marlborough's army consisting of 60,000 men, that of the enemy of 62,000. By a movement upon Namur he provoked them to risk a battle. Their position was at Ramillies, upon ground so strong, that the Dutch deputies, three years before, had made it one of their arguments for refusing to permit an attack upon the lines—that if the lines were forced at that point the French would occupy this formidable position. Marlborough was exposed to the most imminent danger in the action.

While he was rallying some broken horse, he was recognized by the French dragoons; they attempted to close round him, and in leaping a ditch to disengage himself, he was thrown. One of his aides-de-camp alighted to give him his horse, and as the Duke was remounting, a cannon-ball struck off the head of his equerry, Colonel Bingfield, who held the stirrup. A most complete victory was gained; the enemy lost 13,000 men; 'we beat them into so great a consternation,' says Marlborough, 'that they abandoned all their cannon.' Louvain and Mechlin were immediately opened to the conqueror, and the States of Brabant invited him to Brussels, and proclaimed the Archduke Charles. 'The consequence of this battle,' said he, 'is likely to be greater than that of Blenheim, for we have now the whole summer before us, and, with the blessing of God, I will make the best use of it. For as we had no council of war before this battle, so I hope to have none this whole campaign.' The French had been frightened as well as beaten: they thought themselves sure of victory, because of their numbers and the character of their chosen troops, and the moment that confidence was gone a panic came upon them. Marlborough saw the hand of Providence in this, and said to Godolphin, 'the blessing of God is certainly with us. We have done,' said he, 'in four days what we should have thought ourselves happy if we could have been sure of it in four years.' He blessed God that he had been the instrument of doing this great service to the Queen, England and all Europe, and he requested that a thanksgiving-day at St. Paul's might be appointed. 'The Lord,' says Blackader, 'has sent a panic fear among the French army, and they are so shattered, that they can hardly get them kept together. The Lord is taking heart and hand and spirit from our enemies.' Alost, Lierre, Ghent, Bruges and Damme were taken possession of by the conquerors; and the frightened enemy even surrendered Oudenarde to the English who had no cannon to besiege it—a place of such strength, that William, with sixty thousand men, had not been able to take it. Antwerp was opened to them. Ostend, which had cost Spinola a three years siege and a consumption of fourscore thousand men, was besieged and taken with the loss of only five hundred. Menin was next attacked. 'This town, the most melancholy and forlorn at present upon that unfortunate frontier, was then so strong a place, that Burnet tells us many thought it too bold an undertaking to sit down before it. After the peace of Nimèguen, the old fortifications had been replaced by works upon the system of Vauban: it was esteemed his masterpiece, and for its size the best fortified place in all that country. It was strongly garrisoned, and the Duke de Vendome, in whom the French had the highest confidence, was sent to re-

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collect and re-encourage the scattered troops, and make an effort for saving it. But he was not able to venture a battle, and the garrison, for fear of being made prisoners of war, gave up the place, says Marlborough, five or six days sooner than they ought to have done.

Dendermond was his next object. Louis had once besieged this place in person without success, and when he heard of Marlborough's intention, he observed that he must have an army of ducks to take it. But the besiegers had taken advantage of an uncommonly dry season, and the garrison were made prisoners of war, 'which,' says Marlborough, 'was more than was reasonable, but I saw them in a consternation. That place could never have been taken but by the hand of God, which gave us seven weeks without any rain.' Ath followed, and he would then fain have proceeded against Mons; 'we shall have it,' he said, 'much cheaper this year than the next, when they will have had time to recruit their army.' But the Dutch did not understand the true economy of war, and the campaign was therefore closed. The emperor and his brother Charles, in their first impulse of gratitude after the news of the recovery of the Low Countries, appointed Marlborough to the government—no other conceivable arrangement could have been of such essential advantage to the whole confederacy,—but from the selfish views of the Dutch he was obliged to decline it. They were thinking how to strengthen themselves at the expense of their neighbours. 'Such is their temper,' said Marlborough, 'that when they have misfortunes, they are desirous of peace upon any terms; and when we are blessed by God with success, they are for turning it to their own advantage, without any consideration how it may be liked by their friends and allies.' For himself he said, 'I thank God and the Queen I have no need nor desire of being richer, but have a very great ambition of doing every thing that can be for the public good.'

The jealousies and opposite interests of the allies, which even imminent danger could scarcely suspend, came into full action whenever they were successful, and the French king found himself better served by his enemies in their own cabinets than by his armies in the field. By means of Marlborough's strenuous and persevering exertions in procuring men and money for Eugene, that excellent commander had been enabled to relieve Turin, and inflict upon the French one of the most memorable defeats which they ever suffered in Italy. Marlborough was delighted with this glorious action: it is impossible for me, said he, to express the joy it has given me, for I do not only esteem, but I really love that prince. But the emperor began immediately to pursue his

own purposes, to the neglect and injury of the common cause. In Spain also a series of rapid successes had been followed by the grossest misconduct, the troops committed every kind of excess, the generals every kind of blunder, and every thing went wrong for want of a mind like Marlborough's to controul the jarring elements which were brought together. The French were now endeavouring to amuse the Dutch with negociations; here they had their greatest hope, for they had a party in the States always upon the watch to serve them, and their intrigues made Marlborough more uneasy than he had ever before been at any time during the war. He saw the errors of the Dutch, if indeed their conduct deserve so light a name. 'The more complaisance is shewn them, said he, and the more we give way to them, it is both their nature and their practice to be more assuming.'—'They are of so many minds, and all so very extravagant concerning their barrier, that I despair of doing any good till they are more reasonable, which they will not be till they see that they have it not in their power to dispose of the Low Countries at their will and pleasure, in which the French flatter them.' He saw that they were not beloved any where because they carried every thing with so high a hand: and he perceived their poor pitiable jealousy of England: but 'though some of the leading men in Holland,' said he, 'may be blind, or worse, yet surely the generality cannot be imposed upon so far as to be blown up with a jealousy of the Queen's power, when all that power, be it great or little, has been and is still exerted for their safety, without the least view or desire of any extent of conquest or dominion for England; and when it is plain that in two or three years time France, with the comfort and assistance of peace, will be just where she was before, if the nicest care be not taken to put it out of her power, now there is an opportunity in our hands.'

The affairs of the cabinet at home were not less vexatious. The whigs insisted upon making Sunderland secretary of state instead of Sir Charles Hedges, whom they proposed to remunerate by a more permanent and profitable place. The Queen was exceedingly averse to this; whether right or wrong in her objection to the particular measure, she rested upon a general principle, and a just one: desiring only liberty, she said, to encourage and employ all who concurred faithfully in her service, whether they were called whigs or tories; not to be tied to either; in which case, with the name of Queen, she should be in reality but their slave, to her own ruin and to the destruction of the government. Godolphin had told her that unless the whigs were gratified by this appointment, they would not be hearty in supporting her measures. 'But is it not very hard,' said the poor Queen, 'that men of
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sense and honour will not promote the good of their country, because every thing in the world is not done that they desire? Why, for God's sake, must I, who have no interest, no end, no thought but for the good of my country, be made so miserable as to be brought into the power of one set of men? and why may not I be trusted, since I mean nothing but what is equally for the good of all my subjects?" She offered to bring Sunderland into the cabinet, with a pension, till a vacancy should happen, and asked, as this arrangement would content her, whereas she had insuperable objections to the other, why she might not be gratified as well as other people? Queen Anne was a person, who, as Marlborough said, needed no advice to help her to be very firm and positive when she thought herself in the right; and in this case her principle was just, and she had good reason to require that some regard should be paid to her own views and inclinations. But there was a snake in the grass. Harley was all this while at work worming out of her confidence those ministers by whom he had risen and was still trusted: he continually fostered in her her dislike to the whigs, and endeavoured to bring back her predilections for the other party, grievously as they had offended her. The whigs seconded him admirably by the arrogant manner in which they insisted upon forcing Lord Sunderland into office. Halifax, and even Somers (respectable as that name is) declared in the name of their party, that if their demand was not granted without further delay, they would oppose the government:—thus proving that when party-views or party-passions were at stake, they had as little respect for the interests of their country, as for the feelings of their sovereign. They stimulated the duchess to goad the Queen, an ill-judged office in which she was but too ready to engage. The whole weight of vexation fell upon Godolphin; he saw that the Queen cherished an insuperable dislike toward the whigs, though at that time he knew not by what secret artifices it had been infused, and was continually exasperated; he blamed the whigs for a determination to over-rule the Queen, and at the same time he felt himself embarrassed by the Tories who were in office, and clogged with their ill-will the measures which they could not prevent. There was not one of them in any ministerial office, he said, that must not be spoken to ten times over before any thing could be executed, even after it had been ordered, with all the slowness and difficulty imaginable. Unable either to moderate the whigs in their demands on the one hand, or to overcome the more reasonable determination of the Queen on the other, or to continue in the government if he were opposed by his former friends and received only a cold and hollow support from the other party, he talked of resigning his office. This, tho

the Queen said, was a blow she could not bear, she intreated him not to leave her service; and Marlborough told him that if he were serious in this thought, he could not justify himself to God or man, for, divided as England was, he was the only person who could conduct its concerns. 'As the affairs of Europe,' said he, 'and those of the Queen in particular, are at this time, I think both you and I are in honour and conscience bound, under all the dangers and trouble that is possible, to bring this war to a happy end, which I think must be after the next campaign if we can agree to carry it on with vigour.' In this struggle, which so perplexed his friend, Marlborough advised patience and moderation to the whigs, and was clearly of opinion that it was injudicious to force his son-in-law upon the Queen. But as he told the Duchess on this occasion, and as she had long before found out, his disposition led him rather to be governed than to govern; and in obedience to her solicitations, and to Godolphin's wishes, he represented to the Queen the predicament in which her ministers were placed, bound as he was, he said, in gratitude, duty and conscience to her, to make known his mind freely, and assuring her, in the presence of God, that he was not for her putting herself into the hands of either faction. 'Lord Rochester,' he said, 'and the hot heads of that party were so extravagant, that beyond all doubt they would expose her and the liberties of England to the rage of France, rather than not be revenged, as they called it. There was therefore a necessity as well as justice in her supporting Godolphin; and in the present humour he could be supported by the whigs only, for the others sought his destruction, which in effect was hers: and the way to save herself from being forced into a party was to strengthen him.'

While Marlborough was acting thus faithfully and honourably towards his friend, his Queen and his country, the more intemperate of the whigs, who by their violence had occasioned the whole embarrassment, suspected that he and Godolphin were not dealing sincerely; so easily are men made suspicious, ungenerous and unjust by party-spirit! Marlborough was hurt at this, and declared that if it were not for his gratitude to the Queen, and his concern for Godolphin, he would immediately retire. 'For I have had the good luck,' said he, 'to deserve better from all Englishmen than to be suspected of not being in the true interest of my country, which I am in, and ever will be, without being of a faction; and this principle shall govern me for the little remainder of my life. I must not think of being popular, but I shall have the satisfaction of going to my grave with the opinion of having acted as an honest man.' This was written to the Duchess; and in that spirit of true affection which all his domestic letters express,

express, he concluded by saying, 'if I have your esteem and love I shall think myself entirely happy.' Marlborough's character has been put to the test by the publication of these *Memoirs*, which include so large a part of his most confidential and unreserved correspondence, and it has proved sterling. He understood the interests of his country so fully that he must ever be considered as one of the most perfect of her statesmen: his only object was to promote those interests, and that object was unalloyed with any meaner considerations; while for fidelity to his friends and loyalty to his sovereign, and a just regard to the constitution, no man ever exceeded him. To the Queen he says at this time, 'it is true your reign has been so manifestly blessed by God, that one might reasonably think you might govern without making use of the heads of either party, but as it might be easy to yourself. This might be practicable if both parties sought your favour, as in reason and duty they ought. But, madam, the truth is that the heads of one party have declared against you and your government as far as it is possible without going into open rebellion. Now should your Majesty disoblige the others, how is it possible to obtain near five millions for carrying on the war with vigour, without which all is undone?' He tells Godolphin that having written with freedom to the Queen, let what would happen he should be more easy in his mind; and being apprehensive that the Queen's temper was not to be shaken, he says, 'allow me to give you this assurance, that as I know you to be a sincere, honest man, may God bless me as I shall be careful that whatever man is your enemy shall never be my friend.' The arguments which had been used to induce her to acquiesce could not, he thought, be answered, 'for in England,' said he, 'no minister can or ought to govern without help. God preserve her, and send you to serve her long.' When Marlborough returned from the continent, his popularity, his splendid services, and that power of persuasion which he possessed, overcame the Queen's reluctance. She is said also to have feared that a longer opposition on her part would incense the whigs against Harley, and make them insist upon his dismissal, for that supple courtier had now rooted himself in her favour.

Marlborough was received in a manner corresponding to the great and signal successes of the campaign; his title was extended to his daughters and their heirs male. It is observable that he was now no longer anxious to perpetuate the name of Churchill in his family, which he had formerly required his representatives in succession to assume. The honour and manor of Woodstock, and the house of Blenheim, were to descend with the title, and the sum of 5000*l.* a year from the post-office was likewise entailed

entailed upon his daughters and their heirs male in perpetuity, being however confirmed to the duchess for her life. The standards and colours taken at Ramillies were borne in procession from Whitehall, through the Park and St. James's, and so to Guildhall; it was a proud display, consisting of six and twenty standards and a hundred and twenty-six colours. Godolphin was raised to the peerage; several minor promotions among the whigs took place, and however averse she might have been to the measures which had been forced upon her, the Queen found the advantage of having so materially strengthened the administration. Matters not less important than the business of war required Marlborough's attention while active operations were suspended: his influence was exerted in bringing about the great measure of the Union, and 'it may be recorded as an answer,' says Mr. Coxe, 'to the numberless accusations and surmises against the principles of Marlborough and Godolphin, that such a measure was accomplished by them in opposition to the efforts of a powerful combination of tories and jacobites both in England and Scotland, and under a queen who not only detested the Hanover line, but who was beginning to turn with renewed affection towards the surviving members of her unfortunate family.' He performed also a singular mission to the camp of Charles XII. at Sweden, whose movements at that time held all Germany and the North of Europe in suspense, and might easily have made the scale preponderate in favour of France, if he had been led either by the arts of that politic court, or by his own irritable temper (which needed little provocation) to fall upon the Austrians. His favourite scheme at this time was to form a Protestant league. Prussia was already persuaded to the measure, Hanover was solicited, and Catholic Germany of course had taken the alarm. Marlborough succeeded in dissuading him from a scheme which would have proved destructive to the alliance; he succeeded also in adjusting or postponing his disputes with Austria and Denmark; he administered pensions, by the Elector of Hanover's advice, to two of his ministers; and Charles, leaving the affairs of Europe to their course, removed his disturbing forces into Moscow, and there wrecked his army, his fortunes, and himself.

The military operations during the year 1707 were unfavourable to the allies: they suffered a scandalous defeat in Spain; and an attack upon Toulon, where a successful issue would, in Marlborough's opinion, certainly have produced peace, failed by the want of cordiality between the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, the latter being influenced by the Imperial court, which never entered with sincerity into any project unless it were directed to its own exclusive and immediate interests. Villars made

made a successful irruption into Germany. In the Low Countries nothing was done; the allies indeed sustained no loss, for Marlborough was there, and his presence took away from the French all appetite for enterprize, though they were under so skilful a commander as the Duke de Vendôme. But the Dutch had relapsed into their old, jealous, narrow, hesitating policy. Marlborough was fully equal in effective force to the enemy, and possessed a prodigious superiority in the fear which his very name struck into them. Knowing this, and knowing that the French general knew it also, he hoped to do some considerable service; and flattered himself that the enemy, encouraged by the notorious timidity of the States, would grow insolent, and give him an opportunity of bringing them to battle. But the Dutch always prevented him from seeking or seizing the opportunity for success. They were satisfied with what had been done; they, said he, will never more this war venture any thing that may be decisive, being of opinion that they have already enough in their possession for their security, and that France will assist them in disposing of this possession as they shall think best. Six weeks he was detained in the camp of Meldert by their miserable deputies, who, however, had grace enough to acknowledge their error when, having at last allowed him to march on Genappe, the French immediately made what Marlborough calls a shameful retreat, shewing thereby plainly to both armies that they would not venture to fight. A succession of heavy rains then came on, and delayed him when he was in high hopes of retrieving the time which had been wasted, and the campaign ended without a blow being struck in this quarter. The French historians, not contented with extolling Vendôme for having suffered no loss, (which was no inconsiderable praise for a man who had been opposed to such an antagonist,) represent Marlborough as having used every means to bring him to action, and being constantly baffled by his consummate skill: and as if this falsehood were not sufficient, they affirm that the whole English nation and the parliament blamed his conduct. ●

The conduct of the States at this time had so incensed not the whigs alone, who never regarded any thing with moderation, but even the calm and temperate Godolphin, that it was proposed in the British cabinet to form a union with the rest of the allies for the purpose of deterring the Dutch from tampering with France. This was prevented by Marlborough. It was one of the merits of that incomparable Englishman that, however much he might suffer individually in feelings and in popular reputation, he never, under any impulse of chagrin or resentment, lost sight of the great object of the alliance, and the general good. He therefore continually

nually laboured to conciliate the allies towards each other, and all to England, and England to each and all; while in his confidential correspondence with Godolphin, it appears how clearly he saw, and how deeply he felt, the mispolicy of one kind or other which prevailed in all their councils. 'No reasoning or success,' he said, 'could prevail with the States to think any thing reasonable but what tended to their own particular interest.' Godolphin said that the emperor's behaviour had been so unaccountable, as to put the rest of the allies under the same difficulties as if he had acted by directions from Versailles, and Marlborough acknowledged to his friend that he was weary of serving, because every country with which they had to deal, acted so contrary to the public good. 'In the army,' says he,—'I must do them right,—there is all the desire imaginable to venture their lives for the public good; but all other sorts of people on this side of the water are so very wise, that I am afraid at last they will bring us to a bad peace. For myself, I am old, and shall not live to see the misfortunes that must happen in Christendom, if the French be suffered to get the better of this war.'

But there were greater embarrassments than these: his consummate ability, both as a negociator and a general, and the deserved respect in which he was held upon the continent by foes and friends, counterbalanced all disadvantages there; the obstacles which no prudence, no desert could overcome, were at home, where he suffered alike from the imprudence of his friends and the treachery of his enemies. The Queen had not forgiven the whigs for the manner in which they had forced Sunderland into office; and the whigs had not learnt moderation. A struggle arose between the crown and the ministers concerning the disposal of church preferment. Godolphin and Marlborough would have conceded all they could to the inclinations, and even to the weakness and prejudice of their sovereign, and thus, by yielding, have in the end strengthened their influence. But their colleagues in office were uncompromising, overbearing men. Sunderland perpetually appealed to his mother-in-law, the duchess, and neither her husband nor Godolphin could allay the irritation which he excited. The Lord Treasurer and the Commander in Chief became, as before, objects of jealousy to the whigs, because, while they attempted to overcome the Queen's objections on the one hand, they deprecated the indecent violence of these persons on the other. 'I am out of heart,' says Marlborough, 'and wonder at the courage of the Lord Treasurer; for were I used (as I do not doubt but I shall) as he is by the whigs, who threaten to abandon him whenever the Queen does not do what they like, I would not continue in business for all this world could

could give me ; and I believe they would be the first that would have reason to repent.' As far as regarded the great objects of foreign policy, the whigs acted well ; but in domestic concerns, they were not less indiscreet than intemperate, and sometimes indeed they betrayed a want of principle as well as of discretion. For the sake of intimidating the Queen they made advances to the violent tories, and for a time co-operated with them in parliament, at the risk of breaking up the whole system of policy, foreign and domestic.

It was Marlborough's fortune to experience the truth of his own observation, that a great many who can do no good have it always in their power to do hurt. The Duchess had placed about the person of the Queen one of her distant relations, the daughter of a merchant who had been reduced to poverty ; she had saved the family from want, obtained places and establishments for all the children, and took this Abigail Hill from service in the family of Lady Rivers, to make her one of the bed-chamber women. This woman, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of Queen Anne's reign by the name of Mrs. Masham, did for Louis XIV. what all his generals and armies, all his power, and all his policy could not have done : by her means, the counsels of Godolphin and the victories of Marlborough were frustrated, and France, at a moment when she must otherwise have received the law of peace from England, was enabled to dictate it to Europe. It was at this time that her influence was first discovered. Abigail, by the father's side, stood in precisely the same degree of affinity to Harley as by the mother's to the Duchess ; he had neglected her and her family when they were in distress, but he acknowledged the relationship when he perceived that by means of this instrument he could establish a secret influence with the Queen. History cannot be perused without some feeling of humiliation for our country and our kind, when it cannot be understood without developing such pitiful intrigues as these. The violence of Sunderland, Halifax and Somers, and the extreme imprudence with which the Duchess espoused their cause, assailing her royal mistress with perpetual solicitations, and wearying, and even worrying her with reproaches for her diminished friendship and alienated confidence, disposed Anne to commit herself to the guidance of this bed-chamber woman, who possessed just talent enough to direct her inclinations by always appearing to assent to them, and of Harley, who flattered her weakness, strengthened all her prejudices, confirmed her in her antipathies, and succeeded in making her as complete a dissembler as himself. The cause of her pertinacious resistance to every promotion which could strengthen the whigs, or satisfy them, and this

not only to the rash solicitations of the Duchess, but to Godolphin and Marlborough when they represented the impossibility of carrying on the public business against open enemies and discontented friends, was explained, when it was ascertained that Harley held midnight conferences with her, to which he was admitted by Mrs. Masham's means. But when Marlborough, whose letters to the Queen breathed always the genuine spirit of respectful and affectionate loyalty, hinted at those secret counsels by which her Majesty was estranged from her old tried servants, the Queen denied the existence of any such counsels with such protestations of sincerity and such solemnity of falsehood, as must stamp her memory with disgrace.

Harley indeed, to whose tuition she had committed herself, was a man of matchless insincerity. Even Dr. Somerville, the ablest apologist of the tories of that reign, declares with an honourable feeling of an historian's highest duties, that the part which Harley acted, 'exhibits a scene of dissimulation and duplicity, for which neither his sympathy with the sovereign, nor the unjustifiable conduct of the junta to her, nor the goodness of the end which he had in view, supposing that to be admitted, can afford any apology.' Marlborough and Godolphin were long before they would believe the treachery of a man whom they had so essentially served and so entirely trusted; and Sunderland reproached them with this. But it is no dishonour to have been deceived by solemn asseverations and consummate falsehood. The facts however at length were established beyond all possibility of further doubt. The thorough-paced dissembler still persisted in denying them, and addressed a letter to Godolphin full of professions of innocence and zeal for his service. Godolphin replied in these words, 'I have received your letter, and am very sorry for what has happened, to lose the good opinion I had so much inclination to have of you. But I cannot help seeing, nor believing my senses. I am very far from having deserved it of you. God forgive you!' The discovery of a treasonable correspondence which one of Harley's clerks carried on with France, and by which means the intended expedition against Toulon had been revealed, enabled the ministers to demand his dismissal; for though the clerk at the time of his execution fully exculpated Harley of any participation in the treason, it was plain that he had been guilty of culpable negligence in leaving papers of the highest importance and secrecy open to the common clerks in his office. Still the Queen would have retained him in office, even though Godolphin and Marlborough tendered their resignation as the alternative. Godolphin's tender she received with unconcern, but she was much affected at Marlborough's; her personal regard
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for a man as amiable as he was great was not yet extinguished, and the sense of his splendid actions was before her. She entreated him not to leave her service,—but his resolution was made to stand or fall with Godolphin; and when that was not to be shaken, the Queen remained obstinate in her purpose. The cabinet council assembled, and Harley would have proceeded to business without the two heads of the administration. He was interrupted by the Duke of Somerset, who, while the members were looking at each other with surprize and uneasiness, rose and said, I do not see how we can deliberate when the Commander in Chief and the Lord Treasurer are absent. This broke up the council, the Queen withdrew with evident emotions of anger and disappointment; but she felt that a minister could not be constituted by mere favour, and sending for Marlborough the next day, informed him that Harley should retire. Perhaps from that day her hatred to Marlborough may be dated.

In the spring of the ensuing year, 1708, an attempt at invasion was made, upon which great hopes had been founded by the French. The ministers were aware of this danger, and had provided against it. They blockaded Dunkirk, and when the French squadron, with the Pretender on board, taking advantage of a gale which enabled them to escape out of port, sailed for Scotland, and reached the frith of Forth, they found the English ships were there before them. An attempt to land at Inverness was baffled by the winds, and thus the troops which had been brought from the continent were left again disposable for foreign service. As soon as the danger was averted, Marlborough recrossed the sea, and arranged the plan of the campaign at the Hague with Eugene and the Pensionary Heinsius. It was agreed that one army should be formed on the Moselle under the Prince, another under Marlborough in the Netherlands, and that the ostensible project should be, an invasion on the side of Lorraine, but that the two armies should unite by a rapid march in the Netherlands and endeavour to give battle to the enemy before they could receive the reinforcements drawn from distant quarters. Before this could be effected, there were difficulties to overcome with the German princes, and with the Elector of Hanover, who now commanded the imperial troops; and this occasioned so many delays, that Marlborough began to fear his measures would be in a great degree broken. ‘See,’ said he, ‘the great advantage the King of France has over the allies, since we depend upon the humours of several princes, and he has nothing but his own will and pleasure!’ And in another letter he says, ‘the slowness of the Germans is such, that we must be always disappointed.’ More than a month was lost by these vexatious impediments;

and this loss of time was of the more consequence, because it was now apparent that the French would make their great effort on the side of Flanders, and that nothing could be done to distract their attention to any other quarter. The arrangements being at length completed, Marlborough on the 2d of July announced to the States by a courier from Terbank, that Eugene was about to join him, and might be expected on the 5th or 6th, when it was their intention to move directly on the enemy, and bring on a battle, trusting in God to bless their designs.

The head-quarters had been fixed at Terbank since the beginning of June, when the enemy made a movement which seemed to threaten Louvain. They had done this to conceal their real intentions, which were well planned, and founded upon the general discontent of the Flemish and Brabanters, excited by the oppressive government of the Dutch. A scheme for betraying Antwerp into their possession had been discovered and frustrated. But decamping suddenly from Brain l'Allieu, on the evening of the 4th, they moved towards the Dender, and dispatching several corps to the different places where they had a correspondence with the disaffected, they got possession of Ghent and Bruges, and threatened Brussels. Upon the first intelligence of their movements, Marlborough approached that capital, and on the evening of the 6th encamped at Asch. There he learnt the enemy's success. The alarm in Brussels was very great, and even in the army it seemed that there was a disposition to censure the commander, as if the mischief had befallen through his misconduct. At this critical time Eugene arrived; he had left his cavalry at Maestricht, and hastened to take a personal share in the expected battle; but his troops could not come up in time. The spirits of the army were raised by his presence, for Eugene was almost as much admired and beloved as Marlborough himself.

The immediate object of the French was to get possession of Oudenard, an important point for the defence of Flanders and Brabant, and now the only channel of a direct communication with England. They invested it on the morning of the 9th, ordered a train of heavy artillery from Tournay, and prepared to occupy the strong camp of Lessines on the Dender, for the purpose of covering the siege. But on the morning of the 9th the allied army broke up from Asch, and though the distance which they had to march was twice that of the enemy, anticipated them at Lessines, secured that point, threw bridges over the Dender, and interposed between them and their own frontiers. The French, who had presumed too much upon success, and who expected that Marlborough would have contented himself with
covering

covering the great towns in his rear, were confounded at his unexpected appearance. There existed no good will between the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme, and the hour of danger, instead of reconciling them, seemed to exasperate their contention; each became more vehement in urging his counsels as more appeared to be at stake. They relinquished the investment of Oudenard, and directed their march to Gavre where they had prepared bridges for crossing the Scheldt. Marlborough and Eugene pushed forward in pursuit, and the battle of Oudenard, one of the most remarkable in military history, was brought on. The dispute between the French generals continued to the very moment of action, and the indecision which was thus produced, more than counterbalanced the advantages which they might have derived from the ground: for Marlborough said their post was as strong as was possible to be found; and admitted that the advantage which he gave them, by attacking them in such a situation, would have been too much, if he had not preferred the good of his Queen and his country before any personal concern. Scarcely any artillery was used on either side; the allies had only those pieces employed which were with the advanced detachment, and the French appear not to have brought more than six pieces into play. It was by musketry that the day was decided. The enemy behaved well during the action, particularly the dragoons and the household troops, but they were beaten at last out of all good behaviour; the word for retreat was no sooner given than they took flight in the utmost disorder, and if the darkness had not favoured them, the destruction would have been as complete as the rout. ‘Night,’ says Colonel Blackader, ‘put a screen of darkness between us and them, and thereby saved them, in all probability, from as great a defeat as ever they got.’ ‘If had we been so happy,’ says Marlborough, ‘as to have had two more hours of day-light, I believe we should have made an end to this war.’

The night was so dark that the positions of the troops at last could only be discerned by the flashes of musketry, and the allies, some of whom had already mistaken each other for enemies, were ordered to halt as they stood, for fear of any further mistake. The enemy were thus suffered to escape; many of them however were bewildered and wandered into the posts of the allies, and many were captured by a stratagem of Eugene’s, who ordered several drummers to beat the French retreat, and the refugee officers to give the rallying word of the different corps: *A moi, Champagne! à moi, Picardie! à moi, Piémont!* The loss of the enemy was about 6,000 killed and wounded, and 8,000 prisoners; that of the allies was computed at 3,500. The con-

querors remained upon the field, 'where,' says Blackader, 'the bed of honour was both hard and cold; but we passed the night as well as the groans of dying men would allow us, being thankful for our preservation.' The French left most of their wounded on the ground; Marlborough had them carried into Oudenard, and attended with the same care as his own men. The Electoral Prince of Hanover, afterwards George II., distinguished himself in this battle, and had a horse killed under him. Charles Stuart was with the French.

No time was lost by the two great commanders of the allies. The lines which the French had constructed from Ypres to War-neton, for the purpose of covering the country between the Scheldt and the Lys, were forced before Berwick, who was hastening to defend them, could arrive; six hours more, and the attempt might have been too late. The French on their part rallied with characteristic readiness. They had generals upon the spot who would have been accounted first-rate, if they had not been opposed to Marlborough; and their possession of Ghent prevented the allies from getting cannon by water. Marlborough's wish was to mask Lille and penetrate into the heart of France by that frontier; the country was open to him; already one of his parties had burnt the suburbs of Arras, and the people, in their alarm, had sent to solicit the king's leave to treat concerning contributions. But even Eugene thought this design too bold and impracticable, till Lille could be had for a *place d'armes* and magazine. The siege of that place was 'the only operation in which the views, means, and interests of all parties could be brought to coincide.' But it was so hazardous an undertaking that Vendôme declared an able commander like Eugene would never venture to engage in it, and it was made the subject of general ridicule. The fortifications were exceedingly strong. Vauban, under whose immediate superintendence they were constructed, had drawn up a project for their defence, which was in the hands of the chief engineer, his nephew. The garrison consisted of nearly 15,000 men, under Boufflers, who was distinguished for his skill in defending fortified places. The French had 100,000 men in the field to act against the besiegers; and as they commanded both the Scheldt and the Lys, the allies could not commence the siege without conducting their whole train of artillery and stores by land, through these hostile forces. No siege was ever undertaken under greater difficulties, and the French themselves admit that never were preparations better concerted nor more proper to frustrate the efforts of the enemy. The battering pieces were brought from Maestricht and from Holland to Brussels, where ninety-four pieces of cannon, sixty mortars,

mortars, and above 3,000 ammunition-waggon's were collected ; the number of draught-horses required for these was calculated at 16,000. The convoy occupied a line of fifteen miles, and had to traverse a track of five-and-twenty leagues. Both armies were wholly intent upon it, one to secure, the other to prevent its march ; but so perfect were the skill and vigilance of the allied commanders, that the march was effected without losing a single carriage, and without affording the enemy an opportunity of making an attempt upon it. 'Posterity,' observes Feuquières, 'will scarcely believe the fact.'

Having failed in their hopes of preventing the siege, the enemy made the utmost efforts to strengthen themselves in the field and relieve the town. Vendôme declared his intention of attempting it, and said he had a *carte blanche* from the king. The language of Marlborough shews at the same time his habitual reliance upon the divine favour on a good cause, and his desire of peace. 'If,' said he, 'we have a second action, and God blesses our just cause, this, in all likelihood, will be the last campaign ; for I think they would not venture a battle, but that they are resolved to submit to any condition if the success be on our side ; and if they should get the better, they will think themselves masters : so that if there be an action it is likely to be the last this war. If God continues on our side we have nothing to fear, our troops being good, though not so numerous as theirs. I dare say before half the troops have fought, the success will declare, I hope in God, on our side ; and that I may have what I earnestly wish for, quiet.' Burgundy and Vendôme, leaving a flying camp of 20,000 men to protect Ghent and Bruges, crossed the Scheldt and formed a junction with Berwick, in the plain between Gramont and Lessines. Their united forces exceeded 110,000 men, and the allied commanders were greatly in hopes that, in the confidence of strength, they would attempt to make good their boasting. 'The ground,' said Marlborough, 'is so very much for our advantage that, with the blessing of God, we shall certainly beat them ; so that it were to be wished they would venture, but I really think they will not.' They looked at his position more than once, and more than once appealed to the court for directions, and more than once were ordered to risk an attack. Vendôme would have attempted it at first, but was restrained by Berwick's opposition ; he himself, upon reconnoitring the allies for the last time, acknowledged that it was too hazardous ; and Berwick admits that if Marlborough had not been restrained by the Dutch deputies from becoming the assailant at that hour, the French must have received a fatal and inevitable overthrow.

The siege went on slowly, and ill. Marlborough not only

complains of misconduct in the engineers, but of treachery. Eugene was wounded, and Marlborough, supplying his place in the conduct of the siege, discovered, what had not been made known to the Prince, that there did not remain powder and ball for more than four days. The Deputies, alarmed not more at the difficulty than the expense, importuned him to abandon the attempt. Supplies however were brought from Ostend by the excellent conduct of Generals Webb and Cadogan; and just when the French had succeeded in capturing a considerable magazine at Nieuport, the city after sixty days siege surrendered. There remained the citadel, which was a master-piece of art, and the enemy formed a bold plan for relieving it, or making themselves amends for its loss by getting possession of Brussels. The Elector of Bavaria with 15,000 men was recalled from the Rhine for this purpose, and appeared before the walls of that great city when it was thought impossible that the allies could come to its defence, the main army of the French being interposed in their strong position behind the Scheldt which they had been three months in fortifying. By a series of movements the most masterly in military history, Eugene and Marlborough so effectually deceived and surprized the enemy, that they accomplished a passage almost without opposition, when the troops expected the bloodiest day they had ever experienced. The Elector immediately abandoned his attempt upon Brussels, leaving not only his cannon, but his wounded also. There had been great alarm in Holland and England for Antwerp as well as Brussels; and, says Marlborough, there was but too much reason; for had not God favoured our passage of the Scheldt they must have been in danger, for not only the towns, but the people of this country hate the Dutch. In another letter he says, 'My Lord Haversham may be angry, but Prince Eugene and myself shall have the inward satisfaction of knowing that we have struggled with more difficulties, and have been blessed with more success than ever was known before in one campaign.' The citadel soon surrendered. The whole siege cost the besiegers not less than 14,000 men. The loss of the garrison was 8,000. It was one of the most arduous, the longest and bloodiest sieges in modern warfare. The lateness of the season, for it was not till the 8th of December that Marshal Boufflers capitulated, made the French king suppose the allies would immediately go into winter-quarters, satisfied with their success. Marlborough however without delay invested Ghent, though the frost had begun, and they could neither break ground for their batteries, nor open their trenches; and if the canals had frozen, their means of getting forage would have been cut off. 'But my reliance is,' said

said he, 'that God, who has protected and kept us hitherto, will enable us to finish it with the taking the town.' Soldiers as well as officers were convinced of the necessity of recovering it. The weather changed in his favour, and Count de la Motte made a bad defence; though he had so strong a garrison, that when they marched out and Marlborough saw their numbers and condition, he said it was astonishing they should suffer a place of such consequence to be taken at such a season with so little loss. Bruges was immediately abandoned by the enemy. Both places were of the utmost importance, for without them the allies could neither have been quiet in their winter-quarters, nor have opened the next campaign with advantage. This, said the Commander, is ended to my own heart's desire; and as the hand of the Almighty is visible in this whole matter, I hope her Majesty will think it due to Him to return public thanks.' He never failed to do so after victory, though Colonel Blackader says these things were ridiculed in the army; yet, he adds, 'Providence had been so wonderfully favourable to them in this campaign, that it was taken notice of even by the graceless.'

The pressure of this long contest was now severely felt in France, and though on the side of Germany and Savoy, the exertions of the French balanced the fortunes of the war, and in Spain the preponderance was on their side, it was plain that the course which Marlborough was pursuing, invincible as he was found to be, would, if it were continued, enable him to dictate peace at Paris. Louis therefore offered to negotiate and proposed large terms, less it is to be believed with the expectation that they would be accepted than in the hope of dividing the allies, and breaking up a confederacy which was kept together by the consummate prudence of the English general alone. The Marquis de Torcy, who was sent to conduct the negotiation, offered Marlborough two millions of livres if he could obtain Naples and Sicily for Philip, or Naples alone, or the preservation of Dunkirk, or of Strasburg, and if all could be obtained together with Landau, he offered him double that sum, pledging the word and honour of the king for its payment. Among the many slanders with which the memory of Marlborough has been assailed, he has been reproached for his conduct on this occasion as only not having accepted the bribe. Never was any reproach more injurious. No other statement of the fact exists than what Torcy himself has given, and from that it appears that Marlborough's conduct was exactly what might have been expected from him, dignified and prudent. He returned no answer to the proposal; changed the conversation immediately whenever it was resumed, and by the manner in which he adhered to his instructions,

instructions, proved to the Marquis that it was as impossible to prevail over him by such means, as to beat him in the field. An expression of indignation was not called for. In making the offer, Torcy only obeyed the orders of his sovereign, whose money had formerly been graciously received in England both by the Prince on the throne, and the patriots in opposition : and the English government, through the agency of Marlborough himself, had been accustomed to employ the same golden arguments with the ministers of the allied powers. The offer therefore was not then, as it would be in these days, an insult. Torcy acted conformably to the times when he made it, and Marlborough conformably to himself when he received it with silent disdain, and pursued the business of their meeting with an unaltered temper.

He has been accused also by his enemies at home, and the slander has been accredited and repeated abroad from that time to this, of having obstructed the peace for the sake of his own private and personal interests. The treaty broke off because the allies required that the whole Spanish monarchy should be given up by Philip within two months, and that if he refused to do this, Louis should assist the allies in compelling him to submit to the terms of peace. Both in France and Spain a proper advantage was made of this demand, which was as impolitic as it was in every way indefensible. But wherever it originated, whether with the counsellors of the Archduke Charles whom it most concerned, and who were unwise enough, and ungenerous enough for any thing, or with the whigs in England who had not the grace of bearing their faculties meekly, certain it is that Marlborough disapproved it, and expressed his decided opinion that there was neither necessity nor utility in making such demands. He says in a confidential letter to Godolphin, 'I have as much mistrust for the sincerity of France as any body living can have : but I shall own to you that, in my opinion, if France had delivered the towns promised by the preliminaries, and demolished Dunkirk and the other towns mentioned, they must have been at our discretion, so that if they had played tricks, so much the worse for themselves.' No man rejoiced more in the prospect of peace. During the whole war, peace and retirement had been the second wish of his heart,—the first was to ensure the safety of his country by curbing the power of France. At this time he expected peace so fully, that he had commenced arrangements for paying and dismissing the foreign troops, and for the return of the army to England. But he did not cease to represent to the cabinet, that the sure and only means of obtaining the terms which they were resolved to dictate, were to provide a superior force in the Netherlands. Unfortunately his colleagues neither possessed the
same

same moderation nor the same foresight. Contrary to his opinion, they insisted upon terms which could not be accepted without a total sacrifice of honour and feeling, and they relied so fully upon obtaining their demands, that they increased his force as he required, in order to ensure success. On this point therefore, Mr. Coxe has effectually vindicated Marlborough, proving beyond all doubt that 'he did not direct the negociation, that he differed in many material points from the cabinet, and was guided by positive instructions which he could not venture to transgress.' Had he indeed (his biographer adds) engrossed the sole management, he would doubtless have framed such conditions as would have been accepted, or have made such preparations as would have enabled him to dictate his own terms in the heart of France.

While the English government committed this double error, the French made every effort to strengthen their force in the Netherlands. Louis had said that hunger would compel his subjects to follow his bread waggons, and he was not deceived in calculating that the general distress would fill his armies with men who could find no other means of subsistence. Vendôme was removed to Spain, to retrieve, against other generals, the reputation which he had lost when opposed to Marlborough; and Villars, whom Voltaire has well characterized as lucky, braggart and brave, took the command in Flanders. The allies deceived him by their movements, so as to prevent him from throwing troops into Tournay, or properly providing it. Still the attempt at besieging it was so arduous that Villars thought it would occupy them the whole campaign. In this also he was deceived. It surrendered after a destructive siege of two months, during which Villars ineffectually attempted to relieve it. The citadel was given up on the third of September, and on the sixth, part of the allies under the Prince of Hesse, by movements effected with great skill and extraordinary rapidity, entered the French lines without opposition, and interposed between Mons, which it was intended to besiege, and the army of Villars, who was again baffled by the superior activity and talents of his antagonists. These movements led to the battle of Malplaquet, the bloodiest action of the whole war, and the best fought battle in which the French were ever defeated. Boufflers had joined the French and made a masterly retreat, after Villars had been wounded and carried senseless from the field. The numbers of the two armies seem to have been as nearly equal as may be, each having between 90 and 100,000 men. The loss was greatest on the side of the conquerors. Villars, whose great qualities were disgraced by a total disregard to truth, represents the loss of the allies at
35,000,

35,000, and his own at only 6000: a statement which, if it were true, would show that the French army must have been either struck with cowardice or with madness to quit the field when the advantage was so decidedly on their side. Colonel Blackader, who went as usual over the ground 'to get a preaching from the dead,' believed the loss was equal on both sides. Mr. Coxe estimates that of the allies at 20,000, and that of the French at 14,000. Blackader, who acknowledges that he did not expect to see the enemy fight so well, says it was the most deliberate, solemn and well ordered battle that he had ever seen, a noble and fine disposition, and as finely executed. Every one was at his post, and he never saw troops engage with more cheerfulness, boldness and resolution. For himself, he 'never had a more pleasant day in his life.'

The great loss on the part of the conquerors arose from the impetuosity of the Prince of Orange, who made the attack contrary to his instructions, before he could be properly supported, and thus sacrificed the flower of the Dutch infantry, occasioning thereby nearly half the slaughter. The enemies of Marlborough, who were now increasing both in violence and in strength, loudly accused him of rashness in this action, and of wantonly throwing away the lives of men to gratify his personal ambition. He could not repel this cruel accusation, without throwing a censure upon the Prince of Orange, which would have produced certain mischief. He had afterwards an opportunity of shewing how he resented these black slanders, when he could fix upon the slanderer, and vindicate himself without injury to the public. At the very time when he was thus calumniated, the grief which he suffered at seeing so many brave men killed, with whom he had lived eight years, and when they thought themselves sure of peace, had actually made him ill. He was a thoroughly humane man, and that too in an age when humanity was a rare virtue. One of his first cares after the action had been to administer relief to the wounded French, of whom 3000 had been left upon the field, and to arrange means with the French marshals for conveying them away. He did not speak of the victory with exultation as he had been wont to do on his other great days, but called it a very murderous battle; and Villars, in his usual style of boasting, said to the king that if it pleased God to favour him with the loss of another such battle, his enemies would be destroyed. The vain general might have known that after such a defeat, there could be no hope of victory; that the more dearly it had been purchased, the greater was the moral value of the success. There remained no cause to palliate, no subterfuge to cover the defeat which the French had sustained. They could not impute it to
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want of confidence in their commander, or want of skill; to want of conduct or of courage in the army, or in any part of it; nor to any disadvantages of ground, nor to any error or mishap of any kind. They had chosen their position and strengthened it. They had stood their ground well: men, officers and commander had done their best, the only blunder had been committed by their enemies, and owing to that, and to the advantage of their post, they had inflicted a loss greater by nearly one-third than what they had sustained, and yet they had been beaten. The consequence was that they never afterwards ventured to meet Marlborough in the field. Berwick was recalled from Dauphiny to co-operate in an attempt for the relief of Mons, but the attempt was not made, and the town was taken. By this conquest the great towns in Brabant and Flanders were covered, and the French were at length circumscribed within their own limits. Had Marlborough's advice been followed in 1706, Mons would have been taken without the expense of blood at Malplaquet.

At this time Marlborough committed the only indiscreet act with which he can be justly charged. Sensible that the Queen was entirely alienated from him by the intriguers to whom she had given her whole confidence, and that his enemies were every day becoming more active and more virulent, for the sake of strengthening himself while his friends were in power, he wished for a patent which should constitute him Captain-General for life: nor was he deterred from asking for it by the opinion of the Lord Chancellor Cowper, that the office had never been conferred otherwise than during pleasure. The request served only to increase the Queen's angry disposition towards him, to give his enemies an opportunity for alarming her, and to gratify both her and them by the mortification which her positive refusal inflicted upon him.

In the ensuing year the negotiations were renewed, and broken off upon the same ground,—not by Marlborough's advice,—that calumny, it may be hoped, will now be no more repeated. He was no longer the moving mind in all foreign negotiations. Knowing that his power was on the decline, his desire was to incur as little responsibility as possible for measures which he was not allowed to influence, and he called himself *white paper*, upon which the treasurer and his friends might write their directions. The campaign opened with another successful passage of the enemy's lines, a great and unexpected success. 'I bless God,' said Marlborough, 'for putting it into their heads not to defend them, for at Pont de Vendin where I passed, the Mareschal d'Artagnan was with 20,000 men, which if he had staid must have made it very doubtful. But, God be praised, we are come here without the loss of any men. The excuse the French make is,

is, that we came four days before they expected us.' This movement was preparatory to the siege of Douay. It was expected that Villars would venture a battle for its relief, for it was a post of great importance, to which the allies could bring all their stores by water, even from Amsterdam, and the French had a great superiority of numbers. Marlborough looked for an action, but no longer with that joyous expectation which hitherto he had always felt, for the cursed spirit of faction which was undermining every thing at home had now begun to prevail, and was manifesting itself even in the army. If the battle was fought he believed that, from the nature of the country, it must be very decisive. 'I long for an end of the war,' says he, 'so God's will be done. Whatever the event may be, I shall have nothing to reproach myself with, having with all my heart done my duty, and being hitherto blessed with more success than ever was known before. My wishes and duty are the same: but I can't say I have the same sanguine prophetic spirit I did use to have, for in all the former actions I did never doubt of success, we having had constantly the great blessing of being of one mind. I cannot say it is so now, for I fear some are run so far into villainous faction, that it would give them more content to see us beaten; but if I live I will be so watchful that it shall not be in their power to do much hurt.' Douay fell; the skilful dispositions of Villars prevented the allies from laying siege to Arras, which had been their intention; they therefore turned upon Bethune, which they invested, and won. The French marshals constructed a series of defences to cover the interior of France; and the allies closed the campaign by the capture of Aire and St. Venant.

Meantime the administration of the whigs had been effectually undermined, and they had ample reason to regret the impolitic way in which they forced themselves into office, and the ill-judged and intemperate manner in which they had conducted the late negotiation, and given the king of France so great an advantage over them in the opinion of the world. A large portion of Mr. Coxe's work is necessarily employed in developing the miserable intrigues by which they were fooled as well as overthrown. We may be allowed to avoid the pain and humiliation of following him through the disgraceful detail, except in that part wherein Marlborough was more particularly concerned. By a strange inconsistency, the duchess, high-minded as she was, after her long bickerings with the Queen, and the total alienation which she had in some degree provoked and deserved, dreaded a dismissal from her office as something disgraceful: and when the intention of dismissing her was intimated, Marlborough, in a personal interview, requested the Queen not to remove her till

till the end of the war, which might reasonably be expected in the course of a year, when, he said, they would both retire together. The Queen, who had all the inflexibility of her father's character, insisted that the gold key should be delivered to her within three days, and Marlborough, even on his knees, intreated for an interval of ten days, that means might be devised for rendering the blow less mortifying and disgraceful. It is mortifying to record this, but it was his last, or rather his only weakness, and its palliation may be found in that affection for his wife, which, had he been less than what he was, would have degenerated into uxoriousness. From all the other trials which were preparing for him he came off like gold from the furnace. And on this occasion also he perfectly recovered himself. The queen, with her characteristic temper, insisted upon having the key within the time that she had specified: Marlborough delivered it that same evening; and not being prepared for so ready an obedience, her behaviour was such as if a sense of her own ingratitude had then confounded her. His own feeling of resentment would have led him to resign the command at the same time: the advice of the duchess, and of Godolphin, a consideration of what was due to Eugene, to the allies, and to the general good, —finally, the hope of being yet enabled to complete the services which he had rendered to Europe, and to his country (ungratefully as that country was now beginning to requite him) by concluding a safe and lasting peace, overcame this impulse. Mr. Coxe appears to regret this: in an evil hour, he says, he yielded to their representations, and continued in the command only to encounter the disgrace and persecution with which he had been threatened, and to lament the conclusion of that dishonourable peace which he so much deprecated. In this instance we differ from his biographer, and consider the magnanimity with which Marlborough then sacrificed all private considerations, and even hazarded his military reputation, by serving under a ministry whose malevolence he knew, and from whom he had reason to expect nothing but ill usage, as one of the many proofs of true greatness in the life of this illustrious man.

Under these circumstances he entered upon his last campaign, and with the further disadvantage of losing his worthy colleague Eugene, who, in consequence of the death of the Emperor Joseph, was called away, taking with him all his cavalry, and a considerable part of his foot. The French had been busily employed during the latter part of the autumn, and through the winter, in forming and strengthening a series of lines extending from Namur to the coast of Picardy, near Montreuil. Villars relied so much upon the strength of these defences that he boasted of having at
last

last brought Marlborough to his *ne plus ultra*: he was encouraged also by the immediate diminution of force which Eugene's departure had occasioned, and sent word to his antagonist that he should be 30,000 stronger than the allies. Upon this Marlborough observed, 'if their superiority be as great as he says it will be, I should not apprehend much from them, but that of their being able to hinder us from acting, which to my own particular would be mortification enough; for, since constant success has not met with approbation, what may I not expect when nothing is done! As I rely very much on Providence, so I shall be ready at improving all occasions that may offer.' But whatever superiority of numbers the French might have possessed, Louis was at that time playing too sure a game with the English cabinet to hazard any thing in the field: Villars therefore received positive orders not to risk an engagement. Marlborough's object was to invest Bouchain; to do this he must break through the lines, and he well knew that the consent of the generals and Dutch deputies could never be obtained for so difficult an attempt: he must, therefore, imperceptibly bring them into a situation where they would perceive the necessity of the measure, and he must deceive the enemy at the same time. He effected both objects, and duped the enemy so effectually, that having first made them demolish the fortifications at Arleux which impeded his project, he got within their lines without losing a single man—being, says Colonel Blackader, one of the finest projects and best executed which has been during the war. Villars endeavoured then to lure him to a battle, as the only means of wiping off the disgrace, and even the Dutch deputies were so elated with this great and unexpected success that they urged him to attack the French; but Marlborough knew, from the nature of the ground, and the exhausted state of the men, who had marched ten or twelve leagues the preceding day, that this could not be done with any reasonable prospect of advantage. He had gained his object without a battle; and he chose to expose himself to the censure of envious tongues and evil minded men, rather than hazard the lives of his men without an adequate cause. Blackader, while he expresses his regret at the disappointment, bears, at the same time, a just testimony to the commander. 'It was very near carried in a council of war,' he says, 'that we should attack them, but it was resolved otherwise, to the regret of most part of the army. In such cases *vox exercitus vox Dei*. Our soldiers were much encouraged by their success in passing the lines, and the enemy much discouraged. When God delivers our enemy into our hand, and we let them escape, he often allows them to be more troublesome afterwards. On the other hand, we are not to be suspicious

suspicious of our general's conduct; we have more reason to admire it, and to believe he knows a thousand times better what is to be done than we. Submissive obedience is our duty, and I give it heartily. If any man deserves implicit obedience I think he does, both in respect of his capacity and integrity.

In the face of a superior force Marlborough now laid siege to Bouchain, the armies being so near and in so extraordinary a situation that the besiegers were bombarded by the enemy. But the only fruit which Villars derived from this was the mortification of seeing the garrison, consisting of eight battalions and 500 horse, march out as prisoners of war. An anecdote of Marlborough at this time ought never to be omitted in any account of his life, however brief. Fenelon was then archbishop of Cambray. The estates of his see were exposed to plunder, and, from respect to his genius and virtues, the English commander ordered a detachment to guard the magazines of corn at Chateau Cambresis, and gave a safe-conduct for their conveyance to Cambray. But apprehending afterwards that even this protection might not be respected because of the scarcity of bread, he sent a corps of dragoons with waggons to transport the grain, and escort it to the precincts of the town. He meditated next the capture of Quesnoy; the ministers at home affected to approve of his intention, and assured him that they were making the strongest representations to the Dutch for the purpose of obtaining their concurrence. While these very ministers were deceiving their general, they were carrying on a secret negotiation with France, and had actually agreed to the preliminaries of that peace by which the interests of their allies and their country were betrayed.

We may be spared the humiliating task of following the manœuvres by which the peace of Utrecht was brought about, and of entering into the details of that abominable transaction; a transaction in which the agents at home felt so secure of their power, and at the same time so conscious of their deserts, that they jested among themselves about the gallows and the scaffold, to which they might be exposed if they lost the protection of the Queen,—and the ministers abroad espoused so openly the interest of the enemy, as to provoke from Eugene the indignant question whether they were acting as negotiators on the side of England or of France. The whole scheme of this infamous administration could not be effected as long as Marlborough was at the head of the army. It was impossible to make him act treacherously towards the allies; and it was always to be feared that by some signal stroke he might at once defeat the French army and the schemes of the English cabinet. The removal of Marlborough therefore was necessary to the success of their plans, and this

this alone would prove how rightly he acted in not resigning the command. The means by which they brought about his dismissal were worthy of the men. They accused him of peculation, because he had received the same perquisites which had always been allowed to the commander-in-chief in those countries for secret service money; which he had been privileged to receive, moreover, and to employ without account, by the Queen's royal warrant, and which had been applied, as Marlborough said in his defence, 'from time to time for intelligence and secret service, and with such success, that next to the blessing of God and the bravery of the troops, we might in great measure attribute most of the advantages of the war in the Low Countries to the timely and good advice procured with the help of this money.' Upon this ground, and upon the undeniable fact that the same allowance had been always paid to his predecessors, Marlborough so completely vindicated himself, that though the commissioners of public accounts, who were the tools of the reigning faction, pronounced an opinion against him, in a report as flagrantly false as it was malicious, and though upon that report the Queen dismissed him from all his employments, 'that the matter might undergo an impartial investigation'—his enemies, malignant as they were, dared not pursue the investigation. When Louis heard of this act, he added with his own hand a sentence in his dispatches to his agent at London, saying, 'the affair of displacing the Duke of Marlborough will do for us all we desire.'

Every means was now used to blacken the late ministry;—for this purpose no accusation was either too absurd or too atrocious. A cry of peculation was raised against them, as that which was most likely to obtain belief among the vulgar, and excite popular outcry. A deficit of thirty-five millions was charged against them, as if they were responsible for all the unsettled accounts since the Restoration; and this charge, as has generally been the case, dwindled to nothing when it was examined. In those days it was the custom on the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's inauguration, to burn in effigy the Pope, the Devil and the Pretender. The effigies were arrested upon a pretence that the whigs intended to take advantage of the holiday to excite an insurrection; and this ridiculous story has found its way into historical writings at home and abroad, with the additional absurdity, that Marlborough was to put himself at the head of the mob, and that Prince Eugene was to support him. Another fable, accused them of a design to fire the city, murder the ministers, seize and depose the Queen, and place the Elector of Hanover on the throne! Slanders of this kind were too gross to deserve contradiction, nor could the slanderer be fixed upon. At length a personal insult
of

of the grossest kind was offered to the Duke, and in the most public manner. Karl Poulet, in vindicating the Duke of Ormond, who had succeeded to the command, for taking the field with Eugene, while he was at the same time in secret communication with Villars, and had secret orders not to fight, said of him, 'that he did not resemble a certain general,* who led his troops to the slaughter to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head in a battle, or against stone walls, in order to fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions.' Marlborough heard him in silence, but as soon as the house rose sent a message to him by Lord Mohun, inviting him to take the air in the country. Earl Poulet could not conceal from his lady the uncomfortable emotions which this message excited, and the duel was prevented by a direct order from the Queen to Marlborough, enjoining him to proceed no farther in the affair. It is sufficient punishment for this slanderer, that he is remembered in history for this, and for this only; so easily may the coarsest and meanest mind purchase for itself a perpetuity of disgrace!

For the sake of avoiding daily insults and further persecution, Marlborough determined upon leaving England. The death of Godolphin released him from the strongest tie which bound him to his then ungrateful country,—for he was unwilling to leave his old tried friend, labouring under the severest sufferings of a mortal disease.* A passport was obtained by means of Harley, or Oxford, as he must now be called, in opposition to some of his colleagues. Base as Oxford's conduct was, he was not so bad as Bolingbroke; he had not the same hatred to Marlborough, (perhaps because his obligations to him, great as they were, had not been quite so great,) and it is not unlikely that he may have thought it desirable for the sake of the Protestant succession, to which he was sincerely attached, and which Bolingbroke was plotting to set aside, that Marlborough should be out of his enemies' reach, and in a situation where he might act in its support, when occasion should require. The restoration of the Stuart line indeed appeared so possible, from the principles of Bolingbroke and the favourite, now Lady Masham, and from the irreconcilable dislike with which the Queen regarded the house of Hanover, that Marlborough thought it prudent, before he left England, to invest 50,000*l.* in the Dutch funds as a means of subsistence in case of that event. As this great commander had received the highest proofs of royal favour both from his own sovereign and from foreign princes, he was fated

* Godolphin, the lord treasurer in those days of speculation, which had been so loudly censured in parliament and even from the throne, was so far from having enriched himself, that the property which he left did not exceed 12,000*l.*

also to have some experience of royal ingratitude. The government of the Spanish Netherlands had been more than once offered to him, and pressed upon him by the Archduke Charles, and he had been prevented from accepting it only by the jealousy of the Dutch. When he perceived that his disgrace was impending, he asked for this appointment, and the Archduke evaded a compliance with his request. Nor was this the only instance of ingratitude from that thankless quarter. The principality of Mindelheim, which had been conferred on him after the battle of Blenheim, was restored at the peace to Bavaria, and though an equivalent was promised to Marlborough, it was never granted, nor did he ever obtain any compensation for the loss.

When he embarked at Dover, as a private individual, the Captain of the packet had sufficient English feeling to receive him with a voluntary salute. No other honour was paid him upon leaving his native country; but as the illustrious exile entered the harbour of Ostend he was welcomed with a salute of artillery from the town, forts and shipping. And along the whole road to Aix-la-Chapelle, though he endeavoured to avoid notice by taking the most private ways, he was entertained with the highest marks of respect and affection, by governors, garrisons, magistrates and people of all ranks. A finer tribute was never paid to true greatness. They blessed him as their deliverer, and mingling exclamations against the English cabinet with their expressions of admiration and gratitude towards him, many of them shed tears of indignant feeling, and said it were better to be born in Lapland than in England, for that no nation had ever fallen so unaccountably from such a height of glory and esteem into such contempt and degradation. He dwelt some time at Aix-la-Chapelle; but from an apprehension that his person was not safe there, he went to Maestricht; there the Duchess joined him: they proceeded to Frankfort, and after a few months removed to Antwerp, as a safer place while the war continued in Germany. From thence he corresponded with Hanover, and with the leaders of the Hanoverian interest in England, and there he held himself in readiness to transport troops to England on the demise of the Queen, engaging to use his endeavours to secure the fidelity of the troops at Dunkirk and to embark at their head. The danger to which the Protestant succession was at that time exposed is believed to have proved fatal to the Electress Sophia, a remarkable personage, who at the age of eighty-four retained an unusual strength both of body and mind, and used to say, that if she could but live to have Sophia Queen of England engraven on her tomb, she should die content. Had she lived three months longer, that wish would have been gratified.

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As the crisis drew nearer, it was deemed advisable that Marlborough should return where his presence might be of great importance. Among the calumnies with which his memory has been loaded, is the absurd charge, that he was at this time corresponding with the Pretender, and intriguing with Bolingbroke to secure his succession. This falsehood also is now effectually refuted; and it appears from their own acknowledgment, that the ministers who were plotting for that purpose were 'frightened out of their wits' at the news of his intended return. That return would have exposed him to a renewal of persecution, and to every mortification and every injury which it was in the power of the Queen and her ministers to inflict,—but when the vessel wherein he had embarked approached the coast near Dover, it was boarded by a messenger with news of the Queen's decease, and the undisputed accession of George I. This monarch, though he duly appreciated the services of Marlborough, and respected him accordingly, never forgave him for not having communicated to him the intended operations of that campaign in which Brabant and Flanders had been recovered. He restored him to his offices, but did not avail himself of his advice, as for his own sake and that of the country he should have done; for had the opinion of this consummate statesman been taken, a combined administration would have been formed, to include some of the moderate tories who had supported the protestant succession at the moment when their services were most essential. It was a more favourable opportunity than had ever before occurred for bringing upright men of different parties to act together for the general good.

Marlborough lived eight years after his return, happy in the enjoyment of that leisure and tranquillity which he had always desired. It is not true, as Johnson has taught us to believe, that the tears of dotage flowed from his eyes. In the year 1716 he had two paralytic strokes, but recovered both his strength and faculties, except that there were a few words which he could not distinctly articulate. In other respects, however, he was so little impaired, that he continued to attend Parliament, and to perform the business of his office as Captain-General and Master of the Ordnance, till within six months of his death. He wished to resign those offices, but was induced by Sunderland's intreaties and the king's particular desire to retain them. At length a return of the disorder proved fatal: he lay for some days aware of approaching dissolution, and, in full possession of his senses, he quietly expired on the 16th of June 1722, in the 72d year of his age. The Duchess, though sixty-two when she was thus left a widow,

still possessed some attractions of person, and proposals of marriage were made to her by Lord Coningsby, and by the Duke of Somerset. In her reply to the latter she declined the connection as unsuitable to her time of life, and added, that if she was only thirty instead of threescore, she would not permit even the Emperor of the world to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John Duke of Marlborough. She survived her husband two and twenty years, and lived to see the magnificent pile of Blenheim completed according to his directions. Queen Anne had promised to build this proud monument of national glory at her own expense,—if Marlborough had not had it finished at his own, it would have remained in its ruins, a striking monument of her fickleness, and of the meanness of her ministers.

If Mr. Coxe by the publication of these volumes had rendered no other service to historical literature than that of clearing Marlborough's character from the imputations with which it has been stained, that service alone would entitle him to the gratitude of all good Englishmen. Madame Sévigné has said *Le monde n'a point de longues injustices*: it were better to say there will be no injustice in the next world,—for that which is committed in this, is often but too lasting in its effects. During a whole century Marlborough has been represented in books both at home and abroad, as a consummate general indeed, but as being devoid of honour and of principle, an intriguer, a traitor, a peculator, and so careless of human life and of human sufferings, that for the sake of his own sordid interests he wantonly prolonged a war which, but for his ambition and his avarice, might many times have been brought to an end. These foul charges were urged against him by persons who knew that they were false—men whom he had patronized and brought forward; and for some of whom he had exerted himself disinterestedly, even so as to offend the whigs with whom he acted. His enemies gave these falsehoods the sanction of authority when they were in power, because it was necessary to sacrifice Marlborough before they could sacrifice the interests of their country, and betray the Protestant succession which they designed to do. And the calumnies which thus originated have prevailed to this day, because they have found their way from libels into history, and still more because they were propagated in the writings of Swift, a principal actor in the moral assassination which was planned and perpetrated by his party. Swift was beyond all comparison the ablest writer of that age: but his conduct upon this occasion, like some other of his actions, cannot be explained by supposing that the malady which rendered him at last so pitiable
a spectacle

a spectacle of human weakness, affected his heart long before it overthrew his intellect.

It is no light wrong to the dead that an honourable name should thus long have been defamed: it is no light injury to the living. What ingenuous mind is there that has not felt sorrow and humiliation for the obliquity and meanness by which the character of Marlborough has hitherto seemed to be degraded? Who is there that has not felt that whatever derogated from the admiration which he would otherwise have merited, was to be regretted as a national evil?—for the reputation of such men as Marlborough, as Nelson, (and let us be allowed to add the only name worthy to be classed with them,) as Wellington, belong to their country. In such names nations have much of their permanent glory, and no small part of their strength: the slanderer, therefore, who detracts from their fame and asperses their memory commits a moral treason,—and as far as he succeeds, inflicts a wound upon his native land; but sooner or later, truth prevails, and his infamy then is in proportion to the merit which he has calumniated. If the spirit of faction did not destroy all sense of shame as well as of honesty, and stultify men while it depraves them, these *Memoirs of Marlborough* would be more efficacious than any other history, that of our own times excepted, in showing such calumniators what kind of reputation they are purchasing for themselves.

Marlborough's character is now laid open to the world, without reserve, from the most unquestionable documents. His early correspondence with James is the only blot, and for that offence, all circumstances being fairly considered, there are few persons who would fling the first stone. After what has already been said upon that subject, it may suffice to observe, that William, who best understood the circumstance, and was the person most offended, entirely excused him; trusted him himself, and recommended him to the full confidence of his successor. Mr. Coxe allows that he was parsimonious; frugality had been a necessary virtue during the first part of his life, and the habit continued after the necessity had ceased,—to this and to nothing more does the charge of parsimony amount. He was not profuse, but he never spared when it was proper that he should spend. In his loans to government, in his buildings and improvements, and in transactions of a public nature, no man was more munificent. The soldiers would not have loved a penurious man, and it is certain that no general ever more entirely possessed the love as well as the confidence of his men. A Chelsea pensioner, at the election of 1737, was threatened with the loss of his pension if he would not vote for Lord Vere at

Windsor. His answer was, 'I will venture starving, rather than it shall be said that I vote against the Duke of Marlborough's grandson, after having followed his grandfather so many hundred leagues.' The Duchess, by whom this anecdote is related, adds, 'I do not know whether they have taken away his pension, but I hope they will: for I have sent him word, if they do take it away, I will settle the same upon him for his life.'

Even his inveterate enemy, Bolingbroke, acknowledged after his death that he was the greatest general and the greatest minister that our country, or any other, had produced. He was, indeed, the main-spring, the life, the moving mind of the whole confederacy. The allies, with jarring views, contradictory interests, and oftentimes with jealous and even hostile feelings also, were kept together less by their common danger from France and their common hopes of security and advantage, than by his influence and his matchless powers of conciliation. They had no confidence in each other, and little confidence in their own councils; but they had each and all a well founded confidence in him. This was known from history. Malice and falsehood, successful as they were, could not conceal or detract from his paramount excellence as a commander and a statesman. The purity of private life was not so generally known, for this had not always been recorded, as it ought to be, for edification and example. He was a faithful husband as well as a fond one. No indecent word or allusion ever passed his lips, and if any person uttered an obscenity before him, he resented it as a personal affront and an act of public immorality. His camp was not like Cromwell's, for Marlborough was neither fanatic nor hypocrite. Colonel Blackader complained of the irreligion and profligacy of his companions; and for this he may have had cause enough; but he was a man of morbid feelings, and a puritanical rigour of manners may not improbably have provoked foolish men to appear in his company worse than they were. Another officer who served in the same army describes the camp as resembling a quiet and well-governed city; and observes, as the effect of Marlborough's regulations and example, that 'cursing and swearing were seldom heard among the officers, and the poor soldiers, many of them the refuse and dregs of the nation, became, at the close of one or two campaigns, civil, sensible and clean, and had an air and spirit above the vulgar.'

But it is only from the present Memoirs that a full knowledge of this admirable man can be obtained. Here we become acquainted with his habitual principles of action, and find in him a complete example of that moral intrepidity which is the highest and rarest of all military and political virtues. Here we behold, in
letters

letters written without reserve or affectation of any kind, the hopes and thoughts and feelings which were revealed only to his nearest and dearest friends. The man who, after such an exposure, rises in our estimation and in our love, has stood the severest test of greatness: nor was he more fitted by his surpassing talents to direct the counsels of princes, arrange campaigns which extended over half Europe, and give his order with unerring promptitude in the heat of battle, than by his virtues and affections for the perfect enjoyment of tranquillity and domestic life. Considering him in all his relations, public and private, it may safely be asserted that Marlborough approaches, almost as nearly as human frailty will allow, to the perfect model of a good patriot, a true statesman, and a consummate general.

ART. II.—*Michael Howe, the last and worst of the Bush Rangers of Van Diemen's Land. Narrative of the Chief Atrocities committed by this Great Murderer and his Associates, during a Period of Six Years, in Van Diemen's Land. From authentic sources of information.* Hobart Town. Printed by Andrew Bent. 12mo. 1818.

THIS is the greatest literary curiosity that has yet come before us—the first child of the press of a state only fifteen years old! It will of course be reprinted here;—but our copy, the copy *penes nos*, is a genuine Caxton, *rarissimus*—nay more, it hath the title-page. Few impressions were thrown off at the Hobart Town Press, for the settlement does not greatly abound in readers; and we therefore recommend the Roxburghe Club to apply early for a copy,* for this little book will assuredly be the ‘Reynarde the Foxe’ of Australian bibliomaniacs.

Van Diemen's Land (of which Hobart Town forms the capital) is an island nearly as large as Ireland, to the south of the colony of New South Wales, better known to our readers, perhaps, by the name of Botany Bay; but separated from the continent of New Holland by a strait of sixty miles in width, called after its enterprizing discoverer Mr. Bass,* and a dependency upon that colony, from which it was sub-colonized. The island was first visited by Lieutenant Flinders and Mr. Bass, at the close of the year 1798, in a small decked boat built at Norfolk Island, of the

* Surgeon of the *Reliance*. Captain Flinders's talents were appreciated by the Admiralty, and he lived to witness the fruit of his labours; but it is a melancholy reflection that his companion, Mr. Bass, left Port Jackson, in the year 1802, as master of a trading vessel, called the *Venus*, which has not since been heard of. She was bound to the coast of Peru; and there are reports that Mr. Bass is still living and settled in that country.

elegant fir of that country. The first European settlement was made at Risdon Cove, in the river Derwent, on the south-east side of the island, in 1803, by Captain John Bowen, of the Navy, who was sent from Port Jackson for that purpose by Governor King; but on the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Collins, the author of the 'Account of New South Wales,' it was removed to Sullivan Cove, where the rising town of Hobart now stands.

As this healthy and fertile island appears to us to be much more congenial than the sultry and unwholesome back woods of America, to such of our countrymen as possess the true feelings of Englishmen, but are nevertheless compelled to carry that name to a foreign land, we shall present them with an authentic and recent picture of its actual state.

The north coast is in latitude $40^{\circ} 41'$, and the southern promontory in $43^{\circ} 38' S$. Its breadth may be taken at 150 miles, and its length at 170. The climate has some peculiarities which cause a milder winter and a warmer summer than might be expected from the latitude of the island, allowing for the estimated difference of temperature between the corresponding parallels of the two hemispheres. The southern part of it being hilly, and towards the extremity even mountainous, the climate of Hobart Town is variable. Gales and hurricanes often occur, but they are generally of short duration. During summer the ordinary course of the weather is the alternate land and sea breeze, the former commencing early in the morning and prevailing till noon, when it is succeeded by the latter, which usually lasts till after sun-set. Occasionally however a hot wind blows from the north or north-west, which, though resembling that of New South Wales, which there raises the thermometer to 106 degrees in the shade, is greatly mitigated in Van Diemen's Land by passing across Bass's Straits. The autumn is generally a serene and delightful season, and the weather continues fine and open to the middle or end of May. In June, rain, sleet and (in elevated situations) snow set in, with strong southerly gales; but even in winter fine weather intervenes, and neither wind nor rains can be said to be periodical. Slight frosts occur at night, but neither ice nor snow remains throughout the day in the vallies and plains. In September the spring rapidly advances, and in October the weather resembles the 'faithless April of an English May.' During the present summer (1818) the thermometer has not exceeded 70° , except one day, on which a hot wind raised it to 80° . The range during the months of December and January has been from 54° to 70° ; but this was a cool season, late rains having fallen at the beginning of it; so that the average may perhaps be taken four or five degrees higher. The mean summer mid-day

day range in the shade is about 65° or 66° . These remarks were made at Hobart Town: in the interior, the climate is more fixed and serene. With such a climate Van Diemen's Land must needs be healthy: no sickness belongs to the country; and the intermittent fever peculiar to new and uncleared lands is unknown here. Convicts, after a voyage from England, without touching at any port by the way, recover their health soon after they land. Hobart Town has been sixteen months together without a funeral; and in a detachment of troops varying from 70 to upwards of 100, no death occurred in three years.

Van Diemen's Land is known to possess only four principal ports.

1. At the upper end of the great Storm Bay running in from the southern ocean, and between thirty and forty miles from the southern capes, is the entrance of the river Derwent, which, besides its direct outlet into Storm Bay, has a lateral one into Storm Bay Passage, (Canal d'Entrecasteaux,) a strait about thirty miles long, dividing the large island Bruny from the main land, and continuing from two to five miles wide, till it opens to the southern ocean, at Tasman's Head. This large inlet presents every where bold shores and deep water, perfectly sheltered from all winds, and forming a magnificent port. The Derwent at its entrance is two miles broad, and takes a northerly course, which varies in breadth from one to two miles, expanding occasionally into large basins equally deep and safe, for the distance of twenty-five miles, to which point ships of 500 tons burthen can navigate with ease. Here the river begins to freshen, and continues hence for the distance of forty miles, narrowing gradually, but affording a safe passage for vessels of fifty tons as far as New Norfolk, where a ridge of rocks forms a rapid, and abruptly terminates the navigation.

About twelve miles up the Derwent, on the western bank, stands Hobart Town, picturesquely placed under a noble mountain called Table, from its shape, but more recently Wellington for its honour. Its height has been ascertained to be upwards of 4000 feet, and down its side trill several rivulets, one of the most considerable of which passes through the town, and discharges itself into Sullivan's Cove. The town is extensive, and the streets, eleven in number, are laid out with regularity and good taste. Several handsome brick houses appear in the principal one, which is sixty feet wide; but the majority of the buildings are of wood and plaster. There are very few that are not whitewashed (for lime abounds in the neighbourhood) and glazed; and each has a garden paled in. Several good public buildings are either completed or in progress
—a large

—a large church of brick and stone, a government-house, a county-gaol, a store and commissariat offices, a barrack for 100 men, and a small hospital fenced in together, a six-gun battery, with a guard-house and magazine, on the south point of the harbour, and a main guard-house in the town.

The plantations or farms of the settlers extend along the banks of the Derwent on both sides. Small farms appear even at the entrance of the river from Storm Bay Passage; for the shores of Van Diemen's Land are not sandy like those of New South Wales, but a rich black mould is often found close to the cliff's head. On the Hobart side the most considerable group of settlements is New Town, which stands about two miles from Hobart Town, and is watered by a fine stream from Mount Wellington. On the opposite bank, a little below Hobart Town, is the settlement of Clarence Plains, consisting of very fertile land; but watered only by lagoons, as is the district adjoining. Farther to the eastward, upon the north and east sides of an extensive salt-water inlet, communicating with what the settlers mistakenly call Frederik Hendrik's bay, is the more considerable settlement of Pittwater, the chief granary of the island. It is watered by two streams, and presents to view a vast extent of naturally cleared ground:—it is indeed one of the characteristics of this island (in which it has the advantage of New South Wales) that it contains extensive and fertile tracts free from timber, the inconvenience and plague of all new countries. On the road from Hobart Town to Port Dalrymple, there is a plain extending in one direction for twenty miles, and clear land is frequent on that side of the island. To the north-west of Pittwater is the Coal-river settlement. About twelve miles higher up, are several farms; midway stands Mount Direction, (a remarkably picturesque hill of vast height,) and gives an air of grandeur and sublimity to the surrounding scenery. There are several scattered farms in this quarter, and on the east bank of the Derwent, as far as New Norfolk. Above the falls at this place the Derwent receives many rivulets; and a most beautiful and fertile country lies idle on its banks. All these settlements form together a county, under the name of Buckinghamshire, comprising about half the island, the other half being called the County of Cornwall.

2. There is a second station at Port Dalrymple, on the river Tamar, which falls into Bass's Straits. Launceston, hitherto the seat of this establishment, is situated forty miles up the river, at the confluence of two small streams, called the North and South Esk, into which the Tamar divides itself. This town is about 120 miles across the island from Hobart Town. The Tamar not being practicable

practicable for large vessels farther than seven or eight miles, a new town is begun near its entrance, called George Town, to which the establishment of Launceston is now removing, a good brick gaol (the *sine quâ non* of colonies like these) being already erected there. The distance between these towns is about forty miles.

3. On the western coast of the island are two ports, the one called Macquarie, extending in a south-east direction, and forming a basin of about forty miles long, and from seven to eight miles broad; but unfortunately it has a very narrow entrance. The channel inwards, which is formed between an island and the west-head of entrance, is very deep, but not more than thirty yards wide: the basin is navigable, but shoally for about eight miles, after which there is deep water in all parts. In its cliffs are veins of coal, and on its shores abundance of useful and valuable timber, particularly a sort of cedar called the Huon pine, much esteemed in the colony and in India for its peculiar property of repelling insects. These productions have attracted the attention of government; and it is intended to form an establishment here.

4. Port Davey, on the same coast, is more to the southward, and is a spacious port with an open entrance; but the country is rocky and barren, and the timber difficult of access.

Into these two ports fall several rivers; one of them, called Gordon's river, has been traced along its sinuosities for about fifty miles. Those to the westward descend from a vast range of mountains which extends north and south the whole length of the island, but nearer to the western than the eastern coast. Upon these mountains, which have terraces at various heights, there are numerous lakes—one said to be sixty miles in circumference, another thirty, a third twelve, and several two or three. Various rivers also run from them to the eastward; as Blackman's river, which divides the counties, and Lake river, which joins the South Esk, about fourteen miles above Launceston. Several others run northerly into Bass's Strait to the westward of the Tamar, of which one forms a shoal port; and there are some from the eastern mountains which fall into the strait to the eastward. It is in the south-east part of this range of mountains that the Derwent rises, as does the Huon, a considerable river to the southward, which falls into Storm Bay Passage near its entrance. Thus every part of the island is well watered.

Farming in an infant and remote colony is necessarily defective in many points; but the wheat of Van Diemen's land averages 60 lbs. to the bushel, and the general produce of an acre is thirty bushels. All the grain and pulse of Europe flourish here; but the climate

climate is not warm enough for maize. In return, that destructive insect, the weevil, will not live in Van Diemen's Land.

With all these advantages of soil and sun, no country appears to have been poorer in indigenous productions of all kinds than this island; in which respect, as in the botany and natural history of what it does produce, it resembles the neighbouring continent. Here also are the eucalyptus, (but by no means so large as that of New South Wales,) the casuarina and mimosa, the kangaroo, the opossum, the emu or cassowary, the ornithorhynchus paradoxus, venomous snakes of various kinds, the black swan, parrots, parroquets, and cockatoos, pelicans, pigeons, quail, snipe and ducks. Peculiar to this island, but of rare occurrence, is the hyæna opossum, so called from its resemblance to the hyæna. It is the only beast of prey in the island; for the native dog, which is so destructive to the sheep of New South Wales, does not exist here.

Of exotic animals, horned cattle, horses, and particularly sheep, thrive and increase—the last, in a prodigious degree; the ewes lambing twice a year, and generally dropping twins. Goats and pigs run wild upon the islands in the Tamar and in the woods.

In the shape of fruit or vegetables nothing edible was found in Van Diemen's Land; but nearly all the fruits of Europe have been successfully introduced there. The grape requires a warm aspect, and the orange and lemon will not ripen except in very favourable situations.

Van Diemen's Land is not, as has been supposed, the Botany Bay of Botany Bay—

‘ — in the lowest deep a lower deep;’—

convicts are transported for further offences from Port Jackson to a settlement called Newcastle, on the coast of New South Wales, to the northward of Port Jackson; and it is intended to establish a new Botany Bay at the recently discovered Port of Macquarie on the eastern coast of New Holland. Van Diemen's Land has a lieutenant-governor and judge-advocate of its own, commissioned by his Majesty; but it has not yet obtained the benefit of a separate criminal jurisdiction, so that prisoners for trial, prosecutors and witnesses, are compelled to make the voyage to Port Jackson. Its civil jurisdiction is confined to causes of 50*l.* value; but the Judge of the Supreme Court of New South Wales has lately made a circuit to the island for the trial of causes of greater value. The colony is peopled by free settlers and convicts from England as well as from New South Wales; and, though the pamphlet before us gives a frightful picture of outlawry and rapine, we understand that under the skilful administration

tration of the present lieutenant-governor (Sorell) the whole island is now quiet and orderly. The necessities of life are cheap, and mere labour is paid at the rate of 7s. 6d. per day; but as there is little specie in the island, promissory notes form the currency, and, as in America, barter (too often of rum) liquidates the debt.

The following is an abstract statement of the population, land in cultivation, and stock, on Van Diemen's Land; taken from the books of the general muster in September, 1818:

At the Settlements on the DERWENT.

At PORT DALRYMPLE.

POPULATION.				POPULATION.			
Free.		Convicts.		Free.		Convicts.	
Men	- - 640	Men	- - - 1,114	Men	- - - 189	Men	- - - 267
Women	- 333	Women	- - 185	Women	- 78	Women	- - 55
Children	- - 483	Children of do.	49	Children	- 150	Children of do.	14
1,456		1,318		417		336	
2,804				753			

LAND,				LAND,			
On which are growing crops of Wheat 3,529				On which are growing crops of Wheat 1,520 ¹ / ₂			
Barley	- - -	- - -	135 ¹ / ₂	Barley	- - -	- - -	73 ¹ / ₂
Peas and Beans	- - -	- - -	145	Peas and Beans	- - -	- - -	3 ¹ / ₂
Potatoes	- - -	- - -	217 ¹ / ₂	Potatoes	- - -	- - -	21 ¹ / ₂

In cultivation besides gardens (acres) 4,057

In cultivation besides gardens (acres) 1,624

STOCK.				STOCK.			
Horse: { Male - - 97				Horses { Male - - 29			
{ Female - - 106 — 203				{ Female - - 32 — 61			
Horned { Male - - 4,663				Horned { Male - - 1,398			
{ Female - - 7,019 — 11,687				{ Female - - 2,271 — 3,669			
Cattle { Male - - 30,680				{ Male - - 13,195			
{ Female - - 62,909 — 93,589				{ Female - - 21,099 — 34,294			

TOTAL ON VAN DIEMENS LAND.

Population (exclusive of the Civil	Horses	- - -	264
Officers and Military) -	Horned Cattle	- - -	15,356
Land in cultivation (acres) -	Sheep	- - -	127,823

The trade of the island is principally with India and the Isle of France. The Derwent offers a convenient rendezvous for the whale fishery, and the oil would find a sure market in India. Salted meat might be sent in great quantities both to the Isle of France and Ceylon; and the wool might be improved, as that of New South Wales has been, for the British market. Wheat, which is grown in quantities considerably exceeding the consumption of the island, has hitherto supplied the deficiencies of the parent colony. Port Dalrymple affords the same assistance to the seal fishery of Bass's Straits as the Derwent does to the southern whale fishery.

The

The following statement will shew the imports and exports at Hobart Town for the years 1817 and 1818:

IMPORTS (exclusive of Government Stores, British Goods, and India Piece-Goods.)

	Spirits. (Gallons.)	Wine. (Gallons.)	Beer. (Casks.)	Sugar. (Tons.)	Soap. (Boxes.)	Tobacco. (Baskets.)	Tea. (Chests.)
1817.	10,313	2,291	47	83	156	370	278
1818.	13,537	4,982	152	100	172	203	311

EXPORTS (exclusive of 250 Tons of Oil taken home by the licensed whaler Anne.)

	Wheat. (Bushels.)	Meat.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Seal and Kangaroo Skins.	Oil. (Tons.)	Potatoes. (Tons.)	Huon Pine. (Feet.)
1817.	24,000	20 tons	—	—	10,000	—	150	—
1818.	8,000	70 casks	92	1,200	10,000	90	—	17,500

The natives of Van Diemen's Land are few in number considering the extent of country which they yet hold free from European invasion. It is probable that their extreme wretchedness forbids their increase. They have been always hostilely inclined, and by no means avail themselves of the freedom of our streets and houses, like the natives of Port Jackson. This feeling is ascribed to a fatal quarrel at the first settling, in which several of them were killed, and the memory of which has been kept alive by occasional encounters in the interior between them and the solitary Europeans employed as stock-keepers. These are frequently assaulted by spears and stones, and are compelled to use fire-arms in their defence. The two parties live in mutual suspicion and dread; and time and conciliation towards such of the natives as afford opportunities of intercourse can alone obliterate the present impression of long cherished animosity. Some intercourse has lately been effected with those of the western coast, and they appear free from all oppression of the colonists. Hence it would seem that, on the other side of the island, the native hostility arises from some ancient grudge, particularly since, from the difficult if not wholly impracticable nature of the western range of mountains, it is very doubtful whether the tribes have any communication unless by the northern extremity of the island. The savages do not eat the cattle or sheep; but they often destroy them and burn the carcasses. They subsist chiefly on kangaroos, opossum, and 'such small deer,' down to the kangaroo-rat, migrating in times of scarcity to the coast for fish.

The great difference between the Indians of Van Diemen's Land and those of New Holland, though the countries are separated

rated by a strait not a hundred miles wide, and studded with islands by means of which canoes might safely pass, and though the rest of nature's productions are nearly the same in both lands, affords a subject of curious speculation. The islanders resemble the African negro in physiognomy much more than the natives of the continent; and the hair of the former is woolly, whereas that of the latter is coarse and straight. Both races are equally free from any tradition of origin, or acquaintance with each other, although their barbarism seems at the extreme pitch. Their languages are entirely different, and it is probable that they never had any connexion with each other.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the Great Andaman island, in the Bay of Bengal, whither the native Indian convicts are now transported. The barbarism of the few inhabitants of this island is said to be equal to that of the New Hollanders; and the following passages from Symes's Embassy to Ava might have been written of the natives of Van Diemen's Land.

' Their sole occupation is to rove along the margin of the sea in quest of a precarious meal of fish. In stature they seldom exceed five feet. Their limbs are disproportionately slender, their bellies protuberant, with high shoulders and large heads; and, strange to find in this part of the world, they are a degenerate race of negroes with woolly hair, flat noses and thick lips. They go quite naked, and are insensible of any shame from exposure. Hunger may (but these instances are rare) induce them to put themselves in the power of strangers; but the moment that want is satisfied, nothing short of coercion can prevent them from returning to a way of life more congenial to their savage nature. Their habitations display little more ingenuity than the dens of wild beasts; four sticks stuck in the ground are bound together at the top, and fastened transversely by others, to which branches of trees are suspended: an opening is left on one side just large enough to admit of entrance: leaves compose their bed.

The reader is now prepared to enter into the little maiden pamphlet before us, if that epithet can, with any propriety, be applied to so monstrous a birth as the ' Life of Michael Howe.' He was born at Pontefract in 1787, and was apprenticed to a merchant vessel at Hull; but he ' shewed his indentures a fair pair of heels,' (as Prince Henry says,) and entered on board a man of war, from which he got away as he could. He was tried at York in 1811 for a highway robbery, and sentenced to seven years transportation. He arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1812, and was assigned by government as a servant to a settler; from this service he absconded into the woods, and joined a party of twenty-eight bush-rangers, as they are called. In this profession he lived

six years of plunder and cruelty, during which he appears to have twice surrendered himself to justice, under proclamations of pardon, but was both times unaccountably suffered to escape again to the woods. It is reproachful to the government of the colony to think that it was after the second of these flights from justice, or at least from confinement, that he committed the murder of the two men who had, as they thought, secured him. By this means he again escaped, to be shot at last by a private soldier of the 48th regiment and another man; for so desperate was this villain, that he was only to be taken dead, and by stratagem.

Howe was without a spark of even the honour of an outlaw; he betrayed his colleagues upon surrendering himself to government, and he fired upon the native girl, his companion, when she became an impediment to his flight. He was reduced at last to abandonment, even by his own gang; and 100 guineas, and (if a convict should take him) a free pardon and a passage to England, were set upon his head. He was now a wretched, conscience-haunted solitary, hiding in dingles, and only tracked by the sagacity of the native girl, to whom he had behaved so ungratefully, and who was now employed by the police to revenge his cruelty to her. His arms, ammunition, dogs and knapsack were first taken from him; and in the last was found a little memorandum-book of kangaroo skin, written by himself in kangaroo blood. It contained a sort of journal of his dreams, which shewed strongly the wretched state of his mind, and some tincture of superstition. It appears that he frequently dreamt of being murdered by natives, of seeing his old companions, of being nearly taken by a soldier; and in one instance only, humanity asserts itself even in the breast of Michael Howe, for we find him recording that he dreamt of his sister. It also appears from this little book, that he had once an idea of settling in the woods; for it contains long lists of such seeds as he wished to have, vegetables, fruits, and even flowers!

We are happy to hear that these bush-rangers are at length exterminated. They were a heavy drawback upon the industry of a young colony; and settlers were fain to pay them black-mail as a composition for escape from worse plunder. It was more than conjectured in Van Diemen's Land that these freebooters could not have maintained themselves so long, had not they found abettors, concealers, and receivers of their spoils. They would *lift* a flock of sheep from one farmer and turn it into the pasture of another, marking the animals as his; and the destruction of this staple stock of the colony was immense, for the outlaws were often compelled to secrete themselves in recesses till a score of sheep (sometimes their only fare) was devoured or wasted by them.

We

We repeat our hope that this narrative (which by the way might have been drawn up with more plainness and simplicity) will be hereafter as merely a matter of curious history in Van Diemen's Land, as it is in this country; and we desire to see the next literary production of the Hobart Town press more pleasing in the manner, and less tragical in the matter. It is natural that the early literature of such a colony should consist of last dying speeches and confessions; but even such literature is better than none; and we understand that Hobart Town now publishes a weekly Gazette, and that the government, whose organ it is, is administered by a man of talent and reading.

ART. III.—*Voyage dans le Levant en 1817 et 1818. Tome I.*

Large folio. Par le Comte de Forbin. Paris.

THE precise object of the Count de Forbin's '*Voyage dans le Levant*' is not quite apparent from its fruits.—It may have been undertaken with the view of enabling the 'Director General of Museums' to exhibit his talent as an artist in seventy or eighty indifferent specimens of lithography, of which half-a-dozen of the worst bear his name;—or to gratify his royal patron Louis XVIII., by presenting to him a volume equal at least in dimensions to the '*Grand Livre*' on Egypt, which the Savans of the Institute laid at the feet of Napoleon Buonaparte:—for the purpose of collecting information, it could hardly have been undertaken; for it literally contains none. It would be equally difficult to discover on what grounds an old and meritorious servant, who, like Denon, had distinguished himself by his knowledge of antiquities, by his taste and execution in the fine arts, and by his zeal for their promotion among his countrymen, was dismissed to make room for the present Apollo of the Museum, who has not the good fortune to be gifted with science, art, or taste, or even with the semblance of zeal or respect for any of them.

If we did not happen to know Count Forbin to be the most dapper and the best dressed gentleman in all Paris,—the very *dandy* of the Museum,—we should not have failed to suspect as much from a hint modestly conveyed to us in the opening of his work:—so greatly, it seems, is he *recherché* in Paris, that he was afraid to give the least intimation of 'the difficult and hazardous enterprize' he was about to undertake, lest he should find himself unable to resist the remonstrances of his friends, or to tear himself away from their embraces.

When the important day arrived on which our daring adventurer was 'to confide his destiny to chance,' he set off (secretly, of course) for Marseilles; and having collected into his train a skilful

architect, a celebrated panoramist, an aspiring artist, and a clerical cousin, embarked with them on board the *Cleopatra* frigate, one of the squadron destined for the Levant. They left Toulon on the 21st of August, and fell in with the coast of Africa on the 25th. On the 2d September they reached Milo, where our traveller, for his coup d'essai, scrambled to the top of a mountain which he calls *Mazroutcho*, (*Mawoteiché*, we presume,) and, from the door of a solitary monastery inhabited by one poor Greek priest, enjoyed, he says, a magnificent view of the *whole* Grecian archipelago,—‘*tout l'archipel de la Grèce*:’—and as extensive, we may add, as ‘magnificent,’ since it embraced a circuit of about 450 English miles!

He was now transferred to the *Hazard* brig, bound to Athens, where he arrived on the 5th September. We know not what portion of the fortnight which our author passed here, he dedicated to the examination of the remains of antiquity in the city of Minerva, as he terms it; nor to what specific description of them his attention was principally directed: but if he gives us little information on these points, we have at least no reason to complain of a want of vapid declamation and mawkish sentiment, or, as he is pleased to call it, ‘*rêverie*,’ of which the following may serve as a specimen.

‘It was my frequent custom to walk out at night, because the hour of darkness seemed to put me in communication with the past. It is then that the imagination without effort reaches the most splendid edifices; and the dubious light of the moon aids these magnificent resurrections. I peopled the porticoes and the public places with illustrious shades; I agitated the multitude by the uncertainty of a defeat or a triumph; the temples opened, and I fancied that I heard the warlike spirits of the citizens; the impassioned accents of the orators, and the tumult of a free people, jealous of their glory, devoting to the infernal deities all the enemies of their independence.’ (p. 14.)

He was not, however, so entirely engrossed by these sublime speculations, but that he found leisure (besides assisting at a number of weddings, dances, &c.) to fill his portfolio; and we have no doubt that, when the other elephantine volume (with which we are to be favoured) shall be launched, he will be ready to say, as one of his countrymen did to a gentleman about to set out on his travels into Egypt, ‘*Attendez, Monsieur*,—laying his hand on the great book of the Savans of the Institute,—‘*il n’y a rien à faire, il n’y a rien à voir, soyez tranquille, ici vous trouverez tout*:’—there is nothing to see, nothing to do, make yourself easy, here you will find every thing!

Our readers already know that Lord Elgin (following the example of the French) removed several of the decaying metopes from
the

the Temple of Minerva; leaving, as it appears, no more than twenty-eight behind him, one of which only was in a tolerable state of preservation. This was sufficiently vexatious.—But the Count has his revenge; and grows quite brilliant at his lordship's expense. 'A l'époque de l'expédition de Lord Elgin, on remplaça, par un pilier de maçonnerie, la Cariatide de l'angle de la Chapelle de Pandrose; cette statue qu'il emporta était la mieux conservée. On écrivit sur la plus voisine, *Opus Phidie*; et sur le pilier informe, *Opus Elgin*.'—(p. 11.)

This would have been fair enough; but unluckily it is not true:—the inscription on the first pillar (which the Count could not read) is in Greek,—'Ελγιν ἐποίησε'; that on the other, (which the Count could not see,) is in Latin—

'Quod non fecerunt Goti
Hoc fecerunt Scoti.'

But though we may indulge a smile at this facetious sally on Lord Elgin, we cannot extend our complaisance quite so far as to humour the Director General of Museums in the effusion of his spleen against a most industrious and meritorious body of artists, to whose labours we are indebted for the best models in ancient art which time has spared to us.

'J'y trouvai aussi plusieurs artistes Anglais ou Allemands, dessinant, mesurant, depuis plusieurs années, avec l'exactitude minutieuse des commentateurs les plus scrupuleux, ces monumens, noble création du génie. Esclaves malheureux des règles, des moindres caprices des anciens, ils écrivent des volumes pour relever une erreur de trois lignes commise en 1680, sur la mesure d'une architrave; ils s'appesantissent, s'endorment, et demeurent huit ans à Athènes pour dessiner trois colonnes.' (p. 13.)

We can easily believe that this spruce Frenchman and his companions would have carried away in their portfolios, not only the 'three columns,' but all Athens, nay, all Greece, in one-third of the time that these 'unhappy slaves of rules' have been 'poring and dosing, and lingering over their labours;' but then, these labours will bear to be examined and compared with the originals; and when they come to be submitted to public inspection, it will not be found that the authors of them, whether English or German, have represented black for white, blue for yellow, red for green, round for square, a land tortoise for a river-horse, or the inverted heads of goats for cherubs on the wing to the abodes of bliss!* Nor will the members of the Institutes or Academies of their respective countries, who may have vouched for their accuracy, need to blush at having imposed on the world their idle conceits and misrepres-

* Quarterly Review, No. XXXVIII. page 240.

sentations, as 'faithful copies of ancient art, carefully traced and accurately coloured from the originals.'

The vanity and self-sufficiency of the Count are mortified beyond measure by the popularity of the English; and his imagination is perpetually haunted by the idea of their intruding themselves into every corner of the East. He is equally offended at the snail-paced diligence of one set of our countrymen, and at the rapidity with which another set are whirled round the world;—'des Anglais riches, dont l'affaire importante était de traverser la Grèce le plus promptement possible.' (p. 13.) We suspect however that it would be difficult to find any 'rich Englishman' travelling with greater celerity, or passing the most interesting objects with greater indifference, than the Count himself. It will hardly be credited that this virtuoso, who presides over the paintings, the statuary, and the vast collection of antiquities in the great city of Paris, who travelled with all the pomp and parade of artists and savans in his train, had not the curiosity to go a few miles out of his way to visit the plains of Marathon, the strait of Thermopylæ, or the ruins of Corinth!—that when he quitted 'the city of Minerva,' (to which his researches were confined,) for Constantinople, he blest the favourable south-west breeze which hurried him past the shores of the Troad!—and that he flew from Constantinople to Smyrna, and from Smyrna to St. Jean d'Acre, without attempting to land on a single island of that archipelago which his comprehensive vision had taken in at a glance, or without visiting one spot of classical renown, with the solitary exception of Ephesus!

It was a fine day (it is generally so in September) when the Count arrived at Constantinople, and his eyes were dazzled with the view; the passage-boats were skimming the surface of the water, the domes of the mosques and the gilded shafts of the minarets were illumined with the sun's rays; and no Englishman as yet had crossed his path to disturb his enjoyment of the grand prospect. His heart began to sink, however, when he heard that the plague was raging, and had found its way into the corps diplomatique; and the impossibility of passing the narrow and slippery streets of Constantinople 'without coming in contact with the end of a shawl, or the loose robe or caftan,' was not calculated to allay the agitation of his nerves.

Other troubles assailed him in this great city. Every where the Turks elbowed him, the Jews bowed the head to him, the Greeks grinned at him, the Armenians cheated him, (p. 46.) the dogs barked at him, the pigeons alighted on his shoulders, (this requires confirmation, as his countrymen say,) and while some light-heeled groups were dancing around him, others were dying in agonies; and thus he constantly found himself surrounded with mirth and

mourning, and peril of the plague. Still no Englishman ‘seared his eye-balls,’ though their traces were every where visible; and he took the favourable opportunity of speculating on the unaccountable duration of the Ottoman empire. At first, it struck him to be the title *alone* that supports the sultan on the most *tottering throne of Europe*;—no, not that alone; a moment’s reflection told him it was the influence of Russia;—no, that would not do neither;—he reflects for another moment; and the truth bursts upon him in full radiance—‘it was England that protected this tottering empire, the weakness of which is favourable to the commercial tyranny of that country!’—The ‘commercial tyranny of England’ is a cant phrase in the mouth of a Frenchman, which means—what he is always unwilling to express—superior skill, enterprize, punctuality, integrity, and honour.

Having for our own purpose explained what is meant by ‘commercial tyranny,’ we will, for the individual benefit of Count Forbin, tell him what we consider as an act of commercial meanness. Is the Count acquainted with a certain person, who, when he was sent officially to negotiate an exchange of casts of the metopes and other works of art with the British Museum, took advantage of the circumstance, and endeavoured to make it a condition that two hundred copies of his huge volume should be admitted into England duty-free, which, at £2 : 8s. 6d. a volume, (the duty on each,) would have put into his own pocket about five hundred pounds! This act, of which he may be assured no English gentleman would or could be guilty, comes under that description—the Count, perhaps, may give it another name; but its nature will remain unchanged.

At Ephesus, where we left our traveller, he saw several Greek inscriptions on the gate of the Stadium, which he did *not* copy, and two on an arcade in the theatre which he *would have* copied but could not, ‘*parce qu’elles avaient été laissées remplies de plâtre par des Anglais, amis des sciences et toujours soigneux des jouissances des autres.*’ The sneer against the hated English could scarcely by any possibility have been so ill applied as in this place; but it shows the utter ignorance of the ‘man of art’ in matters intimately connected with his profession. Had he really been able to copy Greek, no method could have assisted him so effectually as that of filling up the letters with plaster: this was first ingeniously practised by Colonel Squire while serving in Egypt under the command of Lord Hutchinson; and by it he was enabled to decypher an inscription which had hitherto baffled the efforts of every traveller, (including the whole of Buonaparte’s corps of savans,) and to shew that the column vulgarly named after Pompey was in fact erected under the reign of the Emperor Dioclesian. We further

ther infer the Count's ignorance of Greek from his taking no notice of the 'several inscriptions on the gates of the Stadium' in that language; but contenting himself with placing before the eyes of his readers, one in large Roman capitals, (and it is the only one in his book,)—ACCENSO RENS ET ASIÆ, which he tells us is *Latin*. We will take his word for it:—and as he modestly abstains from translating this precious morsel, lest, we suppose, he should appear to insult the understanding of his readers, we cannot do better than follow his example.

As the south-west wind had favoured the Count with a rapid passage through the Dardanelles, so a fresh breeze from the north-west now happily relieved him from the fatigue of landing on any of the islands usually visited by travellers,—Scio, Nacri, Lipso, Patmos, Lero, Colminé, Stanco, or even Rhodes itself,—and on the 6th November he was safely put on shore at St. Jean d'Acre.

Many years have not elapsed since a French army sat down before this city, and put in practice all the means that a ferocious soldiery, headed by a blood-thirsty commander, could devise, to destroy the unoffending inhabitants, and reduce their dwellings to heaps of ashes; and European travellers, as might be expected, have heard only curses loud and deep against the unprovoked aggression.—Not so, however, Count Forbin—his ear was soothed with the most enchanting panegyrics of his brave and humane countrymen—'Ils parlaient avec admiration des efforts de l'armée Française dans l'Orient!' This is almost too much for the politicians of the Palais Royal to digest.—What! on the very spot distinguished (according to his own avowal) by the most sanguinary transactions of his countrymen—are the inhabitants so lost to every sense of feeling, that, ere the tear is dry upon the widow's cheek, they celebrate the achievements of the French? We should just as soon believe that 'the people of Jaffa, whose plains are still white with the bones of massacred prisoners,' are lavish in their praise and admiration of the prowess and bland humanity of Buonaparte.

It would be useless to follow the Count over various parts of Palestine, or to extract any of his 'reveries' in the Holy city; where, as in Athens, he enjoys a sort of second-sight, different however from that of our northern neighbours, and more safe, as it shews him the past instead of the future,—thus 'the most terrible scenes are presented to his view—the flames of the temple mount into the highest regions of the air, which they kindle into a blaze—the celestial hosts behold them with a holy terror, &c.' (p. 40.) If he enters into any particular remarks, they are generally trite, very often childish, and almost always calculated to give false impressions: they are the less likely to mislead, however, as he generally takes care to refute them himself.

‘ Dans toute la Judée, quelques pluies seulement indiquent l’hiver ; l’automne n’apporte point de fruits, le printemps ne fait pas éclore une fleur, et cependant les ardeurs de l’été consomment Haceldama, et tarissent la source de Siloé ; on croiroit qu’il n’y a plus de saisons pour cette contrée malheureuse. ’—p. 32.

‘ In all Judæa a few showers *only* indicate winter,’ says Count Forbin. (p. 44.) ‘ The climate of Jerusalem is *frequently rigorous* during winter ; *snow* sometimes falls ; and the *cold* was somewhat *intense* when we prepared to leave it,’ says the Director General of Museums. (p. 45.) ‘ There are no longer any *seasons* for this unhappy country,’ says the Count ; ‘ it was *winter* at Jerusalem, and *spring* at Jaffa,’ says the Director. (p. 45.) ‘ There are no *fruits* in *autumn*, and no flowers in the *spring* in all Judæa.’ Yet he found great plenty of *fruit-trees*, and ate also of their fruits ! Had he condescended to open Hasselquist, or to look into the pages of any of the more recent travellers before he wrote, he might have learned that no country in the world possesses a greater profusion of wild flowers than the land of Judah ;—that it is peculiarly adapted for flocks and herds, and bees, and eminently entitled to be called, in the language of Scripture, ‘ a land flowing with milk and honey.’ But it is needless to dwell longer on the Director General’s perplexing description of ‘ this unhappy country,—which has no seasons—no flowers in the spring, and no fruits in the autumn’—when it appears, from his own account, that he never saw it either in spring, summer, or autumn, but only galloped through it at a prodigious rate in the month of November.

The Count left Jerusalem on the 2d December, and returned by Jaffa, where, he says, the Aga frequently spoke of the French armies ; but he prudently suppresses the nature of the conversation. He makes amends, however, for his silence on this subject by the following paragraph, which is in the very best style of sentimental gallimaufry. ‘ How often in this fine climate have I regretted the fogs and cloudy sky of France ! How often have my eyes been turned sorrowfully towards the west !—A young swallow was the companion of my chamber ; it settled every evening on a peg in the wall, and every morning at sun-rise I gave my little friend his liberty. It is not improbable that he came from France ; and he may have quitted a roof which sheltered the object of my tender solicitude.’ (p. 47.) How rural ! as Peter Pastoral says.

From Jaffa he proceeded by Ashdad, Gaza, and El Arish, across the desert, to Egypt. To shorten the tedious uniformity of the way, he listened to a melting tale of love and murder told by an Arab, which he has printed, as ‘ an interesting episode’ ; and embellished with a lithographic print, for the edification of the Parisian antiquaries.

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The unhappy Count seems doomed, wherever he turns his steps, to meet with nothing but grievances. To say nothing of the English; blind men and buffaloes, processions of marriages, executions and burials, fish-dealers and fellahs, perpetually impeded his way 'among the infectious canals and ruined houses of Damietta': nor was the passage over the plain of Massoura calculated to raise his spirits—for here, says he, the reflection crossed me that I was on the field where 'fortune proved treacherous to French valour.' He soon rallies his spirits, however, and magnanimously declares that, after all, when he recollected the trophies of Buonaparte, and traced the career of the French armies in Egypt, under the shade of the palms which embellished the heritage of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, 'he should have thought himself happy to have been one of the lowest ranks in the rear-guard.' It is not for us to dispute this point, nor to deny that our chivalrous traveller is better fitted for the situation of a corporal in Buonaparte's army than to preside over the arts and antiquities of the Royal Museum of Paris; but we cannot help thinking that he takes rather an ungracious manner of repaying the patronage of Louis XVIII. by such a declaration.

At Cairo, as might have been anticipated, our adventurer observed Turks, Arabs, Copts, Armenians, Jews, asses, mules, camels, pilgrims returning from Mecca, and hungry dogs howling after them, and all jostling and crowding together. 'To escape from the press, I entered,' he says, 'almost all the mosques of the city with bended knees; and protected by my Mussulman costume, mumbled over the formula of the faith, with my beard in close contact with the sacred stone.' (p. 72.) There are so many little oversights in the Count's narrative, so many petty sacrifices of accuracy to effect, that he will, we are quite sure, excuse us for doubting, whether, at his devotions, or on any other occasion, he adopted the 'Mussulman costume.' At Cairo, as in London, nobody cares much about the costume of a stranger: in travelling up the Nile, indeed, a Turkish dress is extremely convenient to prevent troublesome curiosity; yet at Thebes *we know* that the Count wore no such dress; while his flowing beard, instead of being long enough to touch 'la pierre sacrée,' had moulted; and

'his chin new reaped,
Shewed like a stubble land at harvest home.'

But his beard was not the only thing that did not follow him to Thebes; he appears to have left his recollection also somewhere on the road. 'La chaleur (he says) était déjà insupportable à Thèbes *dans les premiers jours de Mars.*' Now we must remind him that he arrived at Luxor, a village on the site of ancient Thebes, on the 28th of January, and left it *the first week in February*; and consequently

quently could not have suffered from the insupportable heat there in the 'first days of March.' We do not know that the Count will thank us; but some of his fair countrywomen who have 'trembled at his desperate hardihood,' may perhaps feel relieved at being informed that at Thebes, (situated in about 26° of northern latitude,) where 'he found the very pebbles burning hot,' the heat is moderate, and the weather perfectly delightful both in February and March. Again—

'On éprouve souvent pendant le jour, dès qu'on s'éloigne du Nil, une fièvre presque inconnue en Europe, celle de la soif. Cette souffrance cruelle est au-dessus de toute expression; elle a son sommeil, son délire; on rêve douloureusement le souvenir des vallées les plus fraîches, des boissons glacées; et la mémoire devient le tourment le plus terrible de cette maladie Africaine.' (p. 94.)

This African malady, in which 'on rêve douloureusement,' is not, we suspect, confined to the banks of the Nile. Surely the Count cannot suppose that, after all the journies which have been made through every corner of Egypt, it is not perfectly well known, that from Cairo to Assouan, about six hundred miles, the habitable part of the valley of the Nile extends not farther from the river on either side than its waters can be conveyed for the purposes of irrigation; that it is so conveyed in canals; that there is scarcely a mile without a village; and that for these reasons the last solicitude that any traveller need to feel, is about a supply of water.

It was not, however, the dread of a want of water which finally arrested the progress of the Count, and prevented him from treading the soil of Meroe, and of fifty other places, which he *would have* visited, and was the more desirous of visiting because unpolluted by the feet of any English traveller:—such an obstacle would have been nobly surmounted by that spirit of enterprize which had already carried him through so many other difficulties. No—it was a Gorgon, a chimera more formidable than—but let him tell the dreadful tale in his own words:

'I *had* intended to visit Elephantine, Syene, Philæ, Ipsambul, and to penetrate as far as the island of Meroe, but there enters always more or less a spirit of adventure in these distant excursions; the desire of seeing places that are little known has a powerful tendency to support the fatigues and privations of a long voyage. If every body has been able to see that which we are in search of, disgust threatens us, and discouragement follows it very soon.'—'I no longer experienced a wish to ascend the Nile from the moment I observed an English family arrive at Thebes on their return from the Cataracts. Lord and Lady Belmour had visited a part of Nubia; they had travelled in the most splendid style; three or four large boats followed the one in which they sailed. Husbands, wives, children, chaplains, surgeons, nurses, cooks,—all babbling of Elephantine. From this moment the illusion vanished for me—
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there was an end of the matter. I even set off from Thebes sooner than I had intended, finding it quite impossible to support the perpetual appearance among these venerable ruins of an English lady's-maid—une *femme-de-chambre Anglaise en petit spencer couleur de rose!*—

———— filthy hags!

Why do you shew me this?

‘Having no longer any desire to look at any thing, I departed that very night.’*—p. 94.

A smart English waiting-maid in a rose-colour spencer! Well might the gallant spirit that was so desirous of serving in the very rump of Buonaparte's army in Egypt be appalled.—We see him at this moment starting back in visible trepidation, and exclaiming to the unconscious damsel,

‘Approach thou like the rugged Russian bear,
The arm'd rhinoceros, or the Hyrcan tyger;
Take any shape but that, and my firm nerves
Shall never tremble.’

If it were worth while to be serious upon so ridiculous a subject, we might ask the Count what, since the Anglophobia had such an effect on his delicate nerves, induced him to leave the pulchus of the Palais Royal? If he ever read at all, even the periodical journals of his own country, he must have known that every spot within his *intended* voyage had already been defiled, and rendered unworthy of his grand enterprize, by the presence of Englishmen, aye, and English women too. But here again we have what the lawyers call a lapse *de facto*: Count Forbin *neither did nor could* see Lord Belmore's family arrive at Thebes; for on the very day (the 13th of January) that his lordship reached Thebes, he was, by his own account, at Cairo. Two English servants, a lady's maid, two seamen belonging to his lordship's yacht, and an Arab procured at Esnè, composed the whole of Lord Belmore's suit; and two boats only made up his formidable fleet! That the Count should mistake *blue* for *rose-colour*, (after the example set him at home,) need not excite much surprize, especially when his situation is considered:—that he has done so, we can take upon us to affirm—*Et nos in Arcadia*.—We happen to know that this *rose-coloured spencer*, which had such important effects on the Count's destiny, and deprived France, and the world, of almost all that he ‘*would have seen*,’ is a *pale blue pelisse*, not much unlike the outer robe of a

* These ludicrous embarrassments of the poor Count have found a sympathizing English critic, who bewails the practice of suffering nursery-maids and boarding-school misses to tread on classic ground, and to disturb the antiquary in his profound researches; and in a high strain of mawkish affectation utters that so many of his countrymen should record their names in ‘depositories of the effusions of travelling folly and egotism,’ or in ‘the police books of the continent.’

Turkish lady, and very well adapted to the purposes of oriental travelling.

But misfortunes never come alone.—To aggravate his distress in the fatal neighbourhood of Thebes, he discovered, on the leg of the colossal statue of Memnon, the name and London residence of an ‘obscure English baronet,’ close by the side of that of Cæsar; but *not* that of General Rapp,—‘because’ (as the Count opportunely assures us) ‘a truly honest ambition is modest.’—Honesty and modesty associated with the name of Rapp!—But he is right—Rapp, as well as his master, employed his short leisure in Egypt in plundering and cutting the throats of the unoffending natives,—a matter far more to the taste of both than engraving their names on granite.

The ‘unpardonable egotism of Mr. Salt,’ whom the Count, with his usual accuracy, designates as a person employed ‘to make discoveries for la Société des Antiquaires de Londres,’ is the last of his tirades which we shall notice.* The specific crime laid to the charge of this gentleman is that of filling up the space round the lower part of the Sphinx, which, under his superintendence, had been opened by Caviglia; and not waiting for the arrival of our learned antiquary, that ‘an active and vigorous investigation might have been entered upon, which could not fail to throw great light on the history of the arts in ancient days.’ However well qualified the Director of Museums may be for assisting in such an investigation, he is completely ignorant of the nature of the undertaking. Had he thought proper to inquire, he would have learned that so difficult was it to keep out the sand, that the labours of the day were frequently frustrated by its falling in during the night, and that in a very few days it would have nearly acquired its former level. Before this took place, Mr. Salt caused accurate drawings to be made of the ground-plan, the temples, the paws, and the inscriptions upon them; (See our No. XXXVIII. p. 409. 416.) but having heard, on his return to Cairo, that the Arabs had, as usual, commenced the work of destruction, and that the women were breaking off fragments to wear as amulets or charms, he immediately dispatched, in concert with Caviglia, some workmen to

* We understand that Count Forbin is again pricked forth in quest of adventures in ‘countries far away.’ He has outstript our advice on the present occasion; but we hope to be in time to advise him, ere his next appearance, to take the opinion of some discreet friend, as he was prudent enough to do on a former occasion at Parma, where he intended to print his ‘Travels in Sicily.’ This friend, having attentively perused his manuscript, conjured him by no means to commit his character with the literary world, as something of history, science, or antiquity, would be expected from a man of his rank and station:—‘But,’ continued he, ‘your work is light and amusing enough, and you need only add a few pretty prints, and change the title to that of “a Sicilian Romance,” and it will do very well as a book for the ladies.’—and as a romance it was accordingly published; but we believe not much read even ‘by the ladies.’

cover up, without delay, what the winds would have accomplished in the course of a week. Having thus preserved this ancient monument, after 'an active and vigorous investigation,' it remains for the French consul to uncover it again; if his countrymen are not satisfied with the account of it which we have already given.

The situation which Count Forbin fills ought to set him above those paltry feelings of jealousy which he every where discovers. He cannot possibly expect to gain any credit with the thinking part of mankind for his fretful calumnies against the English. We, however, are fully capable of defending ourselves; but we observe, in addition, an ungenerous and unmanly endeavour (for such we must think it) to depreciate the valuable labours of an unobtrusive foreigner, simply because he happens to be assisted by the British Consul. In this, indeed, the Count is not singular: others of his countrymen have manifested the same unworthy feeling, and one of their journalists, now before us, sobs out that 'it is quite *painful* to think that all the discoveries of Belzoni should go to the British Museum.'

But detraction, it would appear, is not all that Mr. Belzoni has had to sustain from this irrational jealousy. M. Drovetti, French consul, has, as Count Forbin informs us, two agents at Thebes; the one a Mameluke named Yousef, originally a drummer in the French army; the other a Marseillaise renegade of the name of Rizzo, 'small in stature, bold, enterprising, and choleric, beating the Arabs because they had neither time nor taste to understand the Provencal language.' These persons are more than suspected of being concerned in a plot against the life of Mr. Belzoni, who was recently fired at from behind a wall, while employed in his researches among the ruins of Carnac, where these two fellows were then known to be lurking. The affair has been brought before the Consular Court at Cairo, and we trust that M. Drovetti, for the sake of his own character, and that of his country, will not interfere with the judicial proceedings, nor attempt to shelter his agents from the punishment which awaits them.

But Mr. Belzoni had committed an unpardonable offence. A French mineralogist of the name of Caillaud had accompanied some Arab soldiers sent by the Pasha of Egypt in search of emeralds among the mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea. On their return, this person gave out (as we learn from an intelligent correspondent in the Malta Gazette) that, in this expedition, he had discovered the ancient city of the Ptolemies, the celebrated Berenice, the great emporium of Europe and the Indies, of which he gave a magnificent description. Mr. Belzoni, doubtful of the accuracy of the story, set out from Edfoo, with one of the former party, to visit the supposed Berenice, where, instead of the ruins of 800
houses

houses and three temples, as stated by M. Caillaud, he could find no more than 87 scattered houses, or rather cells, the greater number of which did not exceed *ten feet square*, built with unhewn stones, and without cement; and the only appearance of a temple was a niche in the rock, without inscription or sculpture of any kind: there was no land for cultivation, nor any water within twenty-four miles; no communication with the sea but by a rough road over the mountains of twenty-five miles, and the shore was so covered with projecting rocks for twenty or thirty miles on each side, that there was no security even for the smallest boats, much less for ships trading to India. These, therefore, he was quite certain, could not be the remains of Berenicè.

As, however, the site of this celebrated city had been fully described by the ancient writers, Mr. Belzoni determined to prosecute his researches; and at the end of twenty days, he discovered, close to the shore, the extensive ruins of an ancient city near the Cape *Lepte Extrema*, the Ras el Auf of the present day; the projection of which forms an ample bay, (now named Foul Bay,) having, at the bottom, an excellent harbour for vessels of small burden. These ruins, which are, beyond question, those of the celebrated emporium founded by Ptolemy Philadelphus, were four days' journey from the rude cells of the quarrymen or miners, which M. Caillaud is stated to have so strangely mistaken for the magnificent vestiges of the ancient Berenicè. Several wells of bitter water were found among the ruins; and between them and the mountains was an extensive plain fit for cultivation. The remains of more than 3,000 houses were counted, about the centre of which were those of a temple with sculptured figures and hieroglyphics. The temple alone was built of calcareous stone; the materials of the houses consisting of coral rock and other beautiful petrifications; a mixture of Greek and Egyptian remains was observable both in the ruins of the temple and the houses.

Before we quit the subject of Mr. Belzoni, we shall just mention that, previously to his leaving Egypt, he made a tour to El Wahi (the bushes), the northern Oasis. He found, as Hornemann had done, the tops of the hills of the desert encrusted with salt, and wells of sweet water rising out of a surface overspread with masses of salt; as Herodotus related two and twenty centuries ago. He found also the remains of what has been considered as the Temple of Jupiter Ammon; but the natives were as jealous and as unwilling to let him see this 'work of the infidels,' as Hornemann had found them to be. The fine rivulet of sweet water, whose source this traveller describes as being in a grove of date trees, and which Brown was told by the people 'was sometimes cold and sometimes warm,' was also visited by Mr. Belzoni; who says he proved the truth of what

what is stated by Herodotus, that this spring is warm in the mornings and evenings, much more so at midnight, and cold in the middle of the day. He procured some of the water, which he means to send to London to be analysed. Had Mr. Belzoni possessed a thermometer, he would have found that it was the temperature of the air which had changed, while that of the 'Fountain of the Sun' remained the same. The fact, however, of the great change of temperature in the twenty-four hours, which is always the case where beds of nitre are found, adds another to the many wonderful instances adduced of the minute attention and accurate observation of the most ancient and valuable writer of profane history.

ART. IV. 1. *Report from the Select Committee on the Highways of the Kingdom, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.* pp. 58.

2. *A Practical Essay on the scientific Repair and Preservation of Public Roads*,—presented to the Board of Agriculture by John Loudon M'Adam, Esq. pp. 18.

3. *Remarks on the present System of Road Making, with Observations deduced from Practice and Experience, &c.* By John Loudon M'Adam, Esq. General Surveyor of the Roads in the Bristol District. pp. 47.

4. *An Essay on the Construction of Roads and Carriages.* By Richard Lovell Edgeworth, Esq. F.R.S. M.R.I.A.

5. *A Practical Treatise on the making and upholding of Public Roads, with a few Remarks on forming Approaches to Gentlemen's Houses; and a Dissertation on the Utility of Broad Wheels and other Improvements.* By James Paterson, Road Surveyor, Montrose.

AMONG the various branches of rural economy which claim the attention of the public, the state of the roads is not one of the least important. All classes of his Majesty's subjects, from the driver of the barouche and four down to the humble cottager who, on the Saturday evening, trudges to the nearest market-town for her weekly supply of tea and sugar, are interested in performing their respective journeys with as much facility as possible.

The increased population and internal commerce of the country, of course occasion an increased wear of the roads, which, in a variety of instances, are still further deteriorated by circumstances of a local nature. Inclosures, paradoxical as at first sight it may appear, have, we believe, in some cases produced this effect. While the greater part of any given district was in a state of uncultivated nature, the inhabitants maintained one or two formed roads

roads in the most important lines of communication, and in other directions took what track they chose, as a Calmuck over his steppe, or a La Platan over his savanna; while the labour and money appropriated to such purposes were applied entirely to the more favoured routes. When, however, in lieu of these common tracks, the high powers of an Inclosure act substituted regularly constructed highways, the road-revenue of the district, as well as the attention of the surveyor, was divided between several lines of road, instead of being concentrated upon one or two. Of inclosures indeed we would speak respectfully, not only as an improvement in other points of view, but as usually facilitating the intercourse between place and place. Canals are an *improvement* (if we may be guilty of the solecism) of a more questionable nature. One of the advantages which we were taught to expect from them, was the preservation of the roads, by the substitution of water-carriage for all heavy commodities. That this has in some degree been the case, we by no means deny. In particular districts however the effect has been the reverse, as the carriage of corn *to* the several wharfs, and of coal, stone, and slate *from* them, has contributed much to destroy the roads in their neighbourhood. In the case of turnpike-roads indeed, the increase of toll may nearly compensate the increase of wear; but to individual parishes, the expense arising from this wharf-traffic has in some instances that have come to our knowledge been enormous.

After all, we would not be understood as contending that the roads of the kingdom are worse than they were ten or twenty years ago; on the whole, perhaps, they are better. • It admits of no dispute, however, that they are, generally speaking, bad, and infinitely worse than they would be if the laws for their maintenance were carried into effectual execution; or if the reparations of them were conducted by men of skill and activity: we congratulate, therefore, all the advocates for 'safe and expeditious travelling,' on the increasing influence of the system of Mr. M'Adam. Mr. M'Adam indeed appears to us to be the very Dr. Bell of road-makers. In both gentlemen we see the same zeal for the promotion of a useful object, the same activity of mind and body, the same disregard of personal inconvenience and fatigue. We may add, as another feature of resemblance, that many of the practices of each of these gentlemen had been previously adopted in a variety of instances, but that it required zeal and perseverance like theirs to recommend the entire system to the attention of the public. Increased experience has, with both of them, had the effect of strengthening their conviction of the excellence of their respective systems in general; while it has rendered them more diffident upon some of the minor

details. Mr. M'Adam, in his memorial to the Board of Agriculture, says,

‘Of that part of the system which relates to the construction of the roads and the appointment of general-surveyors of districts, the memorialist speaks with that confidence which is the result of experience;’—but he adds, that, ‘having now felt the difficulties of a profession, requiring much statistical information and practical knowledge of country work, with the regular habits of business, the estimation of his own abilities as a road-maker has been much lowered.’—‘Many things,’ he says, ‘which appeared proper in theory, were found unprofitable in practice; and others of obvious utility have been rendered difficult of execution from the obstacles of prejudice and ignorance.’

Dr. Bell has not, so far as we know, made a similar avowal in words, but he has in fact;—by the many changes, which, to the no small discomfiture of distant country schoolmasters, he has so rapidly introduced in his rules and instructions, which were once supposed to be as unalterable as those of the Medes and Persians.

It is a fortunate coincidence that Mr. M'Adam's system has attracted so much notice, at a time when employment for the labouring classes is become an object of most anxious inquiry; as it is to be executed by the labour of men, rather than by that of horses; and its operations are to be carried on principally in the winter, when the deficiency of work for the agricultural poor is most pressing. We certainly are desirous of contributing our humble assistance to the promotion of such desirable objects. The treatises of Mr. M'Adam, (whom we must be permitted to consider as an adopted Englishman,) Mr. Edgeworth, and Mr. Paterson enable us to lay each part of the united kingdom under contribution for materials; while the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons gives us something like the collective wisdom of the empire.

We have before us two publications by Mr. M'Adam. The first, which was pretty widely circulated last summer by the Board of Agriculture, consists principally of Instructions for the repair of old roads; the second contains remarks on the mode of making roads; on commissioners and their officers, and on the care of the finances.

Mr. Paterson's is a neatly printed little volume, written in a style which the nature of the subject and the modest pretensions of the author preclude us from criticizing. Mr. Edgeworth's treatise has been long before the public. It is the work of a man of science, combined with much practical knowledge of his subject. The greater part of this volume consists of remarks on wheel carriages, accompanied with an account of some very ingenious and accurate experiments for ascertaining their relative facilities

lities of draught. The remarks on road-making, which were, we believe, first published eleven or twelve years ago, are sensible and judicious.

The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons (which confessedly originated in the improvements effected by Mr. M'Adam) is drawn up with much care, and attention to the interesting body of evidence on which it is grounded. From this evidence we shall make a few extracts; and then, from the mass of materials before us, endeavour to digest into one view some of the leading principles in the art of road-making.

The first witness examined is Charles Johnson, Esq., superintendent of mail-coaches under the Postmaster-General. He states that 'there is great want of skill in forming the road and keeping it in repair, particularly near London;'—that 'the whole town of Egham had been covered with gravel unsifted, eight or nine inches deep from side to side; of which the consequence was, that the Exeter mail lost ten, fifteen, or twenty minutes every night.'—He adds, 'we were given afterwards to understand, that the commissioners had put this particular road under the care of Mr. M'Adam, and at this time I have no sort of occasion whatever to complain of it.'

He is followed by four of the principal coach proprietors in and near London. These gentlemen all concur in their opinion of the badness of the roads near the metropolis,—in complaining of their too great convexity, and of the unskilful manner in which the materials are applied. They all concur, too, in praising Mr. M'Adam. It may be interesting to that portion of our readers, who avail themselves occasionally of the facilities of locomotion furnished by these useful members of society, to give some of the facts detailed in their evidence.

Mr. Waterhouse, whose vehicular head-quarters are at the Swan with Two-Necks, keeps 400 horses; those worked within 50 miles of London (which cost on the average £30 each) last about four years; those at a greater distance (costing £15 each) six years. He says that eight horses on the more distant roads would perform as many miles as ten nearer London; that three horses would draw the mail on Mr. Telford's roads in North Wales with as much ease as four on the road from London to Dunchurch;—the excellence of Mr. Telford's roads consisting principally in the smallness of their convexity. Mr. Horne of Charing Cross also keeps 400 horses: he buys 150 every year;—those worked near London last but three years; those at a greater distance double the time, in consequence of their work being lighter, their food better, and their lodging more airy. Mr. Eames (of the White Horse, Fetter Lane) keeps about 300 horses: he finds them last three years in post-coaches,

coaches, and as long again at a distance from London. He says that his drivers represent 'the crossing backwards and forwards through the gravel, heaped sometimes in the middle of the roads near London, as tearing the horses' hearts out.' He further states that the Surry Road is so much improved, that he can travel sixteen miles with more facility than he could formerly travel twelve. Mr. Botham, of Speen, (who keeps more than 100 horses,) and Mr. Fromont, both bear testimony to the improvement effected by Mr. M'Adam.

We now come to Mr. M'Adam himself. Of his *practical* directions we shall speak presently: of his qualifications for the task which he has undertaken, our readers may form some judgment from the following extracts from his evidence.

'On my first arriving from America in the year 1783, at the time the roads were making in Scotland, (their turnpike acts being in operation about twenty years at that time,) very many of their roads were made. I was then appointed a commissioner of the roads, and had occasion to see a great deal of road-work. This first led me to inquire into the general method of road-making, and the expense of it. Since that period I have been mostly in Bristol, where I was also appointed a commissioner of the roads; the very defective state of which could not fail to attract my attention. I was induced to offer myself to the commissioners to take charge of the roads as a surveyer; because I found it impossible for any individual commissioner to get the roads put into a situation of being mended with any prospect of success; and no individual could incur the expense of making experiments on a great scale. The roads of Bristol were accordingly put under my direction in the month of January, 1816.

'I have travelled various times during the last twenty years, to ascertain which are the best roads, and which the best means of road-making, over the whole kingdom, from Inverness in Scotland to Land's End in Cornwall. I have obtained all the information that an unauthorised person could expect to receive.'—'More pains and much more expense have been bestowed on the roads of late years, but without, in my opinion, producing any adequate effect, from want of skill in the executive department. I consider the roads in South Wales, in Monmouthshire, in Cornwall, in Devonshire, in Herefordshire, in part of Hampshire, in part of Oxfordshire, and some part of Gloucestershire, as managed with the least skill, and consequently, at the heaviest expense.'—'You asked me with respect to the spirit of improvement; I would wish to explain in what way I think that is proceeding. I have been sent for, and consulted by thirty-four different sets of commissioners, and as many different trusts, and thirteen counties to the extent of 637 miles, all of whom have been making improvements, and I have had many subsurveyors instructed and sent to distant parts of the country.

'The repairs of 148 miles round Bristol, and many expensive permanent

nent improvements and alterations have been made in the last three years, during which a floating debt of upwards 1400*l.* has been paid off, a considerable reduction of the principal debt has been made, and a balance of 2790*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* is remaining in the hands of the treasurer. The Bristol district has been under one trust for twenty years, and in that period the debt has increased to 43,000.'—pp. 18, 19.

In a subsequent part of his evidence, he states that, by improved management, the Epsom trust has been enabled to lower the toll on agricultural carriages; and that the road between Reading and Twyford has been made smooth and solid at an expense, including the Surveyor's salary, not exceeding fifteen pounds per week; while their former expenditure, exclusive of the Surveyor's salary, was twenty-two pounds per week. Mr. M'Adam estimates the yearly toll revenue at a million and a quarter from the circumstance of there being 25,000 miles of turnpike roads in England and Wales; and reminds us that the Committee of 1811 estimated the saving which would be made to the country by putting the roads in a proper state of repair, at five millions annually.

Mr. James M'Adam, who has been instructed by his father, mentions some flagrant instances of abuse in the appointment of surveyors. In one instance he found as surveyor, with 60*l.* per annum, a person who had been an underwriter at Lloyd's Coffee House; in another a bed-ridden old man, who employed to execute his office a carpenter to whom the commissioners allowed 20*l.* per annum; in another there were three surveyors, one a cripple, another a carpenter, and the third a coal merchant. To shew in how great a degree his father's system is carried into effect by manual labour, he states that at Reading during eight months, 500*l.* were laid out, 400*l.* of which were for human labour: at Cheshunt, 800*l.* in five months, only forty of which went for cartage: at Wadesmill, 600*l.*; at Royston, 500*l.*; and at Huntingdon 20*l.* per week were all spent in labour.

We next have several gentlemen who, from their experience as commissioners, bear testimony to the merits of Mr. M'Adam. Mr. Cripps, after speaking of the improvements effected near Epsom and the consequent diminution of tolls, says

'I had an opportunity of observing in Sweden, that the roads were more beautiful than any I ever beheld; they are formed in the same manner as by Mr. M'Adam, the materials broken extremely small. The material is the best in the world, as it is rock of granite; and so well do they understand the necessity of breaking them small, that you never behold throughout Sweden a fragment of granite larger than the size of a walnut, for the purposes of the roads.—What is the shape of these roads? To the eye they appear perfectly flat; but upon

trial by the spirit level, there is a slight degree of convexity.'—*Evidence*, p. 39.

The remaining evidence is that of some of the most experienced road-engineers and surveyors. From this we shall extract what we think most important to the remarks which we shall offer to our readers upon the laying out, the formation, and the maintaining of roads.

In the original laying out of roads, we are glad to find in favour of some degree of curvature, such good authority as that of Mr. Edgeworth.

'To follow the mathematical axiom, that a straight line is the shortest that can be drawn between two points, will not succeed in making the most commodious roads; hills must be avoided, towns must be resorted to, and the sudden bends of rivers must be shunned.'—
'It may perhaps appear surprising, that there is but little difference in length between a road that has a gentle bend, and one that is in a perfectly straight line. A road two miles long and perfectly straight can scarcely be found any where; but if such a road could be found, and if it were curved so as to prevent the eye from seeing farther than a quarter of a mile of it, in any one place, the whole road would not be lengthened more than one hundred and fifty yards. It is not proposed to make serpentine roads merely for the entertainment of travellers; but it is intended to point out that a strict adherence to a straight line is of much less consequence than is usually supposed.'—*Edgeworth*, p. 12.

We wish this observation could be impressed on those merciless annihilators of rural scenery, the Commissioners of Inclosures. We were perhaps a little disposed to smile at the following passages of Mr. Paterson, though we admit the justness both of his illustration and of his reasons.

'The difference between going over a hill, and round the bottom of it, is not, in point of distance, quite so much as is generally understood. Place, for instance, an egg upon a table: then, from the one end to the other, trace a line upon the shell exactly on the *horizontal* plane: between the same extreme points of the egg, trace a line over the top of it directly in the vertical plane; and the length of those two lines will be found to be exactly equal. The same observation will apply, in a greater or lesser degree, to the forming of roads over hilly ground.'—
'There is another remark in favour of the curved line in general, which it may be proper to attend to. Every traveller knows by experience, that in going but a mile or two of a road that is formed on a straight line, the sight of such a distance before him oppresses his mind with fatigue, and he thinks it long till he arrives at the end of his prospect. Or rather, the eye of the traveller taking in such a large prospect at once, the distance appears less than it really is, as is the case in looking over an expanse of water, or an extensive plain. So that in proportion as hope is encouraged by the deceiving prospect, in like proportion will

will he experience disappointment and fatigue as he becomes gradually undeceived by the real length of the road in travelling along it. But in going the same distance of a road that is diversified by several windings, his mind is diverted from the fatigue by the change of scenery that opens to his view, at every turn or winding of the road; so that while he moves along, if he is not amused, he feels it, at any rate, less tiresome than in the former case.'

Inspired, we presume, by the beautiful passage of his countryman on the '*tide of human time*,' Mr. Paterson goes on to moralize on the journey of life: we have neither time nor taste to follow him in his ambitious but desultory course, and must therefore be contented to jog on in more sober guise.

How much may be effected by science and skill in diminishing the obstruction occasioned by hills, is exemplified in the evidence of Mr. Telford, engineer of the Holyhead road, under the parliamentary commissioners.

'On the Welsh part of that road,' he says, 'the inclinations were formerly (in many instances) as much as one in six, seven, eight, nine and ten; the width at the same time frequently not exceeding twelve feet, without protection on the lower side.' Now 'the longitudinal inclinations are in general less than one in thirty; in one instance for a considerable distance there was no avoiding one in twenty-two, and in another for about two hundred yards, one in seventeen; but in these two cases, the surface of the roadway being made peculiarly smooth and hard, no inconvenience is experienced by wheel carriages.'

In the *formation of roads*, one of the most prevailing faults is that of giving them too great a convexity: a fall of three inches, Mr. M'Adam says, from the centre to the side, is sufficient for a road thirty feet wide. The inefficacy of the convexity for the purpose of draining the roads is pointed out by Mr. Edgeworth.

'In all these schemes for carrying off water from the roads by the inclination of the ground it seems to have escaped the attention of those who proposed them, that no lateral inclination of the ground, consistent with the safety of carriages, would empty a rut of three inches deep. So far from this being the case, whoever attends to the fact will find, that even down a moderate slope, where any dirt remains upon the roads, the water will be obstructed.'—'In fact,' he continues, 'roads become dry by evaporation; and where they are exposed to sun and wind the effects of heat and ventilation are more powerful than any surface drainage that could be accomplished.'—p. 14.

All the materials, of which the surface of the road is formed, should be broken *small*. The reason for this is thus given by Mr. M'Adam.

'It seems an obvious proposition, that the materials of which a road is to be composed, should be reduced to such a size as shall enable carriages to pass over without striking against them, so that they may be

consolidated by a perpendicular pressure. The size of the stones must be proportioned to that part of the wheel, which will form the point of contact upon a smooth level surface; and this will be found to be about an inch square. When the stones of a road exceed the size of this bearing, the wheels of carriages will keep them in constant motion, and prevent their consolidating, because when a wheel rests only on one part of a stone, the other part rises; or if the stone be so large that the wheel does not pass over, but strikes against it, besides the impediment presented to the carriage, a great damage is done to the road. From this it appears that every stone above a specified size is a positive disadvantage in road-making. Upon a road made of well-ordered materials, wheel carriages will pass over without any jolt or shake; and consequently without that action and re-action between the wheels and the stones, *which is the real cause of the present bad state of the roads of Great Britain.* A rough road can only be a road made of large stones; and as neither use nor change of weather can produce them, the defect must be entirely the work of the road-maker.'—*Mem.* p. 5.

Mr. Edgeworth agrees with him. (p. 20.) 'No stones larger than an inch and a half diameter should be suffered to remain on the road; when much inaccuracy in this respect is suspected, an iron ring may be employed as a gauge.' Mr. Paterson recommends a ring of a diameter of two inches, or two inches and a half. Mr. M'Adam has the stones broken to the weight of six ounces.

'Do you find a measure or ring through which the stones will pass a good method of regulating their size?—That is a very good way; but I always make my surveyors carry a pair of scales, and a six ounce weight in their pockets, and when they come to a heap of stones, they weigh one or two of the largest, and if they are reasonably about that weight they will do; it is impossible to make them come exactly to it.'—*Report*, p. 24.

'In breaking stones for roads,' Mr. Edgeworth says, 'the best method is to have them broken by a person *sitting*, and using small hammers.—A hard stone may serve for an anvil, and the stone to be broken may be advantageously held in a forked stick.' (p. 20.) Mr. M'Adam recommends the employment of women and children in this operation, and adds that his recommendation applies to all materials *universally*. Round gravel and round pebbles never make a tolerable road: but broken stone will combine by its own angles into a smooth solid surface, that cannot be affected by the vicissitudes of weather.'

But though all our authorities agree in the necessity of forming the surface of the road of stone broken small, there is some discordance among them as to the foundation, especially in a swampy soil. 'When the substratum of a road is *unsound*,' says Mr. Edgeworth, (p. 18.) 'it should be covered with faggots of brushwood, with the branches of fir trees, or with furze and heath.'

heath. Flat stones, if they can be had, should then be laid over the faggots, and upon them stones of six or seven pounds weight, and lastly, a coat of eight or ten inches of pounded stone.' Mr. Paterson says, 'if the bottom be soft and wet, the *bottom metals* should be much larger than the top;' though he mentions cases in which the large stones will work their way to the surface. Several of the intelligent surveyors examined by the Committee agree in these opinions, and Mr. Telford recommends covering a foundation of clay with vegetable soil. Mr. M'Adam however appears to set this question at rest. In answer to the questions,

'What depth of solid materials would you think it right to put upon a road in order to repair it properly?'—He replies, 'I should think that ten inches of well consolidated materials is equal to carry any thing.'

'That is, provided the substratum is sound?—No;—I should not care whether the substratum was soft or hard; I should rather prefer a soft one to a hard one.'

'You don't mean you would prefer a bog?—If it was not such a bog as would not allow a man to walk over it, I should prefer it.'

'What advantage is derived from the substrata not being perfectly solid?—I think when a road is placed upon a hard substance, such as a rock, the road wears much sooner than when placed on a soft substance.—The road in Somersetshire between Bridgewater and Cross is mostly over a morass, which is so extremely soft that, when you ride in a carriage along the road, you see the water tremble in the ditches on each side; and after there has been a slight frost, the vibration of the water from the carriage on the road will be so great as to break the young ice. That road is partly in the Bristol district. I think there is about seven miles of it, and at the end of those seven miles, we come directly to the limestone rock. I think we have about five or six miles of this rocky road immediately succeeding the morass; and being curious to know what the wear was, I had a very exact account kept, not very lately, but I think the difference is as five to seven in the expenditure of the materials on the soft and hard;'—though the hard road lies higher.

'But in forming a road over a morass, would you bottom the road with small or large stones?—I never use large stones on the bottom of a road; I would not put a large stone in any part of it.'

'In forming a road across a morass, would you not put some sort of intermediate material between the bog and the stone?—No, never.'

'Would you not put faggots?—No, no faggots.'

'How small would you have the stones?—Not to exceed six ounces in weight.'

'Have you not found, that a foundation of bogs sinks?—No, not a bit of the road sinks: and we have the same thickness of materials on the one as on the other.'

'If a road be made smooth and solid, it will be one mass, and the effect of the substrata, whether clay or sand, can never be felt in effect by

by carriages going over the road; because a road well made unites itself into a body like a piece of timber or a board.'—*Report*, p. 23.

Having observed symptoms of incredulity in some members of the Committee, Mr. M'Adam, on a subsequent examination, corroborated the above statement by the testimonies of Edward Whitting, surveyor of the road alluded to, and by that of R. Phippen, Esq., the treasurer; the former of whom asserts that the general strength of the road is from seven inches to nine, and that he has always considered five tons of stones on the morass, equal to seven over the hills.

Where the road is carried through a wet or springy soil, Mr. Paterson's method of draining is simple, and not very expensive. 'Run,' says he, (page 24.) 'a drain along the middle of the road all the way, from two to three feet deep, as narrow as it can possibly be dug, filling it with stones up to the surface of the road, making those at the bottom of a pretty good size, probably from six to eight inches in diameter. From this leading drain make a branch here and there, to carry off the water to the canals on the sides of the road.'

Attention to these canals or ditches is obviously of considerable importance. In order to obviate the danger occasioned by them Mr. Walker recommends their being formed on the field side of the hedge. 'In a length of road over a marsh where the ditches were obliged to be wide and deep, I ordered,' says he, 'some cuttings of willow to be stuck into the road side of the ditch, which are now so thick and strong, as to be a complete security from all danger.'—We are acquainted with many formidable causeways, where we should rejoice to see this practice adopted.

When a road is well formed, and covered to the depth of eight or ten inches with well-broken materials, the next object is to maintain it in good repair. And here the whole art and mystery consists in constant scraping when the weather is wet and dirty; in continually filling the ruts, (that all the *metals*, as Mr. Paterson expresses it, *may be subjected to equal fatigue*,) and in giving free access to sun and air, by cutting the hedges and stripping the trees by the road side to a certain height; though not to such a degree as is too often practised to the destruction of the timber, and the utter annihilation of all picturesque beauty. When fresh materials are necessary, they should be laid on while the road is in a moist state, and immediately after it has been scraped.

After travelling in a sultry day through clouds of dust, we have often congratulated ourselves upon entering the region of *watered roads*. This, however, Mr. B. Farey, surveyor of Whitechapel Road, tells us is very injurious, if practised *before* May and *after* August, as the water separates the stones and makes the road
spongy

spongy and loose. *Winter-watering*, in heavy foggy weather, and after a frost, he recommends to prevent clogging. 'The traffic in twenty-four hours after watering forms such a sludge as can be easily raked off by wooden scrapers, which is performed as quickly as possible.'—The advantages of this occasional Winter-watering have been very great. (*Evidence*, p. 40.)

In the immediate neighbourhood of London, where the traffic of all descriptions is so considerable, the materials most easily procured, consisting of a clayey gravel, are particularly bad. For these roads, Mr. M'Adam recommends that facilities should be given to the importation of granite chippings from Cornwall, Guernsey and Scotland; and of beach pebbles from the coasts of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. After all, we are disposed to agree with Mr. Edgeworth, that for roads near the capital or great manufacturing towns, 'paving is the only certain method yet known that gives sufficient hardness, smoothness, and permanency.' A *partial paving*, of eleven or twelve feet wide from the foot path, is strongly recommended by all the surveyors examined by the Committee. Mr. Walker (surveyor of Commercial Road, &c.) says, (p. 46.) 'It is not, I am sure, overstating the advantage of the paving, but rather otherwise, to say that, taking the year through, two horses will do more work, with the same labour to themselves, upon a paved road, than three upon a good gravelled road, if the traffic upon the gravelled road is at all considerable.' This statement is abundantly confirmed by the accurate experiments of Mr. Edgeworth. In the Commercial Road the *centre* is paved and the *sides* gravelled. Mr. Walker, however, says,

'that considerable improvement would be found from paving the sides of a road, to the width of 11 or 12 feet, upon which the heavy traffic is great, in both directions, and leaving the middle for light carriages: the carmen, walking upon the footpaths or sides of the road, would then be close to their horses, without interrupting, or being in danger from light carriages, which is the case when they are driven upon the middle of the road; and the improved part being in the middle or higher part of the road, would be more easily kept in good repair.'

'The requisites for forming a good paving are, to have the stones properly squared and shaped, not as wedges, but nearly as octangular prisms; to sort them into classes according to their sizes, so as to prevent unequal sinking, which is always the effect of stones or rows of stones of unequal sizes being mixed together; to have a foundation properly consolidated before the road is begun to be paved; and to have the stones laid with a close joint, the courses being kept at right angles from the direction of the sides and in perfectly straight lines, the joints carefully broken, that is, so that the joint between two stones in any one course shall not be in a line with, or opposite to a joint in any of the two courses adjoining. After the stones are laid, they are to be well
rammed,

rammed, and such of the stones as appear to ram loose, should be taken out and replaced by others; after this the joints are to be filled up with fine gravel, and if it can be done conveniently, the stability of the work will be increased by well watering at night the part that has been done during the day, and ramming it over again next morning. The surface of the pavement is then to be covered with an inch or so of fine gravel, that the joints may be always kept full, and that the wheels may not come in contact with the stones while they are at all loose in their places. I have found great advantage from filling up the joints with lime-water, or from mixing a little of the parings or chippings of iron, or small scraps of iron hoop, with the gravel used in filling up the joints of the paving. The water would very soon create an oxide of iron, and form the gravel into a species of rock.'—*Evidence*, p. 46.

To those who are frightened at the expense of paving, we would recommend the following passage.

'If the traffic upon the gravelled road (continues Mr. Walker) is at all considerable, the saving of the expense of carriage will be found to be very great, when compared with the cost of paving. If the annual tonnage upon the Commercial Road is taken at 250,000 tons, and at the rate of only 3s. per ton from the Docks, it could not be done under 4s. 6d.; say, however, 4s., or 1s. per ton difference, making a saving of £12,500, or nearly the whole expense of the paving in one year. I think I am under the mark in all these figures.'

We have insensibly allowed the *operative* part of our subject to occupy so many of our pages, that we have left but little space for the legislative enactments which may be deemed expedient. The Committee professes to have confined its attention to *turnpike* roads. Its principal suggestions are

- 1st. The appointment of county or district surveyors.
- 2d. The union of the several trusts within 10 miles of London.
- 3d. The combining into one general code or digest all the enactments relating to highways.

With respect to the first of these, the Committee recommends 'empowering the magistrates of every county, assembled at quarter-sessions, to appoint one or more surveyors-general, who shall have the superintendence and management of the turnpike roads within the county, under the authority and direction of the commissioners of the different trusts, to be paid 'by an uniform rate per mile upon all the roads within the county; to be fixed by the magistrates at quarter-sessions, and paid from the funds of their respective trusts.

In the next place, the Committee

'Express to the house their strong recommendation, that a special act of parliament be passed for uniting all the trusts within a distance of about ten miles round London under one set of commissioners. It is to these roads that the heaviest complaints made by the coachmasters

masters and the surveyor of mail-coaches principally apply; and whether an improvement is to be effected by the importation of flint, and other common materials, or by laying granite pavement in the centre or sides of the roads, it is evident that the measure, to be performed in an economical and efficient manner, must be done upon an extended scale; it must become one interest, directed by one select body of men, of weight, ability, and character.'—*Report*, p. 9.

Upon the plan of endeavouring to embody in one act of parliament all that is valuable in the old laws with the addition of such new regulations as are acknowledged to be desirable, (as suggested by the Committee of 1811,) the Committee do not hesitate to avow their opinion, 'that, unless this task, however arduous, be accomplished, the law relating to roads must remain in an incomplete, uncertain, and inconvenient state; they cannot doubt (they say) that the House will agree with them that the promotion of such a measure is deserving of legal assistance on the part of his Majesty's government, to those who are desirous to apply their time and attention to the undertaking.' These suggestions have our unqualified approbation; and we shall rejoice to see them carried into effect.

'A general commutation for statute labour,' recommended by the Committee as well as by Messrs. M'Adam, Edgeworth, and Walker would, we think, be a desirable measure in itself. Mr. M'Adam says that if it were commuted for even half the real value, it would still be a great advantage to the public. We doubt, however, whether it would not be regarded by the majority of the farmers, who have so many claims upon their purses already, in the light of a new tax.

The Committee, as we have seen, have hitherto confined their attention to turnpike roads; we sincerely hope that they will extend it to public highways of every description. We have, it is true, often cause to complain of the unskillfulness and negligence of surveyors on *turnpike* roads, but it is in the nature of things that these faults should be found in a still greater degree in the surveyors of parishes. Indeed we have little hesitation in affirming that it is to such neglect that one-third at least of the turnpike acts owe their existence. Mr. Walker, whose evidence throughout evinces a perfect knowledge of every thing connected with his profession, observes very properly,

'The case of parish roads is still worse, where the inhabitants are, without much regard to their habits of life, obliged in their turns to serve the annual office of surveyor of the highways. If such persons mean to signalize themselves during their being in office, the first step is often to undo what their predecessor has done, or has not perfected; and the love of self and of friends determines them to make sure while they have it in their power, that some favoured roads or lanes are put
into

into proper order. If the surveyor is, on the contrary, an unwilling officer, or if the attention to his own affairs prevents him giving his time to the duties of the office, he avoids the fine by accepting the charge, pays the bills and wages without much knowledge of their nature and accuracy, and one of the labourers becomes in fact the road-surveyor; but in every case of annual nomination there is this evil, that, as soon as the surveyor has, by a year's apprenticeship, begun to know something of the nature of the business, his placé is filled by another, who comes in for the same time to take lessons at the expense of the parish.—*Evidence*, p. 51.

The surveyor is not unfrequently a man who makes his sense of public duty subordinate to private advantage, or to feelings of good neighbourhood. Consequently when the weather is too wet to allow of the ordinary operations of husbandry, the farmer's teams are sent to ruin the roads under pretence of repairing them; much of the time is wasted, and not unfrequently some portion of the stones dug and carted at the expense of the parish is shot down in the gateways—perhaps in the farm-yard—of the reluctant performer of statute-duty. The surveyor now and then complains: but, if the culprit is his friend, his courtesy prevents him from remedying the abuse; and if a village rival, he will not do it lest he should appear to be actuated by vindictive motives. For the redress of grievances arising from the remissness of parish surveyors, the public look to the rural guardians of the laws. These gentlemen perhaps expostulate and threaten; but their expostulations and threats are received with civility and promises of amendment, and then treated with neglect. Perhaps the justice is fond of the sports of the field, and fears that any strictness of *regime* on the subject of roads might tend to the destruction of foxes, or to the diminution of his stock of hares and pheasants; animals against which the farmer has no light cause of quarrel on other scores. Or he is a quiet and peaceable man, who cannot bring himself to incur, however undeservedly, the imputation of being an *agitator*; a disturber of the stagnant tranquillity of the neighbourhood. For these and similar reasons, we anxiously wish to see all the parish highways placed under the superintendence of a district surveyor of skill and integrity, free from the influence of local interests and local feelings.*

In the event of any new highway legislation, we would humbly suggest that some protection ought to be given to *footways* in parish

* It might be desirable to empower any petty sessions, acting for a division consisting of two or three hundreds, in case of the roads being much neglected, to appoint a surveyor for such district; remunerating him by proportional payments from the several parishes included in it, and giving him either the sole management of the roads, or merely a controlling power over the parish surveyors. An act to this effect was, we believe, all but passed in 1816. We trust that the promoters of the measure will not be discouraged.

roads. Many such have been recently formed either by the public spirit of individuals, or by parishes at a loss for employment for their poor; but they are out of the protection of the law, and at the mercy of every mischievous wight who thinks proper, in the insolence of his heart, to drive or ride upon them. Those by the side of turnpike roads are protected by pecuniary penalties; and we know not why a similar protection is not also extended to the parish footways.

ART. V.—1. *Proceedings in Parga, and the Ionian Islands, with a Series of Correspondence and other justificatory Documents.*—By Lieut. Colonel C. P. de Bosset. 1819.

2. *Exposé des Faits qui ont précédé et suivi la Cession de Parga; Ouvrage écrit originairement en Grec par un Parganote, et traduit en Français par un de ses Compatriotes; publié par Amaury Duval, Membre de l'Institut Royal de France.*—Paris. 1820.

OF all the people on earth the English feel most sensibly any act of outrage or injustice committed, or supposed to be committed, by the government or its agents; and no other nation has so many facilities of giving scope to those feelings, and of making its indignation heard in every corner of the globe. The speeches in Parliament, the reports of them (not always correct) in the daily newspapers, and the comments of their editors, heightening or palliating the subjects, as may suit their own party-views, or the state of the public mind, rarely permit any act of the government to pass unnoticed. This is as it should be in a free state, and what a generous and highminded people have a right to expect; but it is *not* as it should be, to abuse the public feeling by garbled and incorrect statements, by misrepresenting facts, ascribing false motives, and, above all, by letting out part only of the truth, and suppressing the rest.

Few questions of minor importance have been more generally misrepresented and more completely misunderstood than that which relates to the measures adopted by the British government, in regard to the restoration of Parga to the Sublime Porte. That there should prevail on the part of our countrymen a strong feeling of regret at the necessity of a measure, which made the inhabitants of a little state abandon for ever their native place, is no more than might be looked for from them, in favour of the weak and unfortunate, without any knowledge of the particular merits of the case: but this amiable bias, however laudable in itself, has in the present instance been most grossly abused by a strange perversion of circumstances, from sheer malevolence on the one hand, (at least we

we can devise no other motives,) and political hostility on the other. The effect has been precisely that which was intended; and that conduct, which really was, and ought to have been viewed as a striking instance of the extent of British liberality, humanity and consideration for the unfortunate, has, with a singular degree of mischievous industry, both at home and abroad, been tortured into a breach of national faith, a dereliction of the true and established maxims of policy, and a wanton or thoughtless sacrifice of an innocent and meritorious people, to whom we were bound by every tie of justice and humanity.

A plain statement of the proceedings respecting Parga, collected from those officers on the spot, on whose honour and character we can fully rely, and from such official documents as have been made public, will, we are confident, convince every unprejudiced mind, that a feeling of kindness for the inhabitants of Parga influenced every measure of the British government; and that the same principle invariably guided the conduct of Sir Thomas Maitland, on whom devolved the difficult and delicate task of carrying these measures into execution.

When Sir Charles Monck opened that furious battery in the House of Commons, which had been charged and pointed for him by a foreigner resident in London,* or, as it is more delicately expressed below, by 'a person who was not a British subject,' the name of Parga vibrated for the first time perhaps on the ears of the greater part of the members of that august assembly.—In vain did they consult their Guthries and their Pinkertons—these geographers were profoundly silent on the subject of this barren rock, which had swollen at once into such importance.—But we must hasten to our subject. To bring the facts of the case under a clear and ample view, we shall first state the nature and origin of our connexion with Parga.

The present town of Parga had no existence before the irruption of the Mahomedans into Greece, which happened about the end of the fourteenth century, though it is pretended that its name was taken from some former town called *Hypargos*, on account of its dependance on Argos. According to Miletus, Paleo-Parga, or *old Parga*, contained a greater number of inhabitants than any other in the Thesprotian division of Epirus; but of this—*etiam*

* 'The Pargiots, who were now reduced to the greatest distress, sent over a statement of their case, with the necessary documents, to be laid before the British Parliament; but having addressed them to a person who was not a British subject, he did not think himself entitled to make any formal application in their name, though we have reason to believe, that the notice which has been taken of their case in Parliament originated in this communication.'—*Edinburgh Review*.

periere ruinae. The history of the present Parganotes, however, can be traced only to the period of the invasion of Greece by Mahomet II., when the inhabitants of this part of the coast and the neighbouring villages fortified themselves, in the strongest position which their country afforded, against the Turks; and after the immediate danger had passed away, built the town on the rock where the fort now stands, and surrounded it with a wall. This rock juts into the Ionian sea, opposite the southern end of Corfu, or the northern extremity of Paxo, and is about 240 feet in height; on its summit stands a building which is usually called the citadel. The town consists of one street, and a few narrow lanes; the houses are extremely poor, but have a pretty appearance, from being perched on the sloping side of a hill.

The extent of the territory of Parga is about six miles along the coast, and generally about two in depth; the landscape is beautiful, and affords every where the most picturesque scenery. With the exception of the rock it may almost be said to consist of one continued olive grove, interspersed, however, with gardens, orchards of orange and lime-trees, and little cottages, which, with here and there a tall cypress towering above the rest, give a lively variety and a pleasing animation to the picture. The sides of the hills are planted with vineyards, and the open spaces produce a little wheat and Indian corn, sufficient for about four months consumption of the population; the remainder of their grain being partly purchased with the little returns of their oil, oranges, &c. from the Adriatic, and partly from the territories of Ali Pasha.

At the time above mentioned, the Lion of St. Mark defended the coast and islands of the Adriatic and Archipelago; and the Parganotes, to ensure their escape from the bondage of the Turks, placed themselves, in 1401, under the protection of the Venetians, by whose powerful aid they were enabled by degrees to extend their territory to its present boundary. This tract was, at that time, and till very lately, surrounded by hordes of marauders, held under no rule but that of adventitious circumstances, though nominally subject to Turkey. They were generally joined by parties from Parga, and, when closely pursued, found protection within its walls. This disturbed state of the district of Epirus, along the shores of the Ionian sea, suited the policy of the Venetian government. In fact, it could not possibly have held Parga and its other three principal stations, Butrinto, Vonitza, and Previsa, on the same coast, under any established government; it therefore cherished a system which placed a barrier between its continental possessions and the regular forces of the Turkish dominions. On the fall of that power, however, these rival sons of rapine, who infested every part of Albania, were gradually

gradually extirpated, or reduced to a state of obedience, by the ruling Pasha of that country.

In 1797, the French, after breaking up the Venetian republic, took possession of the Ionian Islands, and, at the same time, of the four positions above-mentioned; but in the following year, when a coalition was formed against France by England, Russia, and the Ottoman Porte, the Ionian Islands surrendered to the allied fleets of Russia and Turkey, under the command of Admirals Oksakoff and Katu Bey; and Butrinto, Vonitza and Previsa fell into the hands of Ali Pasha, who is said to have committed dreadful slaughter on the French, and on those Greeks and Albanians who had taken up arms, and joined the enemies of the Porte.* Parga, however, supported from without by the Sulliot robbers, and within by a French garrison, held out against the Pasha, until the inhabitants found an opportunity of throwing themselves into the power of the Russians, who sent a garrison for their protection.

In 1800 a treaty was concluded at Constantinople between Russia and the Sublime Porte, by which the Seven Islands were erected into an independent republic, under the sovereign protection of Russia; and Butrinto, Parga, Previsa and Vonitza, ceded to the Porte in sovereignty for ever, on certain conditions favourable to these four places, and guaranteed to them by Russia.† In consequence of this treaty Abdullah Bey was sent from Constantinople to govern them, and Previsa was immediately evacuated by Ali Pasha. The Parganotes, however, stubbornly refused submission to the Ottoman power, until the end of 1800, when, by the persuasion of the Russian ambassador at the Ionian Islands, they consented to receive the Bey, and continued, in quiet possession of all their privileges, under the Turkish dominion, for nearly six years.

In 1806 the war broke out between Russia and the Porte, and Veli Pasha, the son of Ali, seized upon Previsa, Vonitza and Butrinto by express orders from the Porte; confiscated the possessions of the Russians; planted there several Ottoman families; and drove the Christian inhabitants into the interior. The Parganotes complain that this was contrary to the stipulation of the treaty—and so indeed it was; but they choose to forget that the people of Previsa had, on a former occasion, joined their arms to the French, with

* If the details of cruelties, whether true or false, were not always disgusting, it would be curious to compare the accounts given on this occasion by Hobhouse, Pouqueville, Duval, and the Edinburgh Review; all so different in their nature and degree, as to raise considerable doubts of the truth of any one of them: those stated by Dr. Holland are entitled to credit.

† These were principally the free exercise of the laws, religion and usages of the country; the inhabitants were to be governed by a Mahommedan Bey, who alone should reside in the territory; and to be subject only to moderate taxes, such as they were accustomed to pay to the ex-Venetian republic.

whom the Sultan was then at war, and bade him defiance. Parga, however, again escaped by calling from Corfu a Russian force for its protection; and when, by the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, the Ionian Islands were delivered up to France, and Berthier was sent as the Governor-General of Corfu, he threw into the place a garrison of three hundred Frenchmen. Ali Pasha, however, having information that the secret instructions of Berthier directed him to occupy the Ionian Islands *alone*, dispatched his effendi to Corfu, to insist on the French troops being withdrawn from Parga; and the general, satisfied of the justice of his demand, informed the Parganotes that he was about to cede the place to the Turkish government, to whom of right it belonged.

Had this determination been carried into effect, the Parganotes were aware, from their previous conduct, that they had little mercy to expect. The Primates therefore repaired in a body to Corfu, and throwing themselves at the general's feet, implored his compassion for their unfortunate countrymen, and besought him not to surrender them to certain destruction. Overcome by their earnest entreaties, the general recalled his orders, and permitted the garrison to remain for the protection of the place, which the French continued to hold as an appendage to the Ionian Islands.

In 1814 the star of Napoleon was visibly declining; and Ali, whom the circumstance did not escape, marched an army to the confines of Parga, and took possession of Aja, a village within the limits. A favourite nephew of the Pasha was shot, at the head of his troops, by a Parganote lying in ambush. No other person was killed on either side, yet the Parganotes boasted of a great victory, and even succeeded in persuading Lieutenant-Colonel De Bosset 'that they had fought desperately in their own defence, and repulsed the Turks;' and that 'the bey had fallen in the action with a great number of his men.*' It is amusing to observe how completely these people duped M. de Bosset, who for a time commanded the garrison, with stories of their warlike achievements.

In the month of March, 1814, when all the Ionian Islands had fallen into the possession of the English, except Corfu, between which and Parga, (then in possession of the French,) all intercourse had become not only difficult but nearly impracticable; and when the relief of the former place by French reinforcements was rendered almost impossible by the closeness of the blockade—the Parganotes, ever on the watch to avail themselves of passing events, and apprehensive that it was the intention of the French to deliver the fortress to Ali, (who, as we mentioned above, had taken possession of Aja,) sent a deputation to the English commandant of

* Proceedings in Parga, &c.

the island of Paxo, requesting the assistance of the British troops, and promising to give up the fortress to them. There was *no* summons on the part of the British for a surrender of the fort, as stated by the writer of the *Exposé*; the officer in command refused even to send a force to take possession of it, until a written declaration was brought from the principal inhabitants to shew there was no treachery. Two frigates, the *Bacchante* and the *Havannah*, then took on board a detachment of troops to form the garrison, and, on their landing with a party of marines, the French made little or no resistance; and the British troops occupied Parga.

The bravery of the Parganotes has been much vaunted on this occasion, and one of their agents ('who is not a British subject') has supplied the northern critics with a very pretty episode of an old woman smuggling the British flag under her petticoat into the fortress: unluckily, however, for the moral beauty and effect of this story, the flag was carried in by four stout fellows disguised in women's clothes, who overpowered the sentinel, killed a French commissary, and hoisted the English colours. This was the extent of their gallant bearing—but the act afforded them an opportunity of giving a practical commentary on their boasted good faith.*

To return, however, to our subject—no stipulations whatever were entered into by, or in behalf of, the British government with the Parganotes; no other promises made—no other assurances given, than such as held out to them generally a continuance of security and protection so long as the British flag should fly on their fort: and so far was General Campbell from accepting the offer 'to follow the fate of the Seven Islands,' with which they concluded their declaration,† or from giving any encouragement to the deputation of primates, who subsequently went to Corfu to implore him

* When Ali Pasha had got possession of Previsa, as above stated, he warned the Parganotes of the fate of that place, told them he had no desire to make war on them, and only asked a conference to settle the terms on which they should become fellow-subjects of his sovereign—'whatever form of government you wish for,' he added, 'I will grant to you.' The Parganotes, having a strong French garrison, treated this proposal with contempt, and returned no answer. He then wrote to desire they would send away or destroy the French garrison. To this they replied, very properly, that they neither could nor would do so,—'our country,' said they, 'has boasted her good faith for four centuries past, and in that time often vindicated it with her blood. How then shall we now sully that glory?—Never.' This never was not of long duration.—In less than eight years afterwards, finding the English the stronger party, they sent the deputation above-mentioned, betrayed the French into our hands, murdered a poor commissary, and would not, we incline to think, have greatly scrupled to destroy them all if we had been atrocious enough to ask it.

† 'We, the undersigned Primates of Parga, engage, on behalf of the population, that at the moment when the frigates of his Britannic Majesty shall appear before our fortress, we will subject our country and territories to the protection of the invincible arms of Great Britain, and will plant on the walls of our fortress her glorious flag; it being the determination of our country to follow the fate of the Ionian Islands, as we have always been under the same jurisdiction.' (Signed, &c.)

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‘ that the fate of Parga might be united for ever to that of the Ionian Islands,’ (a condition which would not have been conclusive, even if he had accepted it,) that he told them in plain terms, (as Sir James Gordon had done before him,) that he could accede to no such condition; but that they might rely on the protection of the British flag, until their fate should be decided at a general peace. It is indeed perfectly obvious that no stipulation of this kind could be made, for Corfu was at the time in full possession of France; and no man would or could, under those circumstances, have been absurd enough to determine by implication that the revival of the Septinsular Republic would form a part of the ultimate arrangements of the allied powers.

General Sir James Campbell reported to his government the step which he had taken, and in which he had been guided by the double motive of humanity and policy;—of saving these unfortunate people from an unconditional surrender to Ali, and of obtaining a temporary possession of a spot which might assist in the effectual blockade of Corfu. The British government approved of his conduct, and directed him to continue to hold Parga *provisionally* in possession, as he already did several of the Ionian Islands, *until their final destination should be arranged at the conclusion of a general peace.* In these instructions from home no assurances whatever were held out to the Parganotes as to their future destination, nor, we repeat it, did General Campbell or any other officer, either at the first voluntary overture of this people, or at the time of surrender, or at any subsequent period, give them any other assurances than those we have mentioned.

It has been falsely asserted that Sir James Campbell verbally confirmed the wishes of the Parganote deputation. Sir James Campbell is dead—but we have before us a letter dictated by him, a few days before his death, in answer to a question put to him by a brother officer, in which he says, ‘ I can assure you most distinctly, that no officers were at any time authorized by me, *either verbally or otherwise*, to enter into any engagement on the part of the British government, or to give any assurances to the Parganotes, with respect to Parga remaining permanently under the protection of Great Britain.’ We wish to direct the reader’s attention particularly to this point, because it forms, in fact, the whole *gist* of the case, and because M. de Bosset has asserted what he had not the means of knowing, and what we know to be directly contrary to truth,—that Captain Hoste (now Sir William) promised the deputies ‘ they should be considered under the protection of Great Britain, and follow the fate of the Ionian Islands.’*

* *Proceedings in Parga, &c.*

The Parganotes, in reality, were so well aware that no agreement, either written or verbal, had been acceded to, which could unite 'their fate with that of the Ionian Islands;' and that, as a matter of right, they were subjects of the Ottoman Porte, that, having failed with General Campbell, they beset Sir Thomas Maitland, immediately after his arrival, with applications for a more intimate connection, pressing for answers, which of course he constantly resisted.

At the Congress of Vienna, and at Paris in 1815, the governments of Russia, Austria and Prussia, after much deliberation, offered to Great Britain the sovereign protection of the Ionian Republic; and in November of the same year, a treaty was signed, by which the Ionian Islands and their dependencies, *as described in the Treaty of 1800 between Russia and the Ottoman Porte*, were placed under the protection of England. The Parganotes, or their officious agents, affect to be surprized that Parga was not mentioned in the Treaty of Paris, though they cannot but know that every arrangement which related to Parga was comprehended in the Treaty between Russia and the Ottoman Porte, which was still in full force; and that it was only referred to in that of Paris for the sake of description.

By this treaty of 1800, the continental possessions of Parga, Previsa, Vonitza and Butrinto, were restored in full sovereignty to the Porte, and were no longer to form a part of the Ionian Republic, then placed under the sovereignty of Russia. In reference to it, the islands of Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Ithaca, Cerigo and Paxo, with their dependencies, (but to the exclusion *by name* of the four places above-mentioned,) were erected into a free and independent state under the immediate protection of Great Britain. In the discussion that took place, the Treaty of 1800, which had been renewed and confirmed in 1812 by that of Bucharest, between Russia and the Porte, made it incumbent on the allied powers to respect the territorial rights of the Porte to the continental possessions of the late Venetian Republic; and they were excluded from the Septinsular Republic, of which, in fact, they had never constituted a part. Thus, when Great Britain was called, in 1815, to the protection of the Ionian Republic, *Parga formed no part of that Republic*. Parga, of course, followed the fate of the other three ex-Venetian states, and became, like them, united to the Turkish empire.

It does not follow that because, in the Treaty of Great Britain with the other powers of Europe in 1815, a reference is made to the Treaty between Russia and the Porte of 1800, for the purpose (and for no other) of determining the limits of the Ionian Republic, and because Parga had fallen by other means, and
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by the seeking of the inhabitants, with a view to their own safety, into her provisional occupation;—it does not therefore follow, we say, that Great Britain was bound in the most distant manner to interfere, or to see that the conditions which had been stipulated by the Porte with Russia, and which are detailed in the Treaty of 1800, should be fulfilled towards the Parganotes. There is no article in the British Treaty of 1815 which confirms, or by which she takes upon herself, the conditions of 1800; they were perfectly foreign to her; they could not have been listened to for a moment; and that treaty was referred to, as we said before, merely as the means of defining the limits of the new territory to be placed under her protection. As far, therefore, as treaties, or engagements, or promises are concerned, Great Britain might have withdrawn her troops from Parga, and left it open at any time she pleased to the re-occupation of the Ottoman Porte.

But, to be more explicit.—There were three ways in which Great Britain might have acted with regard to Parga. 1st. She might (as we have just said) at once have withdrawn the garrison, and left the Parganotes to themselves. 2dly, She might have taken upon herself the Russian guarantee of 1800. 3dly, She might have kept possession of Parga as an appendage to the Seven Islands. The first would have been inhuman. The second equally so, if we may judge from what took place at Previsa, Vonitza, and Butrinto, under the immediate guarantee of Russia:—that guarantee had proved utterly unavailing to secure the inhabitants from every species of oppression and inhumanity, or against the infraction of every stipulation on the part of the Turks; how then could it be hoped, that Parga, which had given an equal or greater degree of offence than any of them, would escape the vengeance of an unfeeling and exasperated tyrant,—for so they themselves represented Ali Pasha, under whose immediate government they were to be placed?—How could it be hoped that those conditions would be better respected in the case of Parga, than in those of the three places abovementioned, which were equally included in the same treaty? On the contrary, the very act of their having called in a British garrison at the moment when Ali Pasha had made himself certain of obtaining possession of the town, would naturally add to that thirst of vengeance with which the Parganotes supposed him to be actuated against them for former disappointments which their intrigues had occasioned. To stipulate, therefore, with the Ottoman Porte for the fulfilment of these conditions, would have been, in fact, to deliver over the Parganotes to the unlimited fury of Ali Pasha; in whose territories they are situated, and who is supposed to manage the internal concerns of his government, without much consulting the pleasure of his master.

As to the third point;—on what possible pretence we could have kept possession of Parga, as an appendage to the Ionian Islands, (which was the first and only object of the Parganotes,) we confess our lack of ingenuity to discover. We have yet to learn on what principle of justice and good faith we could presume to hold forcible possession of an integral part of the continental dominions of a sovereign which had been restored to him by a solemn treaty concluded by the allied powers of Europe, and while we were holding out the most unequivocal professions of conciliation and amity.

The only real security then, which appeared possible to be found for the Parganotes, was precisely that which was insisted on by Great Britain, namely:—that an option should be given to such of the inhabitants as might wish to withdraw from the continent, with ample time to remove, and compensation from the Porte for the full value of the property which all, thus withdrawing themselves, might leave behind. These conditions, it will readily be supposed, were not obtained without much labour and difficulty; we had, in fact, no right to insist upon them. But it appears that we not only did insist, but uniformly refused to evacuate Parga until they were procured, and until the amount of the compensation should actually be paid into the hands of the British authorities. Nor did we stop here—the officer in command at Corfu was instructed generously to offer to the emigrating Parganotes a settlement in the Ionian Islands, by which they would be united with the people and government, with and under whom they had constantly expressed so eager a desire to live.

Unfortunately for the Parganotes, it happened that, during the delay unavoidably incurred by these gratuitous negotiations in their favour with the Ottoman Porte, certain officious agents in London and Paris, instigated by a few turbulent characters in Parga, found means to infect the minds of the rest of the community with a distrust of the intentions of the British government; as if that government could possibly have any other view than the interests of the Parganotes themselves; or any object to answer besides their advantage, in endeavouring to make for them the best terms that could be obtained. Great pains were taken to persuade them that as, by the treaty of 1815, Great Britain could have no pretensions to the territory of Parga, and as she did not choose to consider herself bound to see the stipulations of the treaty of 1800 fulfilled, she had nothing to do but to evacuate the place:—that she ought therefore to be desired to do so, and leave the Parganotes to defend their fortress—their miserable fortress, against the whole power of Ali Pasha backed by that of the Porte! We will do the Parganotes the justice to believe that they are neither so grossly ignorant, nor so credulous as not to perceive the absurdity of the impudent assertion
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‘ that a handful of men is sufficient to keep the place, and that, on the land side, thousands of troops would attempt in vain to take it by force.* These pernicious advisers knew well enough, that the mere attempt at resistance would have been nothing short of devoting the whole people of Parga to inevitable destruction, to be accomplished under every feeling of revenge which their obstinacy would have provoked in the breasts of their enemies;—for the contest could not have been long, nor the issue of it doubtful. But their atrocious counsel was calculated to answer one of two base ends; to bring indelible disgrace on the British nation, if it had been followed; or, to afford the Parganotes an argument (though a bad one) in urging their unfounded claims on Great Britain.

To obviate so dreadful a catastrophe the British ambassador was authorized to announce to the Porte, that the British garrison would be withdrawn from Parga so soon as the Sultan should give his accession to the new settlement of the Ionian Islands, which circumstances, arising out of the war with France, had compelled the allied sovereigns to determine upon; but not until he had further consented to provide a suitable indemnity for such of the Parganotes as might resolve, from motives of personal security, to remove. We pretend not to be acquainted with all the considerations which may have rendered this latter condition a preliminary of indispensable justice and generosity, as it appears to have been regarded, on the part of the British government; but we are quite certain we shall be borne out in stating that we had not the shadow of a claim to demand such a concession.—We presume however that the conduct of the Parganotes in assisting to expel the enemy from the place, and the painful events that had previously occurred, in direct violation of every condition of the treaty of 1800, at Previsa, Vonitza, and Butrinto, were deemed to render this humane interference in favour of the inhabitants an imperative act of duty on the part of Great Britain.

But those inhabitants of Parga who might be disposed to remain were equally the objects of British solicitude. As the treaty was still in force between Russia and the Porte, (which the special conditions thus obtained in favour of such of the Parganotes as chose to withdraw, could not be considered as abrogating in any respect,) it was considered that the rights to be claimed under that treaty, by those who should stay behind, ought to be secured to them by the Ottoman Porte. To those rights they were clearly and unequivocally entitled, and to all the privileges thereby granted to them; and it was competent for Russia at any time to claim the same for them. The British government, however, not being a di-

* Exposé des Faits, &c.

rect party to the treaty of 1800, had no such right of interference; she might endeavour to prevail on the Porte to grant them, without being considered as bound by any obligation to watch over their fulfilment:—and this step she appears to have taken. Having succeeded Russia in the character of protector of the Ionian Islands, and the immediate countenance of a Russian force being thus lost to the Parganotes, His Majesty's minister at the Congress, instead of being ignorant of the state of Parga, or forgetful of the Parganotes, as has been with equal ignorance and impertinence insinuated,* appears to have taken the deepest interest in the security of this little community: this is fully proved by the instructions given to the ambassador at Constantinople, to employ his good offices, in concert with the Russian minister, if necessary, to secure to those who might remain all the privileges to which they were solemnly entitled by the treaty in question.

But let us examine a little closer what would have been our situation with regard to the Ottoman Porte, and what the result, had we insisted on keeping possession of Parga as an appendage of the Ionian Islands, or taken upon us the Russian guarantee for the fulfilment of the conditions in favour, not of Parga alone, but of Previsa, Butrinto and Vonitza, every one of which had an equal claim on our protection in that character. We could have no right to separate the one from the other; for we are at a loss to discover on what principle we are left at liberty to fulfil only such parts of a treaty as may suit our purpose, and reject or violate the rest.

In the first case, we should have held it in direct breach of a solemn treaty concluded with the allied sovereigns of Europe; and contrary to every principle of justice towards its real sovereign; and as far as the political advantage of such a proceeding was concerned, all that was thus unjustly withheld would have amounted to a barren rock on the Ottoman territory,—without the means of resistance,—without funds to create such means,—without the possibility of its ever being of the smallest utility to us,—and with the certainty of generating a spirit of hostility and disgust on the part of our ally, the Porte.

That we might have been able to hold Parga against a Turkish force, is not meant to be denied; but we could have held it only as a military place,—as we hold Gibraltar. It must have been strongly fortified and garrisoned—it must have been held at the enormous expense of £60,000 or £80,000 a-year, besides an immediate outlay of double or triple that sum, to put it into a state of defence;—and even then, we could not have maintained a foot of ground

* Edinburgh Review, No. LXIV.

beyond the walls; for there is no natural boundary to the territory of Parga, which lies open on all sides for the entry of the Turk whenever he pleases. The fort is commanded on three sides by hills higher than itself, the nearest not more than 800 yards, and the farthest 1600 yards from it. Within the fort two small tanks of bad water afford a scanty supply for the garrison and about half of the population. The springs are all on the outside—the principal one a mile from the town—and might at any time be completely cut off by the Turks. What then becomes of the vapouring about ‘the brave Parganotes defending themselves’!—eight hundred undisciplined men, with a few honey-combed guns mounted on rotten carriages, and without a single article of provisions but what must be received from the enemy’s territory, or by sea, and without the means of purchasing any!—And yet we are told, with that ignorant confidence which ceases to surprize by frequent repetition, that to surrender it was most impolitic and injurious to our own interests, as possessors of the Ionian Islands; because—‘Parga was almost the only remaining channel *through which they could be supplied with provisions*.’*—‘Supplied’!—from a territory which scarcely affords *four months’* provisions even to its own inhabitants! Had our garrison depended on the Parganotes for provisions, it must very soon have been starved out. Every necessary of life was in fact received from the territories of Ali Pasha; and even the straw for the soldiers’ paliasses was sent from Santa Maura.

But there is another view of the subject which ought not to be lost sight of. We have taken upon ourselves, at the express desire of the Allied Sovereigns, the office of Protectors of the Ionian Republic. Now, though the occupation of Parga could have no political bearing on those islands, it must have had an intimate connexion with the British forces employed in the protection of them; and looking at it in this point of view, the occupation of Parga would not only have been not desirable, but attended with evils of the greatest magnitude—evils which would materially have interfered with the observance of the duties devolved on us as protectors of the Ionian people. We shall mention only the universal quarantine under which those islands have suffered most heavily, principally in consequence of communication with that useless ap-

* ‘We think it by no means unlikely that the noble lord (Castlereagh) was actually ignorant of the compact made between our officers and the Pargiots, and are almost certain that he was not at all aware of the vast importance of that place (the Pargiots’) for the victualling of the Islands which we were to retain.’—*Edin. Rev.* No. LXIV. p. 286.

The Northern Seers have for once opined rightly—the noble lord was equally ignorant of any such ‘compact,’ and of the ‘victualling resources’ of Parga.

pendage. To relieve 200,000 Ionians from this penalty, is one of the most desirable circumstances that could possibly take place.

The circumstances of the case would be very little different, except in point of expense, had Great Britain adopted the alternative of taking upon herself the guarantee given by Russia in her treaty of 1800 with the Turks. Considering the temper and disposition of the two parties, scenes of irritation, if not of bloodshed, would perpetually have occurred; and, instead of being the friend and ally of the Porte, as it is our interest to be, we should have been transformed at once into its natural and dreaded enemy. In such a state of things, can any one, who reflects on the fate of Previsa, doubt for a moment what would have been that of Parga? and what the disgrace, which, by such a catastrophe, its nominal protectors would have incurred?

In either case, had our negotiators been carried away by the romantic feelings of some, or the morbid humanity of others, Great Britain would have been placed, in respect to the Mahommedan government of Turkey, pretty much in the situation in which we formerly stood in regard to the Mahommedan powers in India; and one in which we could scarcely hope, with all imaginable caution and moderation, not to put to hazard the preservation of peace on the continent of Europe,—a peace which it is certainly neither our interest nor our policy to disturb.

And for whom were these sacrifices to be made?—for the Parganotes, it will be answered,—‘for the independent and virtuous Parganotes, whose men are all brave, and whose women are all chaste and unwatched.’ The inhabitants of Parga, like those of the other Venetian colonies, were a mixture of Greeks, Albanians, and Italians, and, like them too, once possessed, in an eminent degree, all the rude virtues and all the gross vices of these several people. The love of independence, courage, and hospitality, might then be reckoned among the best qualities of a horde of depredators, subject to no regular government: a restless and intriguing disposition, a proneness to quarrel and revenge, a spirit of lawless enterprise and plunder were among their bad ones; and these the Parganotes possessed in common with the rest of the Epirotes, whose character seems to have been justly estimated by Pyrrhus of old, when he bequeathed them to that son of his who ‘wore the sharpest sword.’ It is true, the system of plunder and robbery, so common among most of the Grecian states, and which by some has been softened down under the name of petty warfare, was not considered in any part of Greece in that criminal light in which it is viewed in the more established governments of Europe; but the Epirotes were proverbially ferocious. Though we are not altogether prepared to assert with Mr. Hobhouse, that ‘the character of the Parganotes is amongst

amongst the *worst* of the Albanians,' we see no reason to conclude that it was at all better, at least while the country behind it remained unsettled: for some years past, indeed, the tranquil state of the neighbouring territory has necessarily kept them at home.

The character of a people is long preserved in their national songs. All that were sung by those Albanians of the coast, who accompanied Lord Byron and Mr. Hobhouse, 'were relations of some robbing exploits;' and 'one of them,' says Mr. Hobhouse, began thus:—"When we set out from Parga, there were sixty of us," and the burden was—

‘Κλεφταὶ ποῖε Πάργα,
Κλεφταὶ ποῖε Πάργα.’

‘Robbers all at Parga,
Robbers all at Parga.’

Much stress has been laid on these people being Christians; as if all the Albanian robbers were not Christians, and had not their papas, as well as the Parganotes and the rest of the Greeks;—these are said to be not more strict in their conduct than enlightened in their understandings. 'In most of the crimes committed,' says an intelligent traveller, 'during my stay at Athens, a papas was discovered as an accessory; and a gang of robbers, or a boat of pirates, is seldom without its chaplain.*' The papas of the Parganotes are of the very lowest kind. With respect to the Christianity of either priests or people, it consists merely of a few external ceremonies more senseless than those of the Roman Catholics, and the observance of superstitions more childish and absurd.

The boasted independence and magnanimity of the Parganotes may be estimated from the single circumstance of Parga being held as a Venetian colony and garrisoned with Venetian troops for several centuries. It never defended nor even attempted to defend itself, after the fall of that power; but was always ready to supplicate support from every nation in succession whom it thought the strongest, and to place its feeble fortress in their hands. To the Venetians it merely served as a link in the chain of their continental possessions, now swallowed up in the territory of the Ottoman Porte; in other respects, so conscious were they of its imbecility, and so satisfied of its total want of importance, either in a military or commercial point of view, that they endeavoured from time to time to keep down the population, by withdrawing its inhabitants from the place, and encouraging them to settle in Corfu.

With regard to the superior virtues of the Parganotes, none of our officers, who, from long residence, ought to know them best, discovered any of them except Lieut. Colonel de Bosset. Insulated

* Douglas's *Essay on the Ancient and Modern Greeks*.

indeed,

indeed, as they were, they could not be expected to display either virtues or vices to any remarkable extent; in whatever degree of either they might once have excelled, their scope during the existing generation has been extremely limited. The priests seemed to possess not only the same degree of influence over them that the Romish priests exercise over the peasantry of Ireland, but they were generally (as we have seen) at the bottom of every intrigue. About thirty families of the primates had acquired nearly all the property of the place, by taking advantage of the distresses of the rest, and lending them money at an exorbitant interest. The greatest proportion of the people were wretchedly poor, and obtained their subsistence by labouring in the vineyards and olive groves, in boat-building, and in fishing, at which they were notoriously inexpert. The most respectable part of the population of the town were petty shopkeepers; but the very best of these did not scruple to cheat a soldier out of a penny whenever an opportunity occurred. Money is the soul of a Parganote; and matters of the most trifling amount are the objects of vexatious and clamorous disputes:—their petty courts were thronged with perpetual litigants; and to obtain a dollar a Parganote pleader would harangue through half the day.

For acuteness, low cunning and intrigue, they are quite ‘as notorious as the Turks of Negropont, the Jews of Salonica, and the Greeks of Athens;’—in a word, like the *Græculus esuriens* of the satirist, they are

‘A flattering, cringing, treacherous, artful race,
Of torrent tongue and never-blushing face;
A Protean tribe, one knows not what to call,
Which shifts to every form, and shines in all.’

But this and more, say the advocates of the Parganotes, is redeemed by the ‘bravery of the men and the chastity of the women.’ All robbers must be brave; but since there has been little to do *on the road*, and less in the way of piracy *on the water*, the only instances which we have been able to discover of the bravery of the Parganotes are the two exploits already noticed. We are not disposed to bear hard on the frailties of the fair sex, and are willing to admit that the women of Parga may be chaste, when they have few opportunities, though ‘unwatched,’ of being otherwise: we think too that the awkward custom, mentioned by Colonel de Bosset, of their being lent out on trial before marriage, is an impeachment rather of their parents’ delicacy than of their own. Had M. de Bosset, however, been disposed to tell the whole truth, he might have related, from his own knowledge, that any young Parganote girl was to be purchased *for time*; and he might also have informed his readers, that the daughter of one of the first families in Parga, so beautiful as to be known by the name of the ‘Queen of Parga,’

Parga', was literally transferred by her own father to an officer, who, after a certain period, returned her to his care with the sum of 500 dollars for the usufruct.

The women of Parga are 'handsome,' and, as far as the bust goes, finely shaped; but the whole figure is short, clumsy and ill put together; the men are well made, active, but not 'industrious.' Both sexes are good-humoured and have a winning address. When our troops first entered the town, men, women, and children turned out to greet them; but the story of the inhabitants receiving them 'under arms' is untrue.

We have not made these observations for the sake of detraction, but in the spirit of truth, and for the detection of imposture. The vices of the Parganotes are no more necessary to be held forth than their virtues, in vindication of the measures which have been pursued with regard to them; but they require to be mentioned in order to expose that system of deception which has been practised with such successful assiduity, not only in England, but over the whole continent of Europe, to the prejudice of the honour and character of the British nation; and which M. Duval has the audacity to quote and enforce as 'a proof, which must be added to so many others, of its Machiavelism, avarice, and perfidy.' Had the English officers adopted the same atrocious means of getting rid of the Parganotes, which an infamous French colonel did with regard to the unfortunate Albanians, who had fled for protection to the island of Cerigo, then under his command, *by poisoning the wells*,* M. Duval might have transferred a share of French 'perfidy' to Englishmen:—but the libel to which this 'Member of the Royal Institute' has lent his name is every way worthy of its patron.

But the person to whom the Parganotes were to be delivered affords to their advocates so grand a display of eloquence on crosses and crescents, Christianity and Mahommedanism, that one would think nothing short of another crusade was on the eve of being undertaken against the infidel Albanians for the restoration of 'Christian Parga.' Ali Pasha, under whose immediate government Parga is situated, whom the Parganotes have frequently insulted and irritated, and of whom, therefore, they stand naturally in awe, has been described as a monster of cruelty. We have no desire or intention to come forward as his champions; but be the means what they may, which he has employed to acquire the ascendancy that he now enjoys, he has certainly succeeded in bringing into

* 'I was under the necessity,' says this wretch, whose name was *Pocris*, 'of poisoning their wells, which destroyed numbers of them; this alarming and unexpected event obliged the remainder to fly'—and for what did he resort to this horrible deed? because 'their abode in this island is likely to produce some discussions with our neighbours of European Turkey.'—*Quart. Rev.* No. VI.

complete order a very important tract of country, which was little more than one vast den of robbers; and, as Gibbon remarks, ‘though within sight of Italy, less known than the interior of America:’—a country which, before the pashalic of Ali, no traveller could pass through with the slightest probability of escaping from robbery or murder, or both; but in which there is now more facility, and a greater safety in travelling, with better accommodation, than in any other part of the Mahomedan empire. We are told by a traveller, who is not sparing in the exhibition of the Pasha’s numerous crimes, that, by his vigorous measures, he has rendered those parts of the country perfectly accessible that were before overrun by robbers, and bettered the condition of his subjects; that ‘he has built bridges over the rivers, raised causeways across the marshes, laid out frequent roads, adorned the country and the towns with new buildings, and by many wholesome regulations has acted the part of a good and great prince.’* To the same effect we have the testimony of Doctor Holland, who resided at his court for some time, and attended him in a medical capacity; from him we learn that Ioannina is the residence of the most valuable part of the population of Greece, the wealthiest of their merchants, the most respectable of their tradesmen: there (he says) are to be found the best society, the men of learning and science—in short, it appears that the capital of Ali Pasha is as much superior to modern Athens, as London is to Dublin or Edinburgh. Whether the Greeks bear any affection to their Turkish ruler we cannot take upon ourselves to determine; but they are always glad to betake themselves to his dominions, as being more certain of protection there than elsewhere; and why the Parganotes do not choose to trust to that protection is best known to themselves.

But however indefensible the conduct of this chief may have been on many occasions, we are not sure that it is either advantageous to our interests, or (what is more important) to those of the people whom he rules by delegation, that we, in England, should invidiously inquire into all the circumstances of his life, and exhibit his character in the most odious colours, while most of his accusers have been supplied with all their knowledge, and gained all their information, from the extended civilization which he has effected, and from the personal civility which they have received at his hands. To this reprehensible conduct Lord Byron is no party. ‘I have,’ says his lordship, ‘no complaint to make, but am indebted for many civilities, (I might almost say for friendship,) and much hospitality, to Ali Pasha.’

* Hobhouse—*Journey through Albania.*

It was not, however, *with* Ali Pasha that the negotiations respecting Parga were conducted, nor *to* Ali Pasha that it was to be surrendered. The whole arrangement was made, as we have already stated, by our ambassador at Constantinople. The compensation was to be paid by, and the place delivered up to, the Ottoman Porte;—nor was Ali Pasha even consulted until regularly deputed by the Sultan to take possession of the place and to pay the stipulated indemnity.

But the mode in which this arrangement was carried into execution is made another ground of complaint: we shall shew, however, that it was marked throughout by a spirit of justice and fair dealing towards both parties, and of humane consideration towards the unfortunate Parganotes, (for so they may be deemed, though the alternative so much deplored was of their own choice,) such as became the character of a powerful and generous nation.

As soon as the negotiations for giving up Parga were concluded at Constantinople, the Sultan appointed Hadji Khan Hamed Bey his commissioner to take possession of the place, and at the same time to deliver his accession to the treaty, relative to the Ionian Islands. To meet this commissioner, and to arrange matters respecting the valuation of the property, General Maitland nominated Mr. Cartwright, (then British consul at Patras and now consul-general at Constantinople,) as a person who, from his habits of business and his official situation, appeared to be the best qualified for the delicate and difficult task of steering between two conflicting and dissatisfied parties. Mr. Cartwright proceeded to Ioannina, whence Hamed Bey had written to announce his arrival. To give confidence to the Parganotes, on the approach of the commissioners, the Commander in Chief of the Ionian Islands thought fit to reinforce the garrison to three hundred men, and to appoint at the same time Lieutenant-Colonel de Bosset commandant of the place;—a most unfortunate appointment! as it proved the immediate source of all the clamour which has been excited against Great Britain. The weakness of this officer's intellects, which is abundantly conspicuous in every part of his silly book, is a poor excuse for the mischief it occasioned; and a still poorer one for the libel which a sense of decency should have prevented him from publishing on the British government and his brother-officers. That he should give vent to his spleen against Sir Thomas Maitland does not surprise us, as the general soon found it absolutely necessary to remove him from his command. But leaving this; we must observe that Colonel de Bosset's statement *with* regard to Parga, and especially the share which he assigns (whether through malice, or ignorance, we care not) to Ali Pasha, is utterly

destitute of foundation, and at variance with all the facts of the case.

Without entering into a detailed refutation of this blundering foreigner's representation, and his total misconception of the relation in which Parga stood with regard to Great Britain, it may be sufficient to observe on his conduct that, from the moment he entered Parga, he seems to have kept the inhabitants in a constant state of ferment by encouraging the idea of their being unconditionally given up to Ali Pasha; and while Sir Thomas Maitland, through Commissioner Cartwright, had definitively arranged with Hamed Bey, the Commissioner of the Porte at Ioannina, that the place should not be ceded on any consideration, until the full indemnity for every one's property had actually been received, Colonel de Bosset appears to have countenanced the most idle and absurd reports,—one day taking depositions of certain Parganotes that Ali Pasha was on the frontier; another, that he was assembling an army; another, collecting gunpowder, &c.; while he was quietly residing at Ioannina: so haunted indeed was this officer with the idea of the Pasha's atrocities, that he took it at last into his head that he had formed a plan to poison the bread and water destined for the use of the garrison! While these unfounded alarms were perpetually renewed by his credulity among the poor people of Parga, it could surprise no one but Lieut. Colonel de Bosset that they ceased from following their usual occupations. In fact, he appears to have shared the alarm which he had created, so far that, when the two commissioners arrived on the frontier of Parga, though he had upwards of 300 English soldiers under his command, besides 'the brave Parganotes, who,' according to his own statement, 'were able to defend themselves against the whole power of Ali Pasha,' he was actually so terrified at the idea of Hamed Bey and his *forty unarmed followers*, that he first refused to admit them, and afterwards endeavoured to throw every impediment in the way of their proceeding to the business on which they were specially sent. His officious and unauthorized interference, hampering them in the execution of their duties, produced on the minds of both the commissioners so strong a feeling of disgust, that General Maitland was compelled, as we have seen, to supersede him in the command of the place. Hamed Bey, indeed, distinctly stated that, on calling the inhabitants before him, he found the determination of the *whole* of them to remove had been brought about by the efforts and intrigues of this officer. The cession was thus delayed for a whole year, as Hamed Bey, not prepared for such an event, had to send for fresh instructions to Constantinople.

Displeased as we understand the Sultan was with this unnecessary waste of time, he was at length persuaded to let the whole property
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of Parga be valued, and to consent to pay the compensation :—but here again a source of mischief was discovered arising out of the imbecility and indiscretion of Lieut. Colonel de Bosset. Mr. Cartwright, while at Ioannina, had written to this officer (of whom he knew nothing but his rank) to give him privately some idea of what might be the whole value of the fixed property of Parga ; and how did the colonel set about this confidential and delicate commission ? —Just as might be expected : he employed the Parganotes themselves to draw up an estimate of the amount of their own property ! which, as might have been foretold, was nearly thrice as much as it was worth. Can it then occasion any surprize that, on finding the real valuation fall so far short of that which they themselves had given in, the Parganotes should feel or affect considerable dissatisfaction, and raise an outcry against the proceedings of the commissioners ?

The persons appointed by the General to make the valuation on the part of the Parganotes were four gentlemen of respectability on the island of Corfu. With singular care, and after long and continued labour, they took an accurate schedule of the property of every individual within the territory, on which they put the same value that a similar property would be worth on that island. They found the number of houses and cottages to amount to 852, and the number of inhabitants, men, women and children, to 2700, of which 200 were Albanians ;* the number of olive-trees was 80,447 ; of wild olives, 9,186 ; of orange and citron-trees, 23,082 ; of other fruit trees, 13,012 ; and of Valonia oaks, 513 ; besides vineyards and cultivable grounds, all of which were measured. The value of this property, which the Parganotes had stated at 500,000*l.*, was estimated by the Corfu commissioners at 280,000*l.* ; but by those on the part of the Sultan at 30,750*l.* only.

Here then the two parties were again at issue, though not so much as might appear at first sight ; the Corfu commissioners having fixed the value as if the property had been at Corfu, and without any deduction for prompt cash payment ; the first of which, it seems, admits of an abatement of one-third part by the rule in force even under the Venetian government, and the latter, of one-fourth. These deductions therefore would reduce their valuation to about 140,000*l.*

Still, however, the difference was so great between the two valuations as to leave little hopes of coming to any speedy adjustment ; but the perseverance of Sir Thomas Maitland finally succeeded in obtaining for the Parganotes 150,000*l.* (666,000 dollars,)

* ‘ Parga contained a population of about five thousand souls ! ’ —*Edinburgh Review*. This is of a piece with all the rest.

nearly three times the sum estimated by the officers of the Porte. But here again a difficulty occurred. Hamed Bey had provided the payment in Turkish piastres, a miserably debased coin. Had these been accepted, so vast a sum carried into the Ionian Islands would at once have so depreciated the value, as to cause a very considerable loss to the Parganotes, and detriment to the money circulation of the Ionian republic. The voluntary liberality of Hamed Bey, however, smoothed this point of difficulty, and at the expense of 33,000 dollars he procured from Constantinople Spanish and Imperial dollars to the whole amount.

The moment this indemnity was received, the result was publicly proclaimed in specific terms; every inhabitant was explicitly informed of the sum he was to receive, of the amount of the valuation originally made of his respective property, and the diminution in consequence of the subsequent arrangements: and every one was again distinctly told that it was entirely at his own option either to remove or stay. To prevent any mistake, each received a ticket, stating the amount of his individual share; and the result of the whole proceeding was, that, instead of making any objections to the fairness of the valuation, the Parganotes all expressed their satisfaction at what had been done for them, in the strongest and most unequivocal manner; as that excellent officer, Lieut. Colonel Gubbins, their civil governor, who had no small share of trouble on the occasion, will, we are quite sure, be ready to testify.

We should have added that, on the delivery of the tickets, each individual was again informed, that he was still perfectly at liberty to remain, or to accept what had been considered as a fair equivalent for the property which he was about to leave.* They had all, however, made up their minds to quit the place, except one family; and they quitted it accordingly: one of the primates returned the following day, and was kindly received by Hamed Bey, and also by Ali Pasha, who visited the place three days after its evacuation.

On the arrival of the Parganotes at Corfu, it was settled with the Ionian government, that they should be at once, by an act of the legislature, acknowledged as naturalized subjects, and indulged in their anxious wish 'to follow the fate of the Ionian Islands;' giving them, at the same time, permission to settle in any of the Seven without the least restriction on their free agency, other than the obligation imposed on each individual, that, having once made his

* Hamed Bey made known by public proclamation the sentiments of the Porte on this occasion. 'I engage,' says he, 'on behalf of the Sublime Porte, that all those, who from attachment to their beloved country, may remain behind, shall enjoy liberty of every kind, and every thing which regards their religion, without hindrance or molestation, together with every security, and in the most profound tranquillity in all that concerns their condition, their honour, and the respect due to each.'

choice,

choice, he should declare it to the local government of that island on which he had resolved to reside.

Every disposition was manifested on the part of the general (now Lord High Commissioner) to make the situation of the Parganotes comfortable. He offered them lands; to build them a church, a market-place, a court-house, and such other public buildings as might be necessary; to grant the lands on one spot, if they chose it, on which they might erect a *Parga nova*; and he endeavoured, by many other kind offices, to convince them of the deep interest which His Majesty's government had invariably felt for their present comfort, and their ultimate and permanent advantage. The large sums of money, which many of the families had received, enabled them to enter on a more extensive scale of trade than they had hitherto been able to exercise while cooped up in Parga: some fixed themselves in small shops; others had recourse to the carrying trade and to fishing, and few or no complaints were heard among them.

The mischief however, that had been hatching, shortly manifested itself. An account of the speech of Sir Charles Monck, in which all their grievances were stated, with many others of which they had never dreamt, reached Corfu; and we need hardly observe that, however satisfied people in their situation might be, it would be too much to expect they should remain so, or continue to think themselves well treated, when they found persons of distinction in the parliament of Great Britain roundly asserting the contrary, and not only deprecating their lot, but wantonly abusing the government for its cruelty and injustice towards them.*

Without affecting the puling cant of humanity, (so fashionable at the present day,) we can feel what it is for a whole people to abandon a spot to which they had long been riveted by habit, by affection, by the recollection of pleasures and enjoyments of which they are called upon for ever to take leave—to fly from a country endearred by those early ties, and numerous associations which every hill and rock and rivulet has power to awaken—and to leave behind those roofs which have been the scene of the strongest passions which agitate the human mind—these, in truth, are no slight evils; but when imperious necessity demands the sacrifice, and when

* When publications in England and in France teem with misrepresentations in their behalf, tending to persuade them of the bad conduct of the British government and of its officers, it can be no matter of surprize that so shrewd a people should be tempted to fabricate new claims and to set up the most exaggerated pretensions. It would be well, however, for the Parganotes, to consider whether the officious meddling of their hot-headed partizans is likely to dispose those, who alone can benefit them, to continue to act in their favour. At all events we are quite sure that the arrogant and bullying tone assumed by M. Duval is not likely to produce that end. Every page of this rancorous pamphlet (which we have reason to believe was manufactured in London) contains a falsehood which the next page frequently detects.

every possible assistance is given to alleviate the less, and to ward off the greater calamity, generosity as well as justice should prevent them from calumniating their benefactors. In justice to the Parganotes, however, it must be added that they were at least resigned to their fate, until they learned the clamour that was raised in their behalf.

After all that has happened, it must be confessed that we are a singular people. The mist through which we look at distant objects has often a wonderful effect in distorting their shape and enlarging their dimensions; and the same things which occur at home without creating an unusual sensation, may fill us with horror if the Atlantic or the Indian ocean chance to roll between. Recent events might furnish more than one striking example of this anomaly, had we leisure to pursue the subject; but we are straitened for time, and our decreasing limits warn us to hasten to a conclusion.

At any rate the degree of compassion which has been excited for the Parganotes is extravagant. If we compare the full and prompt indemnity procured for them, with the slow and scanty pittance granted to that numerous body of American loyalists, to whom we were pledged by every tie that ancient connection and recent devotion and attachment could enforce, we shall find that the balance, we will not say of justice, but of liberality, will preponderate considerably in favour of the former. Of the Americans, many of those, we fear, whose small properties were swept away by the issue of that disastrous contest, received no compensation for their losses, while the very meanest of the Parganotes received the full value of all that he possessed.

What indemnification was granted, we would ask, or what stipulations were made in favour of the great proprietors of any of the French West India islands ceded at the treaty of Amiens? In what way did we interfere to secure either the persons or properties of the numerous French landholders who adhered to their sovereign or his cause, from the tyranny of Buonaparte? But leaving this,—we would gladly learn in what Treaty, for a cession of territory, made by any of the powers of Europe, was any other favourable condition ever granted to the inhabitants of that territory, except that of settling a term, within which those who either belonged to it or were attached to the power who ceded it, should have a right to dispose of their property in the best manner they were able.

Parga alone offers an honourable exemption from this rule; and the paying to the inhabitants the absolute value of the property which they voluntarily relinquished, within the short space of four months, in which all their litigations, conflicting titles, and numerous claims of great variety and complexity were adjusted, does no less

less credit to the active and impartial interference of the British government, than to its disinterested consideration for those who confided in its justice and power.

Here then we pause—happy in being enabled, at the close, for the gratification of those ex-official agents who profess to have the interests of the Parganotes so deeply at heart, to lay before them the concluding paragraph of a letter which we have just received from Corfu:—

‘ We perceive, by Sir Charles Monck’s speech, that there are 4,000 Parganotes (*high-minded* Parganotes, but, in truth, very great rogues), actually starving in some of those islands: there never were more than 2700 of these people, and they are almost all here, very fat, well fed, and rich. They own that their property has been disposed of most advantageously; and their ready money, in a country where it is very scarce, enables them to strut and domineer, and to take a very considerable share of the little trade, which the Corfiotes enjoyed, out of their hands; the latter, of course, are discontented, but the Parganotes laugh at every body, and absolutely chuckle at the labours of their zealous advocates in England.’

We cannot dismiss the subject, however, without exhibiting one brief specimen of that extraordinary system of delusion with which the public feelings have been abused on this occasion. We quote the moving *spectacle* entire from the *Edinburgh Review*.—‘ Mark now, how I will raise the waters!’—*Launcelot*.

‘ As soon as this notice was given, every family marched solemnly out of its dwelling, without tears or lamentations; and the men, preceded by their priests, and followed by their sons, proceeded to the sepulchres of their fathers, and silently unearthed and collected their remains,—which they placed upon a huge pile of wood which they had previously erected before one of their churches. They then took their arms in their hands, and, setting fire to the pile, stood motionless and silent around it, till the whole was consumed. During this melancholy ceremony, some of Ali’s troops, impatient for possession, approached the gates of the town; upon which a deputation of the citizens was sent to inform our governor, that if a single infidel was admitted before the remains of their ancestors were secured from profanation, and they themselves, with their families, fairly embarked, they would all instantly put to death their wives and children,—and die with their arms in their hands,—and not without a bloody revenge on those who had bought and sold their country. Such a remonstrance, at such a moment, was felt and respected, as it ought by those to whom it was addressed. General Adam succeeded in stopping the march of the Mussulmans. The pile burnt out—and the people embarked in silence;—and Free and Christian Parga is now a stronghold of ruffians, renegadoes, and slaves!’—No. LXIV. p. 293. .

Such is the affecting and heart-rending scene, which is represented to have closed what the writer is pleased to call ‘ the tragedy
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of Parga !—with what deep pathos it is expressed ! how appropriate the machinery ! how admirable the grouping !—and if one circumstance had not been wanting, the drama would have been quite perfect :—To M. Duval, to the ex-official agents of the Parganotes, and to those who have been concerned in getting up this afflicting catastrophe, the circumstance we allude to may not be considered of much importance—it is simply this : THAT THERE IS NOT ONE WORD OF TRUTH IN IT FROM BEGINNING TO END, AND THAT THE WHOLE IS A FABRICATION. Yes, gentle reader ! The families marching out—the priests preceding—the sons following—the procession to the sepulchres—the disinterment of the bones—the *huge* pyre of wood—the firing of it in solemn silence—the troops of Ali, and the deputation of the citizens—the threat of putting to death their wives and children, and dying with arms in their hands—the success of General Adam in stopping the march of the Mussulmans—the burning out of the pile—and the silent embarkation—ALL, ALL THIS MACHINERY AND EVERY PART OF IT, we most positively and unequivocally assert,—and pledge ourselves for the truth of the assertion,—to be an absolute and positive falsehood : and we do not hesitate to appeal, for the truth of our statement, to Major General Sir Frederick Adam, and to Lieut. Colonel Gubbins, who delivered up the place ; the latter of whom had been eight months commandant of the garrison and civil governor of the town, and remained in Parga three days after its occupation by the Turkish troops.

Nothing but a determined and premeditated spirit of malevolence could have fabricated a story so utterly destitute of truth. Whether it was wholly imagined, or built on some trifling circumstance, is not material to inquire ; but, in either case, it furnishes a criterion by which we may estimate the value of all the other calumnies which have gone forth on this subject. In the statement now submitted to our readers, we are not aware that we have omitted any part of the case, suppressed any fact, or misrepresented any circumstance respecting the restoration of a place, which has been so unworthily raised into importance, and so mischievously thrust forward into public notice.

ART. VI.—*Ἑλληνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη. With Observations relating to the modern Greek Language.* By M. Coray. 8 vols. 8vo. 1819. Paris.

IN comparing the languages of Ancient and Modern Greece, we observe that a very large class of words belonging to the former, is to be found also in the Romaic tongue ; and in pursuing our investigation, we discover that various terms and phrases which have
been

been generally considered as of recent introduction, occur in writers who preceded the Christian era, or lived in the centuries immediately following it. The Byzantines, by continued study of the works of their predecessors, must, without question, have preserved, to a late period, the knowledge and use of many words of the ancient language: they composed in it, we find, with facility and purity; they collected and transcribed manuscripts, and illustrated the productions of the best authors with Scholia and Commentaries. The dispute relating to the comparative merits of Aristotle and Plato, in which Bessario, Pletho, Gennadius, Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and other Greeks were engaged, is a proof of the popularity of the works of those philosophers in the fifteenth century. Constantinople continued, until its capture by the Turks, to be frequented by the Latins, who were distinguished for their love of literature. ‘The same reputation,’ says Æneas Sylvius, ‘which Athens had in the days of ancient Rome, does Constantinople appear to possess in our time.’

But the language, in the course of succession, had sustained various alterations in its syntax, in the termination of nouns, in the loss of tenses and cases, in orthography, and accentuation. Two questions, therefore, arise which offer a subject of curious and not uninteresting inquiry: First—to what circumstances the preservation of the Greek tongue, for so long a period, are to be attributed? Secondly, what were the causes which led to the corruption of the modern idiom, and of what nature were the changes introduced, either by the ignorance and barbarism of the Greeks themselves, or by their intercourse with other nations? The discussion of these points will, we conceive, throw considerable light on the history and formation of the Romaic tongue.

The Macedonians, by their conquests, carried the language of Greece to the most remote districts of the East. Many cities in Lesser and Upper Asia were founded by them; among which we may mention Synnada in Phrygia, Stratonice in Caria, and Thyatira in Mysia. They built also towns in the vicinity of Sardes; and various parts of Armenia and Mesopotamia were peopled by them. The terms Syro-Macedones and Syro-Hellenes prove the establishment of their language in Syria; and some of the coins of the sovereigns of the Macedonian dynasty in this country bear Phœnician and Greek characters. The influence of the Greeks, their commercial activity, and their numbers, contributed to preserve the use of the language throughout the East: it is seen on the coins of Daretas and the Abgari, on those of the Parthian monarchs; it is united with the Samaritan on the money of the Asmonean princes; and it occurs in the inscriptions of Palmyra.

Under the reign of some of the kings of Pergamus and Alexandria,

dria, valuable libraries were formed in those cities; they rivalled one another, says Bentley, in the magnificence and copiousness of them; and the protection afforded to literature by the Ptolemies is without example in the history of the world. In the civil wars which followed the death of Alexander, and in the revolutions of Greece and Asia during the progress of the Roman arms, Alexandria was frequented by men of letters from all parts of Greece; they were liberally entertained by the Ptolemies, from whom many of them received annual pensions; and in the *Museum* they were able to prosecute their studies without obstruction. These princes spared no expense in procuring the most valuable copies of the writers of Greece; and the varied erudition which so strongly characterizes the works of some of the poets of the times was in a great measure derived from the valuable library preserved at Bruchion. The sciences of physic, mathematics, astronomy, were cultivated with great ardour by the Greeks of Alexandria; and to the same school belong the grammarians and glossographi. The Ptolemies themselves were authors; the son of Lagus wrote the life of Alexander; Euergetes II. left twenty-four books of Commentaries. The language of Egypt was not neglected; but the Greek tongue seems to have been predominant: it was used in matters of business and commerce, and it is found in the public monuments of the country, sometimes by itself, sometimes associated with that of Egypt.*

The study of the Greek language formed a necessary part of the education of the children of the Romans. After they had received some instruction from a Greek rhetorician, they were sent to complete their studies at Rhodes, Mitylene, Apollonia (ad mare), and at Athens. Every well-educated Roman was conversant with the Greek language, and wrote in it with facility. On the other hand, Rome was crowded with physicians and artists, who came from the states of Magna Græcia, or the neighbouring continent. Philosophers, sophists, grammarians, received the protection of many of the Emperors, who had themselves been instructed by Greeks. Athenodorus of Tarsus and Apollodorus of Pergamus were two of the preceptors of Augustus; Theodore of Gadara, who wrote on the Dialects, was the tutor of Tiberius; Herodian, the son of Apollonius Dyscolus, was patronized by Marcus Antoninus, and dedicated to him his *προσῳδία καθολική*.

The New Testament, as Jortin observes, being written in Greek, 'caused Christians to apply themselves to the study of that most copious and beautiful language.' In consequence of the various readings and alterations in the text introduced by the negligence

* See the Rosetta stone, and the Ptolemaic inscriptions in Hamilton's *Egyptiaca*.

or ignorance of transcribers, a critical examination of the different copies became necessary ; and without a considerable acquaintance with pagan literature, the Greek fathers would have been unable to defend themselves against the attacks of their adversaries. Origen, Eusebius, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzum had diligently perused the authors of ancient Greece, and marks of imitation are frequently discernible in their works ; the writings of Plato in particular were familiar to the Greek fathers : the lofty speculations of that philosopher relating to the Deity and to the immortality of the soul had excited their admiration ; and many of them had belonged to the Academy before they came into the church of Christ.

In fact, no author of ancient Greece was more studied by the Greeks who wrote in the decline of the Roman, and in the first periods of the Byzantine empire, than Plato ; and Ruhnken has remarked, as a singular proof of it, that many passages in Plutarch, Maximus Tyrius, Synesius, Libanius, may be still corrected after the labours of learned commentators by a reference to his works. The pupils of the different sophists also derived from him many expressions to ornament their *Ἠθοποιῆται*, and *Μελέται*, or Declamations ; though it must be confessed that, in their imitations, either from want of judgment in the selection of their words, or from an abuse of Attic phrasology, they frequently exposed themselves to ridicule. The letters of Alciphron are an example of the mode adopted by the sophists in teaching Greek : these epistles were probably composed for the sake of shewing his scholars how the language might be written with purity and facility ; hence ‘ his ploughmen and fishermen are made to talk as correctly as Demosthenes and Lysias.’ The knowledge of the ancient language enabled the sophists to practise their literary forgeries with some success ; and they probably made those additions which are occasionally met with in Greek writers. A great part of the *Myriobiblon* of Photius did not come from the pen of that patriarch ; and Heyne discovered in a cursory reading of Manetho more than fifty insititious verses.

The compilation of Dictionaries and Glossaries, and the collection of different Scholia, and of observations relating to the Dialects, assisted the Greeks of the Roman and Byzantine empires in their study of the ancient authors. Some valuable explanatory works had been written by the Alexandrian critics ; and from these, succeeding grammarians drew many of their best remarks. In consequence of the change of the language, it became impossible to understand some parts of the Attic writers without consulting them. ‘ The *γλῶσσαι* of Plato,’ says Timæus* in his address to

* *Lexicon*, p. 3.

Gentianus, 'are not only obscure to you Romans, but also to most of the Greeks.'

From the first to the fifth century many cities in the East were crowded with students who attended the lessons of professors in rhetoric and theology. Tarsus, Berytus, and Antioch were celebrated places of instruction. The anniversary of the birth-day of Plato was commemorated at Athens, where a school, supported by rents* from land bequeathed by different persons, long flourished under the superintendence of some of the Platonists. Philosophers and sophists travelled through the provinces, and delivered, publicly, essays or declamations. Various specimens of their ingenuity have reached us; and though, in their extemporaneous discourses, they appear inaccurate in their quotations and inconclusive in their arguments, yet they may be considered as having contributed to preserve and diffuse the knowledge of the language.

After the schools of Athens were suppressed by order of Justinian, and Alexandria was taken by the Saracens, in the seventh century, Thessalonica and Constantinop'le were the only cities in which any attention was paid to literary pursuits. In the former, according to the testimony of John Cameniates, law, music, eloquence, and the liberal arts were taught in the tenth century. The Byzantine emperors afforded occasionally some protection to letters; this praise is particularly due to Bardas, Leo the philosopher, Constantine Porphyrogenetus, the Comneni, and Manuel Palæologus. Under their patronage, and in the quiet retreat of the monasteries, many copies of the most valuable works of ancient Greece were transcribed. It might be supposed that ecclesiastical writings would particularly engage the attention of the later Greeks; and accordingly we find that the manuscripts of Chrysostom are very numerous; the prose and metrical works of Gregory of Nazianzum were also exceedingly popular; and his namesake, the Bishop of Corinth, in speaking of the Attic dialect, cites, to our surprise, the testimony of that Father; but there is no reason to believe that the poets, orators, and philosophers of antiquity were neglected. From the colophon of the copy of Plato brought to England by Dr. Clarke, we learn that it was written in the ninth century; the Scholia on the Iliad, edited by Villoison, were transcribed in the tenth; in the twelfth, Eustathius wrote his commentaries on Pindar and Homer; and in the fifteenth, Arsenius, Archbishop of Monembasia, collected Scholia on the plays of Euripides.

In addition to the circumstances already mentioned, which contributed to promote a knowledge of the Greek tongue, we must not omit to point out the assistance derived from innumerable in-

* *Habebat hæc schola redditus annuos non mediocres.* Vales. in Euseb. H. E. x. 142.
scriptions

scriptions which might be found in all parts of Greece, in Asia Minor, and the Greek islands. Many of these preserved remarkable forms of the ancient language, and idioms peculiar to the dialects of different provinces; some were seen in Italy so late as the time of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Pliny; others at Byzantium in the sixth century; and the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius had probably perused the characters on the Sigeon stone.

Having stated the causes which preserved the language for so many centuries, we proceed to point out some of the changes introduced between the period when it began to decline in Greece, and received its last corruption under the Byzantines.

The first alteration was effected by the Macedonians about the time of Alexander. The expressions, phrases, and idioms of that people became *nationalized* at Athens.* They were used by Menander and other writers; and perhaps some of the vulgarisms which were remarked in the style of Epicurus may be attributed to the mixture of Attic and Macedonic. The different states of Greece, after their subjection to the Macedonians, were blended into one large community; and the idiotisms and peculiarities hitherto employed in separate provinces yielded to the *communis lingua* which began gradually to prevail, and continued to be the language in general use. The Attic writers were indeed still read and studied with great attention; Ionic and Doric idioms were employed also to a late period; Philopomen uses his native language; and Mandricidas answers Pyrrhus in Laconian. We learn from Strabo that Doric with a mixture of Æolic was spoken in Peloponnesus during the reign of Augustus; a passage in the Scholia of Diomed on Dionysius Thrax mentions the use of ΣΔ for Ζ by the Dorians of his time; in the age of Pausanias the purest Doric of the Peloponnesus was used by the Messenians, and this idiom was preserved so late as the days of Eustathius. To these, other examples might be added, to shew the local prevalence of the dialects; but the general language of composition in use from the time of Alexander was the *Communis Lingua*.†

The highest degree of purity and correctness of style, as Salmasius has observed, is to be found in writers who preceded the age of Demosthenes, or were contemporary with him. After that time, the alteration in the language is very perceptible. In the works of the Alexandrian scholars, we meet with a polished and beautiful diction; but there are also idioms and innovations ori-

* Μακεδονίζοντας οἶδα πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀττικῶν διὰ τὴν ἐπιμιξίαν. Athenæus, p. 122. A.

† 'That general manner of speech, says Bentley, called Κοινὴ Διάλεκτος, the common dialect, which the writers after Alexander's time commonly used, was never, at any time or in any place, the popular idiom; but perfectly a language of the learned, almost as the Latin is now.' Philaris, 406.

ginating in their own refinements, and deriving no authority from the better ages of Greek literature.* The Septuagint version and various inscriptions discovered in Syria and Egypt present us with singular forms of speech. 'Επολέμησα χώρας, 'I subdued countries,' (where πολεμέω is followed by an accusative case in an unusual manner,) is found in the Adulitan monument of the time of Euergetes; and in Isaiah xxxvi. Psalm cxxviii. Jeremiah xlviii.† Cilician words are also found in the Septuagint: and the common speech of the inhabitants of that city seem to have been a mixture of Macedonic, Jewish, and Egyptian.

In explaining the phraseology of the Septuagint and the New Testament, critics have frequently drawn their examples from Greek writers who lived under the Lagidæ and Seleucidæ; and as some of these monarchs had invited the Jews to settle in the cities which they built, and others had encouraged them to reside in Egypt, the intercourse between the Jews and Greeks was very great in all commercial towns, and many of the latter became acquainted with the Hebrew idioms. 'Dudum est (says Ernesti) cum docti quidam viri observarunt, Polybium, imprimis, multa habere cum oratione sacrorum scriptorum convenientia.'

The language of the Romans was introduced with their conquests, and corrupted the Greek in many countries where the latter was the vernacular idiom. A remarkable passage in Valerius Maximus‡ shews the attention which the Romans paid to the preservation of their own tongue; and the general diffusion of it in the time of Plutarch is evident from the words used by that writer, Ρωμαίων λόγῳ οὐν ὁμοῦ τι πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρεῶνται. Roman colonists and merchants were established in Greece and Asia Minor; and many inscriptions found in those countries prove the common use of the two idioms. Latin was familiar to the people of Syria; for, in different parts of the New Testament, we not only meet with words of that language, but also with Latin phraseology. When the seat of empire was removed by Constantine, Latin was more commonly spoken at his court than Greek, as French was preferred to English under the Norman conquerors. The speeches of Constantine were composed in that tongue, and then translated into Greek. The coins of the empire, until the reign of Basil the Macedonian, bear Latin legends; and as the language was used by those who were in authority, Libanius expresses some apprehensions lest the Greek tongue should be entirely forgotten.

* See Knight, Proleg. ad Homerum, sec. 172. and Elmsley, ad Aristoph. Acharn. Museum Criticum, ii. p. 205.

† There is a correspondence between some of the expressions in the Sigean decree of the year 278 B. C. and those which occur in the Maccabees. Hebraisms have been observed in the Rosetta and Adulitan inscriptions.

‡ L. ii. c. 2.

The Alexandrian dialect had a great influence on the language of the Greeks of the East. The termination of verbs in *αν*, as *εἶπαν*, *παρήλθοσαν*, and other similar forms, is common in neoteric Greek; and *ἤρσαν*, *ἐκρίνονσαν*, *ἐλαμβάνονσαν*, *ἐφαίνονσαν*, *ἐφέρεσαν*, *ἠγάγονσαν*, *καθείλονσαν*, *ἡμάρτονσαν*, *ἴδονσαν*, *ἀπεθάνονσαν*, *ἐλάβονσαν*, occur in the Septuagint version. No work was more familiar to the Christians of the different provinces than this translation; it was read in the churches of Syria; it was studied throughout the empire in the copies of Hesychius, Origen, and the Martyr Lucian; and was quoted by those who expounded the Scriptures to the lower order of the people.* The influence of this version upon the language of the Greeks was, as Villoison has remarked, similar to that which was produced on the writings of the middle ages by the Latin Vulgate, and on the German tongue by the translation of Luther. The other part of the volume of the sacred Scriptures was equally studied by all the Christians of the empire; and we find some of the Fathers admitting that the purity of their language was affected by their familiarity with the plain and unpolished idiom of the Greek of the New Testament.

The impossibility of rendering some of the Hebrew forms by any corresponding one in Greek, introduced new words into the Septuagint; and the doctrines, rites and usages of Christianity affixed new meanings to those already in use. *Πίστις*, *Δικαιοῦν*, *ὑπόστασις*, *Σάρξ*, *Δαιμονιζόμενος*, *Ἀνάθεμα*, and many other phrases have a meaning very different from that which they bear in the writings of ancient Greece. *Θυσιαστήριον*, says Mede, is an expression not known to any pagan writer; it is an ecclesiastical term first employed by the Septuagint writers, as we learn from Philo, to denote a Hebrew word, and to distinguish the altar of the God of Israel from the altars of the idol gods of the Gentiles. *Ἀχοινωνία* occurs in Aristotle, Pol. l. ii. but in ecclesiastical Greek it means a suspension of the Holy Sacraments; it is found in this sense in the 29th canon of the African church. Compound words of a new form are used by Dionysius the Areopagite, as *ἐξουσιοποιός*, *ἐξουσιαρχία*, *ὑπεράρχιος*, and the Saviour is called *ὁ Θεαρχικώτατος Νοῦς*.

The grammarians who lived in the first ages of the Christian era have noticed some of the alterations introduced in their time. Words used in various senses by the classical writers of Greece were confounded in the second century; obsolete and antiquated modes of speech were employed by some authors who thus became almost unintelligible to their contemporaries. The style of Aelian is full of antiptoses, pleonasms, and an idle use of *ἀλλά γε*, *ἀλλά γάρ*, *καὶ*

* Euseb. E. H. Vales. 115.

οὐν καί, καὶ γὰρ οὐν. Expressions of declining Hellenism have been observed in Strabo; and ἄκοιτις, a poetical word, is used in prose in the time of Diocletian. In the age of Lucian, the language was scarcely to be found any where in its purity; that author himself is not free from affectation, one of the faults of his contemporaries. The ignorance of Nonnus has been exposed by Heinsius; in the reign of Justinian many words appear with new meanings; αἰρεσις signifying *conditio*, and ἀπειθής, *dissidens*, are peculiar to the Theodosian age. In Epiphanius, ἀφαντοῦσθαι is used for ἄφαντος γιγνέσθαι; πατρίς for *regio*; φορτοῦν for *vecare*, ἡκέναι, for *venisse*, ἀνείκαστος for *non congruens*; and the plural feminine is joined with a verb singular, ὁρᾷ πῶς ἔχει αἱ τῆς ἀληθείας φράσεις. As we advance, the alteration of the language and the decline of good taste become more evident; words of a plebeian stamp, used sparingly by the ancients, occur in Libanius, Themistius, Theodoret, Agathias, and Theophylact. Between the sixth and ninth centuries, we find the following changes in the meaning of words; Ἀθλησις is *monasterium*; ἀμιξία *pugna*, *tumultus*; ἀναγινώσκω, *literis erudior*; ἄνθρωποι, *militēs*; ἄρμα, *exercitus*; ἀστράγαλος, *manus digitus*; ἀξίωσιν ποιεῖν, *actionem contra aliquem intendere*; διαφέρειν τινι, *opponi alicui*, and ὁμιλία, *concio*. Forced metaphors, absurd comparisons, hybridous, and semibarbarous words vitiate the compositions of writers of the sixth and following centuries. Solæcisms, neglect of the laws of metre and rules of accentuation, ignorance of the ancient forms of the language, occur in the poets, lexicographers, and grammarians; while Greek and Latin words are mixed together in a work containing phrases borrowed from Herodotus and Thucydides.

As many expressions occurred in the ancient writers which were difficult to be understood, because they were not in common use, or were peculiar to the dialects, they were changed for others. Eutocius has discarded the Dorisms from Archimedes; the Ionisms of Anacreon have been altered; in some of the odes of Pindar, words of a more recent date are substituted for those of the poet: this is the reason, according to Vizzanius and Bentley, why Ocellus Lucanus, though by birth a Dorian, and though Stobæus quotes some passages of his writings in the Doric dialect, now appears, from his book *De Natura Universi* which is still extant, to have composed it in Attic. Plato had written διανεκεῖ λόγῳ in the Hippias; the first word has been changed into διηνεκεῖ; in the same writer ἀνιδροῦν has been substituted for ἰδίειν, διώκω for διωκάθω, ὑπείκω for ὑπεικάθω, and the old form ἐγχεῖσι has given place to ἐγχέριπτει. In Thucydides, (l. vi. c. 22.) instead of the original word κάγχρυς, we now read the explanation κριθαὶ πεφρυγμέναι; and the glosses in the margin

gin of Hippocrates have often passed into the text. As the ignorance of the ancient language increased, a more popular and simple form of composition was necessary for the generality of readers; the *Alexiads* of Anna Comnena were translated into the *vulgar* speech; and the same idiom was adopted by Nicetas, who had written his history at first in ancient Greek.*

The intercourse with those nations which at different times invaded the empire, or settled in parts of it, introduced many new words and expressions, and changed the form of the Greek tongue. In the seventh century the Saracens established themselves in Asia Minor, and Iconium became the capital of their new kingdom; they also subdued Syria, and both Syriac and Greek yielded to the language of the conquerors. In the ninth century, the Venetians traded with the Byzantines, and in the reign of Alexius Comnenus they settled in the city and intermarried with some of the noble families. From the ninth to the eleventh centuries, the Bulgarians were engaged in commerce with the Greeks; and the Hungarians succeeded them in the countries which lie between Constantinople and Germany. In the tenth century the Turks extended their conquests from Persia to the Hellespont; and in the eleventh the empire was attacked in the west by Roger the Norman.

Vulgarisms of various kinds had infected the Greek tongue before the sixth century; but as many manuscripts have been destroyed, we are not able to trace the progress of this corruption. Some of the volumes contained what Photius calls λέξεις πεπατημένας, ἀγοραίους, ἐκ τριῶδου. The Romans brought with them many new words and peculiarities of sound and idiom; but the changes were chiefly derived from the neglect and inattention of the Greeks themselves. In some districts of the empire, as we learn from an epigram of Palladas, a practice prevailed of *clipping*, or shortening the final syllables of words.

Τὸν θῶ, καὶ τὰς κνή, τὰν τ' ἄσπιδα καὶ δόρυ, καὶ κρᾶ,
 Τορδιοπριλάριος ἀνθίτο Τιμοθίου.†

The compositions of the vulgar poets, in the later ages of the Byzantine empire, influenced the pronunciation of their countrymen; for, according to the measures of their verses, they used, ἔλεγον οἱ ἐλέγασιν, λέγεις οἱ λές, λέγει οἱ λέ, λέγομεν οἱ λήμεν, λέγετε οἱ λέτε, λέγουσιν οἱ λέγουν.

The origin of different *Italian* idioms, the use of auxiliaries, and the termination of various words have been traced by Maffei to Latin modes of speech. *Tantum de curtis* for *tanta curta* occurs

* Gronovii Observ. Liber Novus. Salmas. F. L. H. 208.

† The words are θῶρακα, κνημίδας, κράνος. See Anthol. Pal. t. iii. part 1. p. 142. Notes

in Vopiscus; the vulgar, as Salmasius has remarked, were accustomed to say *caput de aquila*, 'the head of the eagle.' Volusiano and Gallo are found on coins, as *nominatives*, instead of Volusianus and Gallus; Satis jam dictum habeo (*ho già detto abbastanza*); de Cæsare habeo dictum; habere cognitum Scævola (*aver cognosciuto*); cognitum habeo insulas; habere notata; conductos haberet; are cited by Maffei from Plautus, Cicero, Pliny. De Davo audiui (*l'ho inteso da Davo*), de nocte abiit (*partì di notte*), are in Plautus and Terence. *Hunc* Theatrum, *hunc* prodigium,* and other solœcisms were introduced before the invasion of Italy by the Goths; and a singular document of the time of Justinian proves the corruption which had already taken place.† The *Romaic* language likewise contains many forms of ancient date; some, as Coray has shewn, are remains of the dialects. The changes and the omission of letters were probably frequent at an early period among the lower orders; καλό, κακό, for καλόν, κακόν, were familiar at least to the contemporaries of Aristophanes, though not perhaps adopted by them; as, in one of his Comedies, a Scythian uses, καλό, γλυκερό, πανουργό. (Thesm. 1112, 1187.)

This mode of terminating similar adjectives in ο instead of ον may have been common with the barbarian settlers in the empire; and from them, perhaps, the natives derived this vicious pronunciation. With respect, however, to the word ἔχω, so frequently employed as an auxiliary in *Romaic*, it is not necessary to adopt the opinion of those who think it was particularly used by the ignorant invaders of the empire unable to follow the Greek inflections of the verbs; when we find the Greeks themselves acquainted with such forms as θαυμάσας ἔχω, ἔχεις δούλωσας, ἀτιμάσας ἔχει, γήμας ἔχει, οὐτήσας ἔχεις, βεβουλευκώς ἔχει.‡ Among other idioms which may be traced back to a distant time, we may mention the practice of adding ἵνα to the subjunctive, instead of using the infinitive. We read in Plutarch, Πείθωμεν τὴν Τελεσίππαν ἵνα μένῃ μεθ' ἡμῶν, where, says his last learned editor, ἵνα μένῃ is used for μένειν; and in Leo, the author of an epigram in the Anthologia, we meet with the same form, Εἰπὲ κασιγνήτῃ κρατεροῦς ἵνα θῆρας ἐγέλῃ, *ut excitet, excitare*. It deserves to be remarked that the same mode of expression is in use among the inhabitants of part of France. Jamais en Anjou dans le Craonnais et dans les autres districts de cette province on ne dit *je voudrais faire, je voudrais aller, mais, comme le Grec moderne, je voudrais que je ferois, je voudrais que j'irois*.§

* Barthii Adversaria, l. iiii.

† Quoted in Morhof. de Pat. Liviana.

‡ Herod. i. 27. Eurip. Med. 33. Soph. Œd. T. 577. ib. 699. Œd. C. 701. This form, as Mr. Knight observes, is not found in Homer: 'et Atticorum venia dixerim, recentiorum magis barbariem, quam veterum elegantiam sapit.' Prol. sec. 148.

§ Zalikoglu, Dict. Grec. et François.

The use of *Ἄς* in the sense of 'let' so common in Romaic, occurs in Theophanes, a writer of the ninth century, and in Constantine Porphyrogenetus who lived in the tenth.* Other Romaic words and expressions are found in the same work of Theophanes; as, *σάραντα*, 'forty,' *πιάνω* 'I take,' *καλοκαίριον*, 'summer,' *σημισείου* for *ἡμισέως*, *ἐυφήμεον* for *ἐυφημοῦσι*, and the termination in *ιν*, for *ιον*, as *μανδύλιν*, *παιδίν*, *θυσιαστηρίν*. In Constantine we find the Romaic *ἦτον* for *ἦν*, *βασιλέα* the accusative used instead of the nominative *βασιλεὺς*, *σικῶνειν*, *ferre*, *ἀρχοντόπουλοι* *filiī archontum*, *καινουργεῖν*, *novum facere*.

It appears, therefore, from these instances that the barbarisms of the language were not confined to the lower orders; but were employed in writing even by persons of rank and education. The treatise 'De Administrando Imperio,' from which some of the preceding vulgarisms are selected, was addressed by Constantine, one of the most learned of the Greek emperors, to his son. The two best scholars of the last days of the Byzantine monarchy, Constantine Lascaris and Bessario used the same depraved idiom; the epistle of the latter to the preceptor of the sons of Thomas Palæologus is written entirely in modern Greek. Philolphus, indeed, assures us, that the courtiers and ladies of rank at Byzantium spoke the ancient language with purity and elegance; but we also know that they likewise employed the vulgar idiom of their times, differing very little from that which is still in use.

It is, however, owing to the cultivation of the language, which was continued to the late period mentioned by Philolphus, that the affinity of the Romaic to the Hellenic is much greater than that of the Italian to the Latin. Amidst the corruptions of the neoteric Greek, we observe in almost every sentence words strictly *Hellenic*, many of which are recognised by every reader as in use among the best writers of the language, and still retaining their form unaltered; there are also others of frequent occurrence in later Greek writers and in Romaic, the date of which is more ancient than is commonly supposed. This part of the subject might be illustrated by many curious examples: a few are subjoined.

Νερό, *Νηρό*, 'water.' No other word is ever used in Romaic to denote 'water.' *Ἐν νηροῖς μυχοῖς*, 'in humidis recessibus,' occurs in Lycophron; and *Νηρεύς*, *Νηρίον*, *Νηρηίδες*, *Νηρίτης*, have

* See the work, *De Administrando Imperio*, edited by Meursius. From one of the Prefaces of Coray now before us, we select the following instances, shewing how *ἵνα*, *θίλω*, *ἴχω*, *Ἄς* are used in Romaic. *Ἐλπίζω ὅτι θίλει εὐρεῖσθαι ὅστις μέλλει νὰ καθαρίσῃ*. 'I hope that some one will be found, who is about to cleanse.'—*Ὅταν ἡ γλῶσσα παρήκμαζεν, ἡ ἔχριν ἦδη παρήκμασεν*. 'When the language was declining, or had already declined.' *Ἄς μὲ συγχωρήσῃ ὁ φίλος Γαζὶς νὰ σημειώσω*. 'Let Gazi allow me to remark.' *Ἄς* or *Ἄφς* is corrupted from *Ἄφες*. *Ἄφες ἴδωμεν* in St. Matthew, would be *Ἄς ἴδωμεν* in Romaic.

all significations referring to the same thing. Salmasius and Hemsterhuys assign a great antiquity to the word. 'In vulgari profecto lingua,' says the latter, 'non pauca sunt ab ultima retro antiquitate repetenda; sicuti cum *aquam* appellant Νερό: de qua voce vide sis Hesychium.'

Ἄλογον, 'a horse.' It is found in Diogenes Laertius, a writer of the third century, applied to a 'beast of burthen.' In the Scholiast on the Ajax Mastigophorus of Sophocles, it bears the signification of 'horse.'

Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη, is the ordinary salutation in the present day in Greece. It was used in the acclamations of the Greek councils; and ἔτη πολλά, Ἰουστινιανέ, is the cry of one of the factions at Byzantium. In convoking the ecclesiastical synods, the emperors employed the phrases τὴν ἡμετέραν Θεϊότητα, τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡμερότητι. Similar formulæ occur in neoteric Greek.

Διάλεγμα in Romaic signifies Ἐκλογή, *selectio*. It was used in the same sense, thirteen centuries ago, by Stephanus Byzantinus.

Γύρος, 'circle,' in Romaic: employed also with the same meaning by Menander and the Alexandrians.

Ἄσπροι, 'money,' a word derived by the Byzantines from the Latin. Good money was called 'probum et asperum.' In *probo et aspero solvere*, occurs in Seneca.

Πορνοκόπος is used by Menander; and many words, according to Coray, are formed in Romaic in a similar manner, as Μεθοκόπος, Χαροκόπος, Στενοκόπος, Σταυροκοπῶ.

Ὁροφιαῖος was lately discovered by Hase in a writer of the twelfth century; it is, he remarks, *insolita vox*; but it occurs in an Athenian inscription published by Chandler and Wilkins, the date of which precedes the archonship of Euclid.

Γάμος is used by the Byzantines and modern Greeks in the sense of συνουσία. It bore a similar meaning in ancient times. (Villoison, *Proleg. ad Hom.* xxxviii.)

Σκόροδα. This word is always written and pronounced in Romaic Σκόρδα. It occurs in the same form in the Septuagint, Num. x. 15. and in the Geoponica: and in the compounds, ὀφίοσχορδον σχορδόπρασον in Dioscorides.

Κατέχω is used in Athenæus in the sense of 'I know.' *Hodiernis Græcis, maxime Cretensibus, κατέχω est plane synonymum verborum οἶδα, γινώσκω.* (Coray, in *Athen.*)

Ἰδίωμα, 'dignity, gravity, respectability of appearance,' in modern Greek. In the poem of Erotocritus,* we read,

Πιζοὶ μὴ ζάλα μιτρητὰ καὶ διῷμα πορπατοῦσαν,

'Pedestres pedetentim et cum gravitate incedebant.' The word

* This poem, as Col. Leake says, is one of the most esteemed in Romaic. It is certainly one of the longest: it consists of 10,000 lines.

ιδίωμα, according to Coray, was used also in a similar sense by Theopompus.

Ψάρι, 'fish,' in Romaic. 'Οψάριον, 'a small fish,' is found in St. John's Gospel, vi. v. 9.

Πάντα is used now for πάντοτε; it occurs in Lucian in this sense twice.

The ancient Greeks applied χειρομάχαν πληθύν to those who obtained their living by their own hands. The Greeks now use χειρομάχος.

Ψωμί, the common word for 'bread' in Romaic. In the Septuagint version of Job, ψωμός has the same meaning.—c. xxii. v. 7.

'Ασήμι, 'silver,' in Romaic. The word occurs in Eusebius, E. H. l. 1. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προσέταξε δοθῆναι αὐτῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄσημον.

Χρόνος, 'a year,' in modern Greek. The use of it, instead of ἐνιαυτός, is found also in the same work of Eusebius.

Κρασί, 'wine,' in Romaic. Κρᾶμα, a word of the same meaning, was used in the time of Justin Martyr for 'wine.' "Υδατος καὶ κρέματος, 'Aquæ et vini.' Apol. 2. 'et Græci recentiores κρασί, et κρέσιον pro vino simpliciter dicunt.' Gataker Adv. Post. c. v. p. 452.

'Αναστροφή, in ancient Greek, has the sense of the French word *cercle*, and the Italian, *conversazione*. 'Neo-Græci,' says Coray, 'συναναστροφὴν eodem usurpant sensu.'

'Αλύπητα has the signification in modern Greek of ἀφειδῶς. In the passage of Æschylus,

"Εψου' μηδὲ λυπηθῆς πύρι,

μηδὲ λυπηθῆς declarandum est ex Neogræcorum lingua, *Ne parce*. (Coray in Athen. l. ix. c. 17.)

Σπάθη is the usual word to express a sword in Romaic. Σπάθη autem vox pura Græca est. (See Jul. Pollux. 10, 31. Fabroti, Gloss. Cedreni.)

Καράβι, the common term in Romaic to denote a ship or vessel. 'Scaphæ a Græcis jurisconsultis κάραβοι dicuntur.' (Heinsii Ex. Sacræ in Act. Apos. 320.)

There are two subjects connected with the present inquiry, namely, the pronunciation of the letters of the language, and the accentual mode of reading and speaking, on which we shall beg leave to offer a few concluding remarks.

I. AI and E are pronounced alike by the modern Greeks; Villoson has shewn that they were confounded in the time of Augustus; and, in an epigram of Callimachus, ἔχει answers in echo to ναίχι. The similarity of sound prevailed at a much earlier period; we find ΑΛΚΜΕΩΝΙΑΗΣ on the Sandwich marble; and in an an-

cient inscription copied by Spon; and the following line is quoted from Timocles in Athenæus,

‘Ο τοῶν δὲ μανικῶς Ἀλκμίων’ ἰσκήφατο.

The same sound is given to EI and I by the modern Greeks. These letters were frequently confounded in former times. ANAKTEI occurs in a very ancient inscription found by Colonel Leake in Asia Minor; EIDIAN on the Heracleian Tables; ΔΙΕΙΤΡΕΦΕΣ on a marble of Attica of remote date. EI and I, as Valckenær has remarked, were pronounced alike in the time of Ammonius, or in the beginning of the second century: and τίμην, πολίτην, γινωσκόμενος are written with ει in the letter of Mark Anthony to the Aphrodisians, A. U. 720.

Α is pronounced in some words in Romaic instead of Π, as ἀχλάδια for ἀρχάδια. One of the most learned of the ancient commentators, the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius says, συγγενές τὸ Α τῷ Π; and adds, Ἀρχάδας was sounded as Ἀχλάδας; and we find from another grammarian, that the Greeks said ὕδρηλοί, ἐμπολός, Δάμαλιν, instead of ὕδρηροί, ἐμπορός, Δάμαριν.

Τ is now pronounced in Romaic, in some words, as Δ. This is not a modern innovation; it appears from an inscription, published by Gruter, that διὰ πάντων was written in Latin, DIA PANDON. (Scalig. Anim. in Euseb. Chron. p. 118.)

EI and H have the same sound in modern Greek. ‘Singularis locus est apud Aristophanem in Vespis, de confusa et valde affini jam tum permutatione τῶν εἰ et ή, ubi ait Poëta

ἦν ἐξίχην
εἴλη κατ’ ὄρθρον, ἡλιάσει πρὸς ἥλιον. v. 771.

ludit in similitudine vocum εἴλη, et ἥλιος et ἡλιάζειν.’—*Casauboniana*, p. 49.

The sound of no letter has been so much the subject of debate as that of Β. It is pronounced in Romaic like the English V. The following illustration of the power of this letter by Chishull will lead us to doubt whether it had always that sound. In the third century before Christ, we find, he says, the letter Ν changed into Μ as often as it precedes a word beginning with either of the labials Β or Π, or Μ as τῇμ βασλείαν, τῇμ πραγμάτων, τῇμ μὲν. ἰερείαν; in the compounds we read, ἐμβάλλω, ἐμπίπτω, ἐμμένω; in Latin, *imbilo, improbo, immuto*. This mode was introduced on account of the easier prolation of the sound; the two cognate letters being expressed by one motion of the mouth. ‘Hinc vera illa et antiqua elementi Β, compressis labris, pronuntiatio, hoc saltem loco et tempore demonstratur.’ (*Ant. Asiat.* p. 54.)

The same sound is now given to Υ and Ι, that of our English ee. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his treatise De Compos. plainly marks the distinction between the two letters. ‘There

is,' he says, 'a considerable contraction of the lips in sounding Υ; but the lips give no effect to the sound of Ι; the breath is driven against the teeth, and the mouth is open a little.' From the representation of the note of the cuckoo, in the Birds of Aristophanes, we cannot suppose that the letter Υ had the modern sound of *ee*. *χῶποθ' ὁ κόκκυξ εἶποι Κοκκύ.*—v. 505.

Γ is sometimes pronounced soft as ι; thus *γυναικα* becomes *Yeenaka*. At what period this practice was first introduced, we have not been able to ascertain; but the copyist of Ammonius must have given to γ the sound of ι, as he writes *ἔργου* for *ἐρίου*. *Id ex pronuntiandi ratione ortum*, says Valckenaer.

ΟΙ and Ι have been confounded in pronunciation for many centuries. In the inscriptions relating to the Christian martyrs of Nubia, we find ΓΕΝΙΤΟ, ΚΟΛΠΙΣ, for ΓΕΝΟΙΤΟ, ΚΟΛΠΟΙΣ. They also give ι for ει, as *ἐτελιώθη* for *ἐτελειώθη*—'he suffered martyrdom.'

It is easy to* imagine that innumerable errors must have arisen in consequence of the same sound being given to ΑΙ and Ε, to ΟΙ, Η, Υ, Ι,* ΕΙ. In transcribing manuscripts the copyist often wrote from dictation, and, misled by the sound, substituted one word for another. The mistakes originating in this confusion were so great, that Theognotus, a grammarian of the ninth century, delivered a number of rules pointing out in what cases ΑΙ and Ε should be written, and in what ΟΙ and Υ.

II. In the common practice of reading the Greek language the accent is disregarded, because it is found almost impossible to apply it, and to give at the same time to different words their proper quantity; though it does not always happen that the latter is preserved according to this mode. With the modern Greeks the accent is employed; but the syllable over which it is placed has, in consequence, a *lengthened* sound. The pronunciation of *Οὐλομένην*, as Mr. Knight has remarked, will exemplify the faults of the two systems; in Romaic the word evidently becomes *'Ουλομένην*; and, according to the common practice, *'Ουλόμμενην*.

This misapplication of the acute accent, according to the mode practised by the modern Greeks, is of early date. *Φαίδραμος* is a dactyl in Plautus; and the middle syllable of *Φίλιππος* is shortened in the same writer. The three last syllables of *Orionis* (*Ωρίωνος*) form a dactyl instead of an anti-bacchius in Ovid; *strictumque Orionis ense*. The unaccented syllables in these instances seem to have been pronounced rapidly, while a stress was laid on those

* While this article is going through the press, we observe in some inscriptions copied in Nubia, apparently with great accuracy, by Mr. Buickhardt, a curious instance of the change of Η for Υ; it is also of considerable antiquity. ΜΗΡΟΝΗΜΟΥ ΙΣΙΔΟΣ, p. 124, is ΜΥΡΙΝΗΜΟΥ Ι. In another, p. 101, we have ΤΗΝ . . . ΡΙΩΝΗΜΟΝ ΕΙΣΙΝ.

which are accented. The Asiatic Greeks committed similar errors; Philostratus mentions a Cappadocian sophist, Pausanias, who, when he spoke, 'lengthened short syllables, and shortened long ones.' Αἴγινα, the name of the island Ægina, and Μάκρινα are dactyls in the Anthologia. In the age of Ausonius, Prudentius and Sidonius we find the accent used with a power similar to that which it had among the vulgar in the days of Plautus; εἰδωλα is *idōla*, and Ἄρατος, the middle syllable of which is long, becomes Ἀρατος; the ω in τρίγωνος is shortened by Ausonius; Ἑυριπίδης has the penultimate long in Sidonius; the second syllables of ἔρμος and ποίησις are shortened by Prudentius. It has been contended that these Latin writers would not have employed the accent with a lengthening power, unless a similar mode of speaking had been familiar to the Greeks of their own time. It probably prevailed at first among the lower orders of Romans; and the more they mixed with the Greeks in their conquests of different countries of the east, the wider the corruption would be diffused*. According to the neoteric Greeks the acute had a lengthening power; the scholiast on Hephæstion* says that the ο in ὄφιν, in Homer, is long from the position of this accent; and Eustathius thinks the acute is the θεράπεια, or 'restorative medicine,' in the following verse of the same poet.

Βῆν' εἰς Αἰόλου κλυτὰ δώματα.

If we find in the poems of Gregory of Nazianzum, a violation of the rules of metre, and a prolongation of short syllables bearing the acute accent, we may properly conclude that the same errors were general in his time, or at least were committed by those less learned than himself. In different parts of the works of this Father the following lines have occurred to us, each of which contains a false quantity.

Καὶ σὺ Γεωργίῳ φίλον δέμας.

*Ω φοβεραὶ ψυχῶν μάστιγες οὐχ ὁσίων.

*Ακρα φέροντα πάσης Καισάρει σοφίης.

Τὸ τρίτον αὐ σκίπισσιν ἄηρ καὶ γαῖα καλύφθη.

Ενθάδε Βασιλίσκῳ Βασίλειον ἀρχιερεῖα.

We have in our own language verses written in the 13th century with the same cadence as the Στίχοι Πολίτικοι of the Greeks; and Heinsius has observed that a measure of a similar kind was employed by the ancient Hebrews. It was used by the Byzantines at an earlier period than is generally supposed; and we find it regularly formed in Simeon Metaphrastes, a writer of the ninth or tenth century.

*Αναλογίζου ταπεινὴ ψυχὴ μου παταβλία.

* See Gaisford's Hephæstio, p. 181.

In the eleventh, the same measure is employed by Michael Psel-lus, in some lines addressed to the Emperor Constantine Mono-machus, and by Philippus Solitarius in his *Dioptra*; in the twelfth, Constantine Manasses composed his *Chronicle*, and the *Loves of Aristander and Callithea* in Political verses: they were used about the same time by Theodorus Prodromus and Nicetas Eugenianus.

The verses written in this measure are thought by Heinsius to have been formed from the iambic tetrameter catalectic; but Leo Allatius describes them as trochaic; and if we read the following line of Aristophanes with the accentual cadence alone, we have a complete 'Versus Politicus.'

Εἴ δὲ τυγχάνῃ τις ἡμῶν δραπίτης ιστιγμῆρος.

It is unnecessary to pursue the changes of the language any farther. The capture of Byzantium drove the scholars of Greece into Italy, and interrupted the study of the ancient language; but no alterations have been made since that time in the neoteric idiom, except such as have arisen from the introduction of Turkish and Italian words. The works which appeared in the three centuries following the capture of Constantinople, possess little or no interest; they consist of homilies,* romances, and bad translations.

Before that event took place, the copying of manuscripts afforded employment to numerous scribes. Many of these volumes were fortunately carried into Italy by the exiles; and the liberal exertions of princes and private individuals have since removed others, from the obscurity in which they were buried, to the different libraries of Europe. When Villoison was in Patmos, he was informed by the monks, that they had been obliged to burn a great number of manuscripts in consequence of the injury they had received from worms, and the damp situation in which they had been placed. We do not think that a similar instance of neglect and barbarism will again occur. Enlightened and opulent Greeks are diffusing among their countrymen the advantages of education; and they will be taught to attach a proper value to the literary treasures which may be still in their possession.

In closing these remarks, we cannot help adverting to the different fate of the two languages which have arisen on the ruins of those of Greece and Rome. The Italians who wrote as early as the year 1300 are considered at this moment by their countrymen as models in respect of purity and correctness of diction. But the

* We take this opportunity of noticing an error of a somewhat ludicrous kind in War-ton's *History of English Poetry*, i. 350. 'The story of Arthur,' he says, 'was also reduced into modern Greek. M. Crusius relates that his friends who studied at Padua sent him in the year 1565, together with Homer's *Iliad*, Διδαχὰ Regis Arthuri.' The words in Crusius are 'Διδαχὰ Rarthuri.' The *homilies* of this writer are well known to the modern Greeks.

Romaic has now been spoken for many centuries, and cannot yet boast of any work of genius, or original production, which can be referred to as a standard of taste or style. It is not difficult to explain the causes of this difference. The continued study of the writings of ancient Greece by the learned Byzantines, and their habits of composition in Hellenic, prevented them from paying any attention to the formation of the vulgar language. They were obliged indeed to use it occasionally in the common intercourse of life; but they always considered it as a depraved and vitiated idiom. And since the establishment of the Ottoman power, it is not easy to name a country, removed in any degree from barbarism, where the great body of the people is placed in a situation more unfavourable to the development of intellect, more hostile to improvement of every kind, than the Christian part of European Turkey. On the other hand, the literature of Italy was advanced at an early period by a concurrence of very remarkable circumstances. The immediate causes were—the conquest of Constantinople, the arrival of the scholars of Greece, the recent discovery of printing, the formation of libraries, the establishment of academies, and, above all, the protection which men of letters received from the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara, the houses of Medici and Sforza, the Kings of Naples, and the Republic of Venice.

ART. VII.—*Vie Privée de Voltaire et de Madame du Châtelet, pendant un Séjour de Six Mois à Cirey, par l'Auteur des Lettres Péruviennes—Suivie de cinquante Lettres inédites en vers et en prose de Voltaire.*—Paris, 1820. pp. 460.

FROM the catchpenny style of this title-page, one might almost be led to suppose that an author of some reputation had undertaken to write a formal history of six months of the private life of this celebrated pair. The simple fact, however, is, that a certain Madame de Graigny passed about two months, in 1733 $\frac{1}{2}$, at Cirey, the joint residence of M. and Madame du Châtelet and Voltaire: in the first three weeks she wrote ten letters to a friend at Nancy, giving a gossiping account of the modes of life at Cirey; and a few more, relating to herself, in the last month of her stay.

But though these letters do not fulfil the pompous promise of the title, they are still an amusing and, we may even say, an interesting work. They give, at least, a sketch of the private life of these celebrated people, and they give somewhat more than a sketch of their hearts; and it will not be uninteresting to observe how the apparent amiability and good taste of their society, concealed, under a very thin varnish, the profligacy, the cruelty, the miseries which they inflicted on their dependants, and on each other.

other. They carry on too a kind of connected story, exciting in its progress a lively degree of curiosity which is, at last, satisfied by a natural, but very striking denouement.

The editor presumes, we suppose, that the author of the *Peruvian Letters* is so well known all over Europe, that he not only omits her name in the title, but has not taken the pains of making the most ordinary communications as to her history; indeed his whole biography consists in a short note (p. 129.) copied verbatim from the first lines of a brief mention of Madame de Graigny in one of the most common and compendious biographical indexes.

Frances d'Issimbourgh d'Happoncourt was born at Nanci, in Lorraine, about the year 1694; she was the daughter of a Major in the Duke of Lorraine's troops, by a grand-niece of the famous Callot. She was married, or, as her indulgent friends used to say, *sacrificed* to Francis Count de Graigny, chamberlain of the ducal court. He certainly was of a brutal temper; for, after many years of suffering, his wife was juridically separated from him, and he himself died afterwards in a prison, to which, it is said, his own violence of temper had conducted him. It must, however, be confessed that M. de Graigny appears to have had some grounds for his ill-humour, though they were of a nature which the society in which he mixed would not admit to be any excuse whatsoever. Madame, it would seem, found consolation for the brutality of her husband in the tenderness of, at least, one lover, and though we have not sought to pierce into the obscurity that involves the family quarrels of this couple, (now a century gone by,) enough has met our view to create a suspicion that, even if the husband gave the *first* provocation, the lady eventually took the *last* revenge. The lord of her heart at the time of this visit was a lieutenant of cavalry, of the name of Desmarts, the son of a celebrated musician; and, in addition to some other miseries which she suffered at Cirey, we learn that she had the mortification to hear from the lips of the inconstant himself, who had followed her thither, 'le tendre aveu qu'il ne m'aime plus, et qu'il ne veut plus m'aimer.' (p. 281.) This candour, of course, 'desoles' the lady, but she makes up her mind to bear it with an equanimity and courage which would be more touching, if the deserted nymph had not attained the mature and reflecting age of forty-four.

It seems to have been just after her legal separation from her husband that Madame de Graigny, now reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon the hospitality of her friends, arrived at Cirey on the 4th of December, 1738; on what invitation does not clearly appear: but it would seem as if her friendship with St. Lambert, Desmarts, and a Monsieur Devaux, reader to King Stanislaus,

Stanislaus, and a worshipper of Voltaire, had recommended her to the notice of him and Madame de Châtelet. They certainly did not know much of her history; for in one of her early letters she describes the affectionate and melting sympathy in which these compassionate and virtuous souls heard her tale of woe. Nor does it appear that Madame du Grafigny had predetermined how long her visit was to last. It was brought to a termination by a circumstance which she had not anticipated.

The ménage at Cirey was one which, to the antiquated ideas of an Englishman, must seem extraordinary, and it would in this country have been thought the last place where a woman of feeling and character would have sought refuge—but Madame de Grafigny had no such troublesome inmates.

As Madame du Châtelet plays so distinguished a part in Madame de Grafigny's drama, we shall be forgiven for recalling to our reader's recollection Voltaire's own account of his *liaison* with that lady:—

‘I was tired of the idle and turbulent life of Paris, the crowd of fools, the shoals of bad books, all published “avec approbation et privilège du roi,” the cabals and jealousies of literary men, and the base tricks of scribblers, who disgraced the name of literature. I became acquainted, in 1733, with a young lady who thought pretty much as I did, and who resolved to retire for several years into the country, to avoid the world and cultivate her understanding. It was the Marchioness du Châtelet, the woman in France who had the greatest disposition for scientific pursuits.

‘Her father, the Baron of Breteuil, had taught her Latin, which she knew as well as Madame Dacier, but her predominant taste was for mathematics. She united in a high degree good sense and good taste, with a great desire of improvement, but she did not the less enjoy the pleasures of society, and the amusements of her age and sex. Nevertheless she abandoned all to go and bury herself in an old half-ruined chateau, on the borders of Champagne and Lorraine, in a detestable part of the country. She however improved, I might say embellished this residence with tolerably agreeable grounds. I built a gallery and made a very fine collection of philosophical instruments, &c. We had an extensive library. Some learned men used to come and philosophize in our retreat: for two years we had the celebrated Kœnig: Maupertuis, and John Bernoulli came afterwards, and from that hour Maupertuis, the man in the world most prone to *envy*, selected me as the object of this agreeable passion.

‘I taught Madame du Châtelet English, and in three months she knew it as well as I did,’ (*we believe it*) ‘and read with me Locke, Newton, and Pope; she learnt Italian quite as quick, and we read together the whole of Tasso and Ariosto.

‘We thought of nothing but mutual instruction in this delicious retirement, and never even inquired what the rest of the world were about! Our greatest

greatest business was to decide between Leibnitz and Newton. Madame du Châtelet at first declared for Leibnitz, and wrote a dissertation to explain his system. She did not attempt to enliven this philosophical work with the extraneous graces of style; her masculine and candid character was above this kind of affectation: clearness, precision, and elegance, were the marks of her style. If it were possible to make any thing of Leibnitz and his system, this book would have done it; but we begin now-a-days to care mighty little about Leibnitz and his theories.

‘Born for truth, she soon cast away all these systems and gave herself up to the discoveries of the great Newton. She translated his great work of the *Principia* into French, and subsequently, as she improved her mathematical knowledge, she added to this work, which few people are in a condition to understand, an algebraical commentary still more abstruse.

‘After we had passed six years in this retirement, we were obliged to go to Brussels, on account of an old and eternal law-suit which the family of Du Châtelet had with the house of Honsbrouk. I had the rare satisfaction of reconciling the parties who had been for sixty years ruining one another in costs; and I procured for Madame du Châtelet’s husband 220,000 livres in full of all his claims.’

Such is Voltaire’s sketch of his life and his companion—for though the poor husband lived in the house, he was taken as little notice of by his guests as by Voltaire in this extract; indeed, he is never seen but by accident, nor ever mentioned, except ‘*par parenthèse*.’ Let us now hear Madame de Grafigny’s account; and first of her reception—

‘At last I arrived; the nymph (Madame du Châtelet) received me very well. I staid a moment in her apartment and then hastened to rest myself in my own; when lo, who comes—your *idol* (Voltaire) with a little taper in his hand, like a monk. He was overjoyed, transported to see me; kissed my hands ten times over, and inquired about me with the tenderest interest; his next question was after you, then he spoke of Desmarests and St. Lambert, and then he retired and left me to write to you.

‘You are surprised^{*} that I say so drily that the nymph received me well—why, ’tis all I have to say. No, I forget; the first thing she did was to talk to me of her law-suit, sans cérémonie; her *clack* is astonishing; I had forgotten it; she speaks extremely fast, and as I do when I take off a “*Française*”—You see I have corrected this word, it would be high treason here to spell it with an **o*. She talks like an angel; *that* I confess; she had on a chintz gown, and an apron of black taffety; her hair is of deep black and very long, it is gathered up behind to the crown of her head and curled like a child’s, which becomes her very much. As I have as yet seen nothing but her dress, I can tell

* Voltaire introduced this natural and sensible system of orthography, which, however, even yet is not universally established.

you of nothing but her dress. As for your *idol*, I know not whether he powdered himself in honour of me, but he is as fine as he could be in Paris. The *good-man* (the husband) sets off to-morrow for Brussels; so that we shall be a trio, and nobody sorry for it—this is mutual secret which we have already told one another.’—p. 5.

The next letter gives us some description of the house, and particularly of Voltaire’s gallery.

‘Voltaire’s apartment is in a wing attached to the old house, he has a little anti-room the size of one’s hand; next comes his bed-chamber, which is small, low, and hung with crimson velvet, the **niche* the same velvet with gold fringe: this is the winter furniture. There is little tapestry, but a great deal of wainscôt, with delightful pictures; great glasses; corner tables of admirable Boule—*China*,—mandarins; a clock, supported on strange Indian figures;—in short, an infinity of things of this kind—*dear*, *recherchées*—and *above all*, every thing so neat that one might kiss the floor; an open case with a complete service in silver of all those *superfluities* which are *so absolutely necessary*,—such silver,—such workmanship! there is one case with twelve rings of intaglio, besides two of diamond. Thence we go into his little gallery, which is from 30 to 40 feet long. Between the windows are two very pretty little statues on pedestals of japan varnish, one is the Venus Farnese, and the other the Hercules; beyond the windows are two cases, the one for books, the other for philosophical instruments, between them a stove in the wall which gives the room the temperature of spring; in front of it is a large pedestal, with a statue, of considerable size, of Cupid† discharging an arrow, but this is not yet complete. They are now making a niche for the Cupid, who is to conceal all appearance of the stove. The gallery is wainscoted, and painted in light yellow: clock, tables, desks, nothing is wanting. Two rooms beyond are still unfinished, one of which is for the instruments, which are therefore at present in the gallery. There is but one sofa, and no easy chairs; that is to say, what are there are good of their kind, but they are not comfortable; bodily ease is, it seems, not Voltaire’s luxury. The pannels of the wainscoting are of the most beautiful Indian paper; the skreens of the same; there are writing-tables and China in all corners, and every thing indeed, and all in the best *taste*: there is a door in the middle which opens to the garden.’—p. 16.

Such was the gentleman’s apartment; and making allowances for Madame de Grafigny’s provincial wonderment (she had not been yet at Paris,) the scene appears to be more splendid, and in a higher style than we should have expected, either from the situation, the times, or the *pecuniary means* of the parties: in truth,

* French beds stand generally in niches in the bed-rooms.

† This was the Cupid under which Voltaire wrote the well-known inscription—

Qui que tu sois, tu vois ton maître
Il l’est, le fut, ou le doit être!

Whoe’er thou art, thy master see!
He is, or was, or soon shall be!

we may here observe, en passant, that Voltaire's early, and ever-increasing affluence, appears to us an enigma which none of his biographers have satisfactorily explained.

The lady's apartment, *comme de raison*, is still finer:—

‘ Her own room is wainscoted, and painted in a pale yellow varnish, with mouldings of light blue; the niche has the same mouldings, but is lined with the most beautiful Indian paper; the bed itself is of watered blue silk, and the whole is so matched that every thing, chairs, desks, writing-tables, stands, down to the basket for her little dog, is pale yellow and light blue; the mirrors are in silver frames, and of dazzling splendour: a great glass door—of plate glass, observe—leads to the library, which is not yet finished: it is carved like a snuff-box, nothing is so handsome; there are to be large glasses, pictures by Paul Veronese, &c. On one side of the niche is a little boudoir, where one is ready to kneel down and worship; the walls are blue, and the ceiling painted by a pupil of Mantins; on the pannels are eight pictures by Watteau; ah, such pictures, &c.’—p. 20.

‘ After having visited her apartment, we sat chatting; she told me the whole history of her law-suit, from its origin, eighty years ago, down to the present day. This little talk lasted an hour and a half, yet, wonderful to tell, did not tire me. She talks so well that ennui has not time to get in. She shewed me her jewel box; it is more magnificent than the Duchess of Richelieu's. I cannot recover from my astonishment; for when I knew her at Craon, not long ago, she had not even a tortoiseshell snuff box, and now she has twenty of plain gold, or with jewels, or lacquered, or enamelled, which latter is a new and very costly fashion; shuttles* of the same material each richer than the other; watches set round with diamonds; rings upon rings of all the precious stones in the world, and trinkets without end and of all kinds.—In short I do not comprehend it, for they never were rich.’—pp. 19, 20.

Here the editor interferes, and gravely asks, in a note, whether it is not possible that all this *étalage* was the result of Voltaire's gallantry?—Who doubts it?—but we would have thanked him if he had told us whence Voltaire was enabled to meet these boundless expenses. He had little or no patrimony—no visible means of gain but his writings, and even about them he was always, *it is said*, singularly generous; but even supposing that he did at last grow rich by authorship, he had at this time not published the most popular and profitable of his works:—like Madame de Grafigny, we do not comprehend it.

But while the hosts themselves were so splendidly lodged and equipped, their guests saw the other side of the picture.

‘ My room,’ says Madame de Grafigny, shivering with cold, ‘ my room is for height a perfect hall, through which all the winds of heaven

* For knotting. A fashionable apology for employment among the ladies of those days.

disport themselves, finding entrance from a thousand cracks round the window, which however, if heaven spares me life, I shall surely stop. This wilderness of a room has but one window, divided into three in the old fashion, without either curtain or blind, but instead of these conveniencies three pair of bare shutters. The ceiling is fortunately whitewashed, which contributes a little to light the room which is almost masked by the approach of a rocky hill to the window. The tapestry represents, doubtless, some great personages, to me unknown and not worth inquiring after. The niche is adorned with the trimmings of old clothes, very magnificent no doubt, but ill-matched and rather out of place. A chimney so wide that you could turn a coach and six—It devours I know not what quantities of wood, but never thinks of giving the least little heat in return. The furniture is of a piece with the room itself: some old arm-chairs; a commode; one night table, and a very thing like a table, by the way, in the room—nothing more; a ~~bed~~ and a dressing-room, (through the walls of which I can see the ~~bed~~ to match the rest. To all this you climb by a very fine looking ~~staircase~~. which however is, on account of its antiquity, not easy of ascent, and, finally, every thing that does not belong to the lady's own apartment, or Voltaire's, is of the most disgusting filth.'—p. 23.

Now for a view of their occupations.

'About half-past ten or eleven o'clock we are summoned to coffee, (breakfast,) which is always served in Voltaire's gallery; that lasts till twelve or one, according as we have assembled earlier or later. At noon precisely, the *coachmen*, to use their own phrase, go to dinner. These coachmen are the Lord of the castle, the fat lady, (*Madame de Chambon*, a cousin and spy of Voltaire's), and her son, Voltaire's amanuensis, who never appears but to copy. We—that is, the Lady, Voltaire and I—stay together about half an hour, when he makes us a low bow and dismisses us. About four we lunch. I seldom come on this occasion unless sent for, which does not always happen. At nine we sit down to supper, and remain at table till midnight.—Good heaven, what suppers! Every kind of pleasure is collected; but the shortness of the time and the necessity of separating is the sword of Damocles. The Lord of the Castle (M. du Châtelet) sits down to table, eats nothing, but sleeps, and consequently does not talk much, and disappears with the dishes.'—p. 83.

In the intervals between these meetings Voltaire gave his fair friend, from time to time, several of his unpublished works to read. Some evenings he read to them parts of the *Pucelle d'Orléans*, and Madame de Grafigny listened with delight, and *even repeats to her friend with enthusiasm the outline of one canto of the piece*, which we are confident no Englishman would sit by and hear read. By this act of indiscretion and bad taste, Madame de Grafigny, as we shall see by and bye, lost the comforts of Cirey and the friendship of its owners; and here we must observe, that this sprightly lady's notions and expressions are, on many occasions,

sions, of no very nice delicacy : she talks a language which, in these times, would not be tolerated in a housemaid ; and there are passages in her letters, her letters to a man, which are wholly unfit to be read.

But the most important of their amusements was rehearsing and acting Voltaire's own plays ; and indeed it was not improbable to some theatrical talent that Madame de Graigny chiefly owed her welcome ; but she was punctual in paying for her entertainment in another and more current coin. As no flattery was too gross for Voltaire's appetite, so no slight was so trivial as not to call down his vengeance ; and Madame de Graigny seems to have been so far from that the morbid appetites of Voltaire and his mistress, that they were disposed to descend to the incredible meanness of prying into the letters which their guests sent or received, for the purpose of knowing what was said about them. She never fails to desire Voltaire to be cautious what he writes ; to be sure to answer her in *the same tone* which she uses ; to slip into all his letters little compliments to the gentleman and the lady ; for God's sake not to mention a word of what she writes, and, above all, to ask no questions. On one occasion M. Devaux had sent her a little piece of his own composition. Madame de Graigny dared not show it at Cirey till she had interpolated it with a couple of dozen of wretched verses of her own making, in praise of the *idol* ; and these saved the piece. Sometimes, however, in spite of her idolatry she lets us see, though obscurely, the personal bigotry, the persecuting jealousy, the cruel and tyrannical vanity of this great enemy of bigotry, persecution, and tyranny ; and it is not, as we have already hinted, the least instructive part of her work which shows that the bad passions—all that Voltaire in his rage or his pleasantry attributes to priests and kings—actually raged in his own breast, and were limited only by his power of vengeance, whenever his personal vanity or personal interests were affected.

In his inordinate presumption, Voltaire seems to aspire at even more than literary despotism ; and he exacted something like royal respect from his attendants.

‘ His own valet never quits his chair at table, and the other servants hand to him whatever the master wants, *just as the king's pages do to the king's gentlemen* ; but all this is done naturally, and without any air of grandeur ; *so true is it* that good sense always knows how to maintain its proper dignity without subjecting itself to the ridicule of affectation.’—p. 145.

So true is it that easy impudence often appears to do things quite naturally, which are in the abstract ridiculously impertinent ; and *so true is it*, that poor Madame de Graigny was under the hard necessity of thinking, or at least of representing every thing that

Voltaire said or did, *couleur de rose*. It must, however, be admitted, that—in spite of her dependent and precarious circumstances, her natural wish not to offend, and the real ascendancy which such a man as Voltaire must have had over her mind—her good taste often leads her

‘To hint a fault and hesitate dislike;’

and though her language is every where scrupulously deferential, she sometimes (as in the passage just quoted) drops an expression which awakens attention to the foibles of the *Idol*, or the *Idol's* idol, though even then she takes care to disguise a little her meaning—

‘How I pity (she says) this poor Nicomede (Voltaire), since Dorothea (Madame du Châtelet) cannot agree! Ah! my friend is then no happiness on earth, and we are for ever deceived by appearances. We believed them the happiest couple in the world; we saw them seldom and at a distance; but when one has gotten near them, we find, alas! that *hell is every where*!’—p. 100.

Thus the guilty paradise of these shameless adulterers, which seemed so gay, so splendid, and so luxurious, turns out, on the testimony of its own admirers and partakers, to be nothing but a *hell*!

The tyranny which Voltaire exercised over others, the tender Emilie exercised over him; and whatever torments of jealousy or indignation the poor *Good-man* may have felt, St. Lambert, Clairault, Desmarests, and many other young gentlemen who visited the house, inflicted upon Voltaire. In truth this learned lady was at least as much the votary of Venus as of Minerva, and Voltaire had no better simile to describe the succession of lovers, whose presence he was obliged to bear, than that of ‘one nail driving out another!’ We dare not pursue this subject farther; our language cannot express, and our feelings would revolt at some of the *gentilleses* of this nest of deists, atheists, and strumpets.

But however little Madame de Grafigny enlivened her circumspection by touches of descriptive pleasantry or criticism in the first ten letters, we find in the eleventh, written on the 1st of January, 1739, three weeks after her arrival at Cirey, a total alteration of style; the circumspection of the former becomes a complete taciturnity; what was only cautious before is now cold; and the cold rapidly increases to an absolute frost:—no more stories, no more jokes, no more of Nicomède and Dorothea, no more even of Voltaire and Madame du Châtelet. She begins to talk of the end of her visit; she arranges her plans for going into a nunnery; she is ill of all kinds of disorders; and, in short, Cirey is become intolerable, because—it is such a paradise!—they pay her such attentions that leave them she must—the continuance of such

such extatic bliss would render it at last so painful to part, that she must go to save herself from that cruel moment of *going*: and then—ton Idole! ah! ton Idole, est le meilleur des hommes!— (p. 177.)

Then we find that all the letters she receives are delayed, and when at last they arrive, they bear all the marks of having been opened, and impudently closed again with little care. This audacious cruelty, this worst violation of individual liberty, this most odious treachery, she attributes to the post-office; and, to be sure, it was a natural conjecture. The French post-office has always been verbally and disgracefully faithless. Louis XV. knew nothing of the interior of his kingdom but by the gossip which his master general pilfered from the intercepted confidence of his subjects. Napoleon the Great (G— save the Emperor!) was as curious; and the noble Lavalette, and all his predecessors in this honourable station, are said to have pandered to the tyrant's depraved appetite with the most shameless audacity.

But for once the French post-office was innocent, or, at least, was not alone guilty. Madame du Châtelet and Voltaire opened the letters of their guests; and these exalted persons—these philosophers, these disciples of Locke and Newton, these regenerators of mankind, these scourgers of tyranny, these apostles of universal liberty and toleration—amused their idleness, or solaced their vanity, or exercised their jealousy in the baseness of reading the letters of the unhappy dupes whom they betrayed into their philosophic retreat.

During the whole month of January, during nineteen short letters, Madame de Grafigny languishes in a most unaccountable way; and the eternal complaints of the irregularities of the post and of the indiscretion of her correspondent are really wearisome;—at last her life becomes so miserable that she is forced to fly from this garden of Eden, and it is not till she is beyond its limits that she ventures to write her real sentiments, and then we learn (in the last letter of the Collection) the secret of her misery, and we have opened to us the whole horrors of the kind of society into which she had been inveigled; the extract will be somewhat long, but cannot be uninteresting.

‘I have not dared till now, my dear friend, to allow my dreadful story to escape from my pen. I was so ill that I was afraid I was dying, and I was unwilling to leave behind me the frightful tale of the degradation which I have suffered. I am, however, better now, and by Desmarests, or some other safe hand, I shall continue to have my letters conveyed to the post-office. Ah, the wretch! what has she not inflicted upon me!’

‘On the 29th December, the post arrived as usual, but there were, as they

they said, no letters for me—supper went off as usual, and nothing announced the storm which was brewing. I went to my room, and was about to seal a letter to you when, in about half an hour, I saw—you guess who—coming in. I was extremely surprized, for he (Voltaire) never before came into my room, and least of all was he to be expected at this hour; but still more was I surprized when he exclaimed, “that he was undone—that his life was in my hands.” Good God, I exclaimed, and how? “How?” he answered, “there are an hundred copies of a canto of the *Pucelle* abroad. I am off this instant; I shall fly to Holland—to the end of the world—to—I not where! M. de Châtelet is going off post to Luneville. You must write to Panpan (her correspondent) to help him in recalling these copies—he cannot refuse to do that.”

‘I, poor simpleton, assured him that you would do all that you could to help him. Write, then, said Voltaire, write, and write with your whole heart. Willingly, I exclaimed; how happy am I to have the opportunity of shewing you my affection! and I added some words of regret at the necessity which obliged him to ask my assistance. He started up like a fury, and exclaimed, “No prevarication, Madam; it is you, you yourself, who have circulated it.” I was astonished—I assured him that I had never read or written a line of it. “On the contrary,” he exclaimed, “You copied it—you sent it to Devaux, and he published it.” I, in all the confusion of a surprize, but with all the vivacity of truth, denied it: he insisted with increased violence, and added that *you* had read it to Desmarets at an assembly—given copies to every body, and that Mde. de Châtelet had *the proof all in her pocket*.

‘What could I say or do? I did not, as you may believe, understand what he meant, but I was not the less frightened. At last he insisted that I should sit down and write to you to send me the original, which I had sent you, and all the copies you had made. I humbly submitted, and began to write; but, as you can well conceive, I could not ask you to return what never was sent, and which, I believed, never existed: he read my letter, and threw it down in disgust. “For shame,” Madam, he cried, “a little honesty is at least due to a poor wretch whom you have ruined;” and then redoubled cries, redoubled violence, till at last, as all my protestations only rendered him more intolerable, I was reduced to silence: this frightful torture lasted a full hour, but it was nothing; it was reserved to the *lady* to make it still more frightful. She rushed in, screaming like a *Fury*, upbraiding me in the same way, which I received in the same silence; at last she pulled a letter out of her pocket, and, stuffing it almost into my mouth, “There,” said she, “there is the proof of your infamy; you are the most abandoned of creatures; you are a monster that I received here, not out of regard, for I never had any, but out of pity, because you did not know where else to go, and you have had the infamy to betray us—to stab us—to steal from my desk a work, to copy it, to circulate it.” Ah, my poor friend, where were you?—a thunderbolt would have astonished me less. That’s all I remember of the flood of abuse with which she overwhelmed me.

I was

I was so lost that I could neither see nor hear, but she said a thousand things worse, and, but for Voltaire, she would have beaten me—he seized her round the waist, and dragged her away from me; for all this was said with fists clenched in my face, ready at every word to strike me. But in vain would he drag her away; she returned whenever she could get loose, screaming against my infamy—my infamous treachery, and all this in the hearing of my servant. I was a great while without being able to speak; at last I begged to see the letter—"you shan't have it," she screamed; but, at length I was allowed to look at a passage of it: it was a letter of your's, in which you say, *the canto of Joan is charming*; this unhappy phrase brought the whole affair to my recollection, and I remembered my innocent account of the canto which I had heard ~~of~~. I told them so, and to do him justice, Voltaire believed me at once, and begged pardon for his cruel suspicion and violence. This ~~trial~~ trial lasted till five o'clock in the morning.'

~~They~~ have not patience to go on with this story; the mean tricks ~~of~~ attempts at reconciliation, or rather oblivion, which these people played off, are even more disgusting than their original treachery and violence. The unhappy Madame de Graigny was so poor that she had not the means of quitting the hell into which she had been betrayed; and they, afraid of exposure, were unwilling to let her go till they had secured her silence. Then came the tender Voltaire, weeping; then came the dishonoured husband, sympathising; then came the *grosse dame*, advising; then came the *Fury* equivocating; and an act of such open brutality was followed by successive scenes of the basest perfidy. At last the letter which had given rise to the unlucky answer was recalled; it proved Madame de Graigny's innocence; it contained not a line of the poem, and only, as we have already stated, a mere outline of the plot of one canto; but it was too late—the whole mystery of iniquity was discovered—she could no longer remain amongst such devils—'the word *infamy* stuck in her throat;' and to crown all, Desmarets made her the 'tendre aveu' already quoted. The poor woman borrowed or begged a little money somewhere, and made her escape to Paris, where the liveliness of her conversation, and the ease of her manners, procured her a ready admission into society, and she became a regular blue-stock-ing:—publishing two or three works which were suspected not to be her own—keeping Voltaire in check by the fear of disclosing his brutality, and finally dying, much regretted by her intimates, in the year 1756, at the age of about sixty-six.

The latter half of the volume contains some unpublished letters of Voltaire, of no kind of interest. They are addressed to the President de Hainault, M. de Richelieu and M. D'Argental, in the same style of smart flummery which characterizes the letters to these persons which are already known. We have not met in

them a passage worth quoting; and as we have already given more space to this Article than the subject perhaps deserves, we are unwilling to occupy any time in dishing up again the 'crambe recotta' of this verbose, vain and wearisome correspondence. Voltaire was a man of astonishing quickness, extent and versatility of talents; he had a great deal of wordly sense and of literary acuteness; and in individual cases, where his personal vanity (his ruling passion) was not compromised, he would sometimes be friendly and generous: but his total want of all principle, moral or religious; his impudent audacity; his filthy sensuality; his persecuting envy; his base adulation; his unwearied treachery; his tyranny; his cruelty; his profligacy; his hypocrisy, will render him for ever the *scorn*, as his unbounded powers will the *wonder* of mankind.

ART. VIII.—*Poems, descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery.* By John Clare, a Northamptonshire Peasant. Second Edition. cr. 8vo. London. 1820. pp. 213.

WE had nearly overlooked, amidst the bulkier works which incessantly solicit our attention, this interesting little volume; which bears indubitable evidence of being composed altogether from the impulses of the writer's mind, as excited by external objects and internal sensations. Here are no tawdry and feeble paraphrases of former poets, no attempts at describing what the author *might* have become acquainted with in his limited reading: the woods, the vales, the brooks—

‘the crimson spots
I’ the bottom of a cowslip,—’

or the loftier phenomena of the heavens, contemplated through the alternations of hope and despondency, are the principal sources whence the youth, whose adverse circumstances and resignation under them extort our sympathy, drew the faithful and vivid pictures before us.

Examples of minds, highly gifted by nature, struggling with and breaking through the bondage of adversity, are not rare in this country; but privation is not destitution; and the instance before us is, perhaps, one of the most striking, of patient and persevering talent existing and enduring in the most forlorn and seemingly hopeless condition, that literature has at any time exhibited.

Clare, the youth of whom we speak, was born at Helpstone, a village most unpoetically situated where the easternmost point of Northamptonshire indents the Lincolnshire fens. His father and mother are parish-paupers; the former, from constant exposure to the inclemency of the seasons, being prematurely decrepit,

crepit, the latter, his cheerful companion in youth, has become, as they totter down the hill of life, his natural and constant nurse. If this condition of the parents enabled them to afford small indulgence to the son, the example of conjugal affection, we may hope, will not be lost upon a heart very susceptible of kind impressions. Our author, who is the elder of twins, was born in July, 1793;—the sister, who died immediately after the birth, was, to use his mother's figure of speech, 'a bouncing girl, while John might have gone into a pint pot;' indicating a delicacy of frame under which he has always laboured. His education necessarily squared with the limited means of his parents. Of the dame, who in every village wields the 'tway birchen twigs' to the terror of the surrounding urchins, he learnt to spell and put two syllables together; and before he was six years old, was able, his mother says, to read a chapter in the Bible. As soon, however, as he was able to lead the fore-horse of the harvest team, he was set to work, and returning one evening from the field thus occupied, had the misfortune of seeing the loader fall from the waggon, and break his neck: this fatal accident threw him into fits, from which he did not recover till after a considerable lapse of time, nor without much anxiety and expense to his parents: even at this day he is not wholly free from apprehensions of their return. At the age of twelve, he assisted in the laborious employment of thrashing; the boy, in his father's own words, was weak but willing, and the good old man made a flail for him somewhat suitable to his strength. When his share of the day's toil was over, he eagerly ran to the village school under the belfry, and in this desultory and casual manner gathered his imperfect knowledge of language, and skill in writing. At the early period of which we are speaking, Clare felt the poetic æstrum. He relates, that twice or thrice in the winter weeks it was his office to fetch a bag of flour from the village of Maxey, and darkness often came on before he could return. The state of his nerves corresponded with his slender frame. The tales of terror with which his mother's memory shortened the long nights returned freshly to his fancy the next day, and to beguile the way and dissipate his fears, he used to walk back with his eyes fixed immovably on the ground, revolving in his mind some adventure 'without a ghost in it,' which he turned into verse; and thus, he adds, he reached the village of Helpstone often before he was aware of his approach.

'The fate of Amy' is one of those stories with which every village, more especially every secluded village, abounds; and the pool, from her catastrophe named the haunted pool, is still shewn, while the mound at the head of it attests the place of her inter-

ment. We do not propose to institute a very rigid criticism on these poems, but we must not omit to notice the delicacy with which the circumstances of this inartificial tale are suggested, rather than disclosed; indeed it may be remarked generally that, though associating necessarily with the meanest and most uneducated of society, the poet's homeliest stories have nothing of coarseness and vulgarity in their construction. Some of his ballad stanzas rival the native simplicity of Tickel or Mallett.

' The flowers the sultry summer kills,
Spring's milder suns restore;
But innocence, that fickle charm,
Blooms once, and blooms no more.

The swains who loved no more admire,
Their hearts no beauty warms;
And maidens triumph in her fall,
That envied once her charms.

Lost was that sweet simplicity,
Her eye's bright lustre fled;
And o'er her cheeks, where roses bloom'd,
A sickly paleness spread.

So fades the flower before its time,
Where canker-worms assail,
So droops the bud upon the stem,
Beneath the sickly gale.'—p. 26.

For the boisterous sports and amusements which form the usual delight of village youth, Clare had neither strength nor relish; his mother found it necessary to drive him from the chimney corner to exercise and to play, whence he quickly returned, contemplative and silent. His parents—we speak from knowledge—were apprehensive for his mind as well as his health; not knowing how to interpret, or to what cause to refer these habits so opposite to those of other boys of his condition; and when, a few years later, they found him hourly employed in writing,—and writing verses too,—‘the gear was not mended’ in their estimation. ‘When he was fourteen or fifteen,’ says Dame Clare, ‘he would shew me a piece of paper, printed sometimes on one side, and scrawled all over on the other, and he would say, Mother, this is worth so much; and I used to say to him, Aye, boy, it looks as if it warr!—but I thought he was wasting his time.’ Clare's history, for a few succeeding years, is composed in two words, spare diet and hard labour, cheered by visions of fancy which promised him happier days: there is an amusing mixture of earnestness and coquetry in his invocation ‘to Hope,’ the deceitful sustainer, time immemorial, of poets and lovers.

‘Come,

'Come, flattering Hope! now woes distress me,
 Thy flattery I desire again;
 Again rely on thee to bless me,
 To find thy vainness doubly vain.
 Though disappointments vex and fetter,
 And jeering whisper, thou art vain,
 Still must I rest on thee for better,
 Still hope—and be deceived again.'—p. 122.

The eccentricities of genius, as we gently phrase its most reprehensible excesses, contribute no interest to the biography of Clare. We cannot, however, regret this. Once, it seems, 'visions of glory' crowded on his sight, and, he enlisted at Peterboro' in the local militia. He still speaks of the short period passed in his new character, with evident satisfaction. After a while, he took the bounty for extended service, and marched to Oundle; where, at the conclusion of a bloodless campaign, his corps was disbanded and he was constrained to return to Helpstone, to the dreary abode of poverty and sickness. His novel occupation does not appear to have excited any martial poetry; we need not therefore 'unsphere the spirit of Plato,' adequately to celebrate the warlike strains of the modern Tyrtæus.

The clouds which had hung so heavily over the youth of Clare, far from dispersing, grew denser and darker as he advanced towards manhood. His father, who had been the constant associate of his labours, became more and more infirm, and he was constrained to toil alone, and far beyond his strength, to obtain a mere subsistence. It was at this cheerless moment, he composed 'What is Life?' in which he has treated a common subject with an earnestness, a solemnity, and an originality deserving of all praise: some of the lines have a terseness of expression and a nervous freedom of versification not unworthy of Drummond, or of Cowley.

'And what is Life?—An hour-glass on the run,
 A mist, reatreating from the morning sun,
 A busy, bustling, still-repeated dream,—
 Its length?—A minute's pause, a moment's thought.
 And happiness?—A bubble on the stream,
 That in the act of seizing shrinks to nought.
 And what is Hope?—the puffing gale of morn,
 That robs each floweret of its gem,—and dies;
 A cobweb, hiding disappointment's thorn,
 Which stings more keenly through the thin disguise.
 And what is Death?—Is still the cause unfound?
 That dark, mysterious name of horrid sound?
 A long and lingering sleep, the weary crave.
 And peace?—Where can its happiness abound?
 No where at all, save Heaven, and the grave.

Then

Then what is Life?—When stripp'd of its disguise,
 A thing to be desir'd it cannot be;
 Since every thing that meets our foolish eyes,
 Gives proof sufficient of its vanity.
 'Tis but a trial all must undergo;
 To teach unthankful mortal how to prize
 That happiness vain man 's denied to know,
 Until he's call'd to claim it in the skies.'

That the author of such verses (and there are abundance of them) should have continued till the age of twenty-five unfriended and unknown, is less calculated perhaps to excite astonishment, than that devotedness to his art, which could sustain him under the pressure of such evils, and that modesty which shrunk from obtruding his writings on the world. Once, indeed, and once only, he appears to have made an effort to emerge from this cheerless obscurity, by submitting his verses to a neighbour, who, it seems, enjoyed a reputation for knowledge 'in such matters.' Even here his ill-fortune awaited him; and his muse met not only with discouragement but rebuke. The circumstance is however valuable, since it serves to illustrate the natural gentleness of the poet's disposition. Instead of venting his spleen against this rustic Aristarch, he only cleaves to his favourite with greater fondness.

'Still must my rudeness pluck the flower
 That's pluck'd, alas! in evil hour;
 And poor, and vain, and sunk beneath
 Oppression's scorn although I be,
 Still will I bind my simple wreath,
 Still will I love thee, Poesy.'—p. 124.

'Though need make many poets,' it was not need that excited Clare to write poetry, though its importunity finally drove him 'to trust his little bark to the waves.' Without a shilling in his pocket, with a father and mother aged and decrepit at home, who rather required his aid than contributed to alleviate his condition, with a frame so feeble by nature, as to sink under the toil to which he had all his life submitted, he at length—and on the impulse of the moment—bethought himself of endeavouring to obtain some small advantage from those mental labours which had at various seasons so deeply engaged his mind. 'I was working alone in the lime-pits, at Ryhall, in the dead of winter, 1818,' these are his own words, 'when knowing it impossible for me to pay a shoemaker's bill of more than three pounds, having only eighteen-pence to receive at night, I resolved upon publishing proposals for printing a little volume of poems by subscription; and at dinner-time I wrote a prospectus, with a pencil, and

and walked over to Stamford at night, to send it by the post to Mr. Hanson, a printer at Market Deeping.' Mr. Hanson had seen some of these poems in manuscript; and it is due to him to say that he was the first who expressed a favourable opinion of their merits, and thus induced Clare to venture upon this formidable measure. This prospectus was accordingly published, together with the following 'Address,' which we give as a sort of literary curiosity.

'The Public are requested to observe, that the TRIFLES humbly offered for their candid perusal, can lay no claim to eloquence of poetical composition, (whoever thinks so will be deceived,) the greater part of them being juvenile productions, and those of a later date offsprings of those leisure intervals which the short remittance from hard and manual labour sparingly afforded to compose them. It is hoped that the humble situation which distinguishes their author will be some excuse in their favour, and serve to make an atonement for the many inaccuracies and imperfections that will be found in them. The least touch from the iron hand of *criticism* is able to crush them to nothing. May they be allowed to live their little day, and give satisfaction to those who may chuse to honour them with a perusal, they will gain the end for which they were designed, and their author's wishes will be gratified.'

Booksellers, whether metropolitan or provincial, are, it has been said, rarely deficient in shrewdness. The proposals fell into the hands of one of the fraternity in Stamford, and suggested to him the probability of the publication affording a profitable speculation. No time was lost in visiting Helpstone; and, for the immediate deposit of a few pounds to meet his present need, and the expectation of receiving a few more at a distant period, Clare was content to abandon his subscription and to part from the volume before us. The original chapman soon transferred his bargain to the actual publishers, by whom the poems have been given to the world in a manner creditable to themselves, and liberal, we have reason to believe, as to the author.

Looking back upon what we have written, we find we have not accomplished our intention of interspersing with our narrative such extracts as might convey a general character of Clare's poetry,—we have used only such as assorted with the accidents of the poet's life, and the tone of them has necessarily been somewhat gloomy. The volume, however, offers abundant proofs of the author's possessing a cheerful disposition, a mind delighting in the charms of natural scenery, and a heart not to be subdued by the frowns of fortune; though the advantages which he might have derived from these endowments have been checked by the sad realities which hourly reminded him of his unpromising condition.

dition. Misery herself cannot, however, keep incessant watch over her victims; and it must have been in a happy interval of abstraction from troublesome feelings that Clare composed 'the Summer Morning,' the result, we believe, of a sabbath-day walk; the lively pictures of rural occupation being introduced from the recollections of yesterday, and the anticipations of the morrow. We have only room for a few stanzas of this little poem, which is gay, and graceful, possessing the true features of descriptive poetry, in which every object is distinct and appropriate.

'The cocks have now the morn foretold,
 The sun again begins to peep, •
 The shepherd, whistling to his fold,
 Unpens and frees the captive sheep.
 O'er pathless plains at early hours
 The sleepy rustic sloomy goes;
 The dews, brush'd off from grass and flowers,
 Bemoistening sop his hardened shoes;
 While every leaf that forms a shade,
 And every floweret's silken top,
 And every shivering bent and blade,
 Stoops, bowing with a diamond drop.
 But soon shall fly those diamond drops,
 The red round sun advances higher.
 And stretching o'er the mountain tops
 Is gilding sweet the village-spire.
 'Tis sweet to meet the morning breeze
 Or list the giggling of the brook;
 Or, stretch'd beneath the shade of trees,
 Peruse and pause on Nature's book,
 When Nature ev'ry sweet prepares
 To entertain our wish'd delay,—
 The images which morning wears,
 The wakening charms of early day!
 Now let me tread the meadow paths
 While glittering dew the ground illumines,
 As, sprinkled o'er the withering swaths,
 Their moisture shrinks in sweet perfumes;
 And hear the beetle sound his horn;
 And hear the skylark whistling nigh,
 Sprung from his bed of tufted corn;
 A hailing minstrel in the sky.—

It will have appeared, in some measure, from our specimens, that Clare is rather the creature of feeling than of fancy. He looks abroad with the eye of a poet, and with the minuteness of a naturalist, but the intelligence which he gains is always referred to the heart; it is thus that the falling leaves become admonishers
 and

and friends, the idlest weed has its resemblance in his own lowly lot, and the opening primrose of spring suggests the promise that his own long winter of neglect and obscurity will yet be succeeded by a summer's sun of happier fortune. The volume, we believe, scarcely contains a poem in which this process is not adopted; nor one in which imagination is excited without some corresponding tone of tenderness, or morality. When the discouraging circumstances under which the bulk of it was composed are considered, it is really astonishing that so few examples should be found of querulousness and impatience, none of envy or despair.

The humble origin of Clare may suggest a comparison with Burns and Bloomfield, which a closer examination will scarcely warrant. Burns was, indeed, as he expresses it, 'born to the plough,' but when in his riper years he held the plough it was rather as a master than as a menial. He was neither destitute nor uneducated. Secure from poverty, supported by his kindred, and surrounded by grand and exciting scenery, his lot was lofty and his advantages numerous compared with those of the youth before us. There is almost no little resemblance in their minds. To the pointed wit, the bitter sarcasm, the acute discrimination of character, and the powerful pathos of Burns, Clare cannot make pretension; but he has much of his tender feeling in his serious poetry, and an animation, a vivacity, and a delicacy in describing rural scenery, which the mountain bard has not often surpassed. In all the circumstances of his life, the author of the 'Farmer's Boy' was far more fortunate than Clare. Though his father was dead, Bloomfield had brothers who were always at his side to cheer and sustain him, while an early residence in the metropolis contributed largely to the extension of his knowledge. To want and poverty he was ever a stranger. Clare never knew a brother; it was his fortune to continue till his twenty-fifth year without education, without hearing the voice of a friend, constrained to follow the most laborious and revolting occupations to obtain the bare necessities of life. The poetical compositions of the two have few points of contact. The 'Farmer's Boy' is the result of careful observations made on the occupations and habits, with few references to the passions of rural life. Clare writes frequently from the same suggestions; but his subject is always enlivened by picturesque and minute description of the landscape around him, and deepened, as we have said, with a powerful reference to emotions within. The one is descriptive, the other contemplative.

A friend of Clare has expressed a doubt of his capacity for the composition of a long poem:—we have no wish that he should make the experiment; but we have an earnest desire that he should be respectable and happy; that he should support a fair name in poetry,

poetry, and that his condition in life should be ameliorated. It is with this feeling that we counsel—that we entreat him to continue something of his present occupations;—to attach himself to a few in the sincerity of whose friendship he can confide, and to suffer no temptations of the idle and the dissolute to seduce him from the quiet scenes of his youth—scenes so congenial to his taste,—to the hollow and heartless society of cities; to the haunts of men who would court and flatter him while his name was new, and who, when they had contributed to distract his attention and impair his health, would cast him off unceremoniously to seek some other novelty. Of his again encountering the difficulties and privations he lately experienced, there is no danger. Report speaks of honourable and noble friends already secured: with the aid of these, the cultivation of his own excellent talents, and a meek but firm reliance on that GOOD POWER by whom these were bestowed, he may, without presumption, anticipate a rich reward in the future for the evils endured in the morning of his life.

ART. IX. 1. *De l'Angleterre*. Par Monsieur Rubichon. Vol. I. 8vo. Paris.

2. *De l'Angleterre*. Par Monsieur Rubichon. Vol. II. 1819.

OF all the materials for book-making, it might be thought that those collected in travelling were the most easily obtained. Let a person of plain good sense, improved by a liberal education, and with an unprejudiced mind, set out to ramble over any tract of country inhabited by human creatures; and the probability seems to be, that he will return home with such a store of observations as shall not fail to be instructive and beneficial, and to add to the common stock of truth by which alone the progress of mankind can be made certain.

But, when we consider that those qualities, though far removed from the highest endowment of intellect, are by no means so frequently met with as might be supposed, and that the majority of travellers have a different end in view from the study and observation of men, it will be less surprising that so little real advantage has accrued from their strictures upon the characters of the nations among whom they have resided.

The most important end of travel, however, that to which all other considerations should converge, is to acquire a knowledge of human beings, and of the modes and institutions by which they have been rendered wiser, happier, and better. Unfortunately, it is not in those parts of the world in which men and their institutions are the most worthy of observation, that they have

have met with the greatest attention, and it is more common for the explorers of Asia, Africa, or the South Seas, to give a picture of manners, customs, and characters, than for those who visit the countries of Europe, to bestow upon them the labour and investigation to which so high a degree of culture has entitled them.

One of the causes which very much diminishes the value of travels in general, is the rapidity with which their authors (though they may be very sensible men, and very conversant with mankind at home) judge of habits and manners that are new to them. The effect of novelty upon the mind is always to produce emotion, to raise it out of the tranquil condition, in which alone sound judgment can be exercised, and to place it in a state of excitement, approaching to enthusiasm. Whether this enthusiasm tends to raise or depreciate in our estimation the object which is new to us, depends upon a variety of circumstances; but upon none so much as its relation to our own habits and dispositions; to those causes which have produced our prejudices. To form a just estimate how far the descriptions of a traveller are exact, we should, in some measure, be acquainted with the state of his mind; in order that we may be enabled to supply the deficiencies, and to lop off the redundancies of his praise or censure.

We meant, at first, to treat somewhat fully on this point; and indeed its importance, at a period when the mania of travelling is epidemic among us, and the country is annually drained of nearly eight millions sterling by British absentees, would justify our enlarging upon the subject—but opportunities will occur for returning to it with advantage. We shall therefore content ourselves with adding here, that we shall neither regret this extraordinary emigration; nor think these eight millions sterling during a few years, unhappily expended, if our countrymen return home loaded with the spoils of wholesome travel, and enriched with the kindly fruit of observation and enlarged virtue.

The press, in every part of Europe, has teemed of late with publications upon England and France. But the art of observing nations and their characters has been so long suspended, that it is, in some measure, lost. They who travel now are the children of those who travelled before the interruption. Every thing is new to them, except their own fire-sides. Other ideas too have filled the chasm which the sword had opened in European civilization. Other passions have agitated the minds of men. No two nations exist, who have not waged war with each other; who have not mixed their banners in fight, alternately friends and foes. To the want of peaceful communication, have been joined the habit of suspicion and the instability of every social tie.

tie. For these reasons it is more necessary than ever, that the enlightened of all nations should be brought into contact with each other; and that every man who has become acquainted with any of the countries which compose the most civilized portion of our globe, should contribute his mite to make them better known to each other; in the hope of repairing the breach which the fourth part of a century, spent in war and devastation, has made in mutual courtesy.

Beside the impediments which prevent men in general from soundly judging of nations not their own, particular causes may interfere to prevent the natives of some countries more especially from forming just ideas upon others. Without stopping to consider every case of this kind that might be found in Europe, we shall confine ourselves to what is suggested by the two volumes before us, as the most interesting to Englishmen, and to the history of the times in which we have lived; and speak of two countries, one of which has caused all the trouble and turmoil of our younger years, and the other has constantly sought to quell them; of France, the most attached of nations to physical refinement and luxury, and by whom the happiness of mankind was most bitterly warred against; and of England, the foremost in moral and intellectual civilization, by whom it has been still more successfully defended and secured.

In perusing the accounts which Frenchmen have given of England, upon a short acquaintance with it, we have often had occasion to remark how much more unfavourable and virulent they are, than the pictures which Englishmen, under similar circumstances, have drawn of France; and we have frequently been tempted to inquire into the causes which occasion such a disparity of mutual toleration. Before we enter upon the merits of Mr. Rubichon, then, we shall examine this question: Whether the opinions which Frenchmen pronounce upon England, or those which Englishmen pronounce upon France, are most likely to be just and competent; and state some of the causes which may contribute to warp the judgment of either with regard to the opposite party.

And here we must beg pardon of our readers for indulging in such homely topics as the first we must discuss; but we cannot help it. For many reasons we cannot avoid speaking of the physical inconveniences which English and French must feel on visiting each other's country, so different from their own. All men are, in some measure, governed by their physical perceptions; and we agree with an adage of our neighbours, which says, that a *parterre assis juge avec plus d'indulgence qu'un parterre debout*. But of all the unplumed bipeds who pretend to reason,
none

none is so much the slave of his sensations as the Frenchman ; and it would be presenting a mutilated account of his mode of judging, if we did not duly allow for their influence upon his mind.

A Frenchman, then, upon arriving in England, is assailed by the want of many enjoyments to which he is familiarized by the more agreeable climate of his own country ; and his first impressions are received, while his physical feelings are in a state of indisposition to all that surrounds him. Our cloudy sky makes him fretful. The damp and variations of our atmosphere, unchanging only in perpetual fogs, are uncongenial with his vivacity ; and every thing he sees at first, depresses his constitutional buoyancy. The first inn he enters presents him with a coal fire, which is neither so lively nor so sparkling as the wood one which he left at Calais ; though the hearth be somewhat cleaner. He sits down generally without silver forks, or napkins, so common in every filthy inn in France, to a dinner of the simplest fare, without ragouts, or entremets or desserts ; and the only substitute which he can obtain for the wines of Burgundy is some execrable black or yellow brandy, sold under the insidious names of Port and Sherry. The same misery pursues him throughout every scene of the eventful day and night after his landing. For this bad fare and hard lodging too, he is the next morning presented with a bill of costs, the amount of which would have maintained him at home, on soups and consommé and Champagne, for several days. All that his sensations can perceive are displeasing to him ; and as to moral reflections, he is not inclined to pursue any such.

When an Englishman arrives upon the continent, the first wound he receives is in his comforts ; and the chiefest of these is cleanliness. A long time elapses before he can overcome his disgust, but habit at length dulls the edge of his perception. He is courted too by a livelier climate, and amused by the contortions of a populace grinning in misery. He meets with many things to charm away his ennui ; and he discovers, that, with a hempen harness in lieu of a leathern one, and horses quite unlike all he had ever seen before, he can travel at the rate of nearly five English miles, or one French post per hour. He is accosted with more apparent civility, more specious varnishings of complacency on the countenances of men ; and he jogs on, tickled into a mingled smile of pity, and contempt, and ridicule, and dislike, and curiosity, and gratification, and conscious superiority,—the sum total of which however is most assuredly good humour ; and the pleasurable impression prevails over the unsocial.

No sooner has the English traveller reached Paris, than the gratification of his long-expectant curiosity spreads a day of

cheerfulness around him. There is in his mind a stimulus, which to a Frenchman is not so powerful—the desire of acquiring knowledge, of seeing with his own eyes what other nations are ; of learning by his own experience what good or evil exists in foreign countries ; and of collecting materials for future thought and meditation. The sight of unknown objects is a satisfaction to him ; and his intellect is soothed by the admission of any new truth. The gaudy capital of France has collected within its walls, whatever can excite and gratify the sensual tastes of men ; and the very motley of the scenes, so new to all who are accustomed to regularity, excites a curiosity which is indescribable. Every thing which can please—except upon reflection—is united there ; and even the abundant filth is not without its interest, when opposed to the splendour it contains. The loftiness of the houses contrasted with the narrowness of the streets, which gives them the appearance of lanes cut in quarries of freestone, where some sprite or demon has alternately hewn out a palace and a pigstye ; the magnificent residence of the Bourbons, the work of many monarchs, extending along the meagre banks of the Seine, till at length it is lost in the crowds of stalls, and booths, and slop-shops, and shoeblacks' stands which bound the prospect towards the Place de Grève,—that scene of many massacres, both old and new,—create an emotion in the mind of an Englishman, which he would in vain attempt to repay in kind, by any sight which London can afford a foreigner. The great characteristic of England is uniformity, with but few striking exceptions, few contrasts, few wretched hovels interspersed among the few palaces she possesses ; few beggars imploring alms, and acting as a foil to luxury at the side of gaudy equipages. Paris is replete with lively contrasts, and wretched extremes ; and London with tranquil monotony and happy order. We once heard a Frenchman, who certainly did not intend to pay a compliment to the country, say, that '*l'Angleterre étoit uniformément et ennuyeusement belle.*'

It is a speculation among the French, both in finances and vanity, to make their capital the abode and the admiration of strangers ; and when any thing offers, which promises a harvest for either, they do the honours of it with peculiar effect, except, indeed, when they have been out-gloried into a fit of ill humour. The whole country becomes a theatre, in which foreigners are the audience ; and Frenchmen laugh, dance, and tumble, to put them in good spirits. It is a part of this system, that all public establishments, and all the institutions of the arts and sciences are of such easy access ; that all their learned men are so eager to show politeness to those whose opinion they hope to captivate, either for themselves or their nation. An Englishman has an elevation
of

of mind which makes him reluctant to attract, by petty artifices, the passing plaudits of a mob of persons with whom he is unacquainted; and London is perhaps the capital of Europe in which a short residence is the least likely to captivate. The least engaging moments which strangers spend in the society of the English, are the first; for we require time to feel, and great occasion to show an attachment. We have no petty interests or passions which induce us to pay court to a stranger. We seek not the money he spends to increase our national prosperity. To speculate upon vanity we do not condescend. We scorn to caress any person whom we do not esteem; we cannot esteem any whom we do not know; and, when we do esteem, we think it beneath us to flatter. The first impressions then which Paris produces upon an Englishman are, upon the whole, more pleasing than those produced by London upon a Frenchman.

The account we have given of English travellers in France does not, we know, suit the whole nation; while the picture of Frenchmen in England is of more general application. The inhabitants of France, both in their minds and manners, compose a very homogeneous mass; and there is hardly any distinction but that of rank. Whoever has seen one *militaire*, or one robin of the ancient régime, has seen them all. The different epochs of the revolution, indeed, have introduced some shades of education, and persons who have paid attention to them, can distinguish a pupil of the Robespierrian from one of the Directorial, or Buonapartean school of ruffians. But we now speak of France not at any particular moment, but in the long era of her historical existence; and we assert that the contrasts she contains are not dependant upon a diversity of thoughts and opinions, but upon the extremes of want and luxury, with but little that is intermediate, and the impervious barrier which separates nobility from plebeians. England on the contrary, more uniform in some respects, presents a very varied picture of thoughts and opinions; and, to give a description of the nation at large would be impossible, except by saying it is infinitely varied. The most numerous class of English travellers, however, is, we fear, that which we have described. As to the pure John Bull, who is discontented with every thing abroad, he is very much changed both as to the intensity and the quality of his feelings; and we see but too many of our grumbling countrymen softened down, by the epicurean luxuries and elegant frivolities of France, into her very devoted humble servants and admirers. *Bullism* is a worthy honest sentiment; one which we would not see effaced. It is a prejudice of the heart, and honours him who owns it; and, since international relations among imperfect beings promise

eternal duration to prejudices, may this too be eternal! May no particle of it ever be exchanged for aught that can be found in that country, from which no Englishman ever yet returned with the addition of a single virtue.

So much, then, for the prepossessions induced by the physical impressions. We shall now proceed to some other inquiries, which we hope are more refined and more intellectual.

A Frenchman, on account of his natural levity, is more disposed to pronounce sentence without *connaissance de cause*, than an Englishman. Very slight information satisfies his curiosity; and he finds that he advances more rapidly by imagining consequences from doubtful premises, than by deducing them from laborious investigations. He has one prodigious advantage over Englishmen in the art of making impromptu observations. He has been taught to dance. He *glissees en avant* to explore, and *chassees* back again into his place, to ruminate. To stop him by facts would be as easy as to entangle St. Vitus in a cobweb; and he shuffles right and left through a chain of ratiocination, with as much dexterity as if it had been the *chaîne Anglaise*. A pirouette is to him a fund of ineffable knowledge; for, while performing a revolution on his axis, his eyes are successively turned to all the corners of the land, and he has learned every recondite good it holds. But an Englishman has none of these advantages. He moves more slowly, and, if you will, more heavily. He does not slide along and determine all things at a glance. In short, the Frenchman surely beats him at the outset, *ma, chi va piano, va sano*.

In addition to his having learned to dance, a Frenchman possesses another advantage, equally conducive to the nimble processes of reasoning: he has not learned logic. Nothing is so cumbrous to an agile mind as gradations in disputation. He who can jump or stride across a river, disdains the aid of stepping stones, and he who can skip from the premises to the conclusion of an argument, will never stop to syllogize. Of all things on earth logic would be the most troublesome to a Frenchman; we do not mean the heavy formulas, the *Barbara celarent darii ferio baralipon* of the schools, but the natural progressions and paths which lead from one truth to another. It would make a new being of him. It would impede the volatility and the versatility of his perceptions. It would *trammel up his consequences*; and chain him, like Prometheus, to a rock, with impatience gnawing at his liver. But an Englishman is encumbered with a certain goutiness of mind, which makes him lean on every syllogistic staff; and he hobbles on, generally however to tolerably

tolerably sound results, wrapped up in the dialectic flannels of Aristotle and Bacon.

But if an Englishman, as many there are, has not studied logic, still the laxity of his inferences is straitened by a strong affection for truth, both intellectual and moral. When he travels (we except the class to which Major-General Lord Blaney belongs,) he looks for knowledge; and he holds that error is still worse than ignorance. He is fearful of drawing conclusions hastily; and the principal reproach that can be made to him is that too often under the influence of party feelings, he allows them to interfere where they should not be admitted. He has an intellectual conscience which he endeavours to satisfy, an interest which is more than curiosity, an end in view the uniform tendency of which is utility. All these considerations have but little weight with a Frenchman; and he is habituated to consider truth merely as an idol, old, antiquated, and awkward, which may be figured and disguised in a thousand sophistical shapes; nay, which it sometimes becomes a duty to deform. To own that any thing out of France can be superior to any thing that is in it, would be derogatory to the honour of his country and the glory of his sovereign.

It is not then surprising that the first labour of a Frenchman is directed to mislead foreigners, and to give them too favourable ideas of France. He acts upon this principle: 'say all the good you can of yourself, there is always some one among the crowd who will believe you;' and by his plausible loquacity he often succeeds in gaining credit from a guileless Englishman. An Englishman, on the contrary, descants to the full as largely on the vices as upon the virtues of his country, and is too well aware that weakness is the lot of human nature to be shocked when some slight imperfections are laid to his account; though, in his mind, more than in the mind of a Frenchman, vice forms the exception not the rule of human conduct. But a Frenchman is not contented with dubbing himself the first of human creatures; he considers himself as a privileged being upon earth, exempt from all the defects of his species; a demigod, for whose pleasure the world was created, and who does its author infinite honour in appearing to be satisfied.

The intellectual endowments of the two nations are also of a different complexion, and we do not hesitate to advance that the average is very much in favour of England. The French have a quick and lively perception of all that immediately strikes the senses; and of the modifications of society which are taken in by the eye, and caught, as it were, by a glance of the mind. But, when sound conclusions are to be drawn, their understand-

ings are in default ; and the faculty by which ideas are combined, is more defective, than that by which they are received. The perceptive powers of an Englishman may not be so prompt ; or, to speak more correctly, the things he wishes to perceive cannot be so hastily observed ; while the quickness of a Frenchman, in a great measure, results from the futile nature of the objects which attract him. But at all events, the former excels in combination and induction, and in the habit of generalizing. The very best advantages of his country are derived from his power of reasoning justly ; and, without it, the stupendous fabric of British prosperity must crumble. The education of all classes in Great Britain is more solid than that of analogous classes in France ; and useful knowledge is spread over a much greater portion of the population. The peasantry in France inherit the mere ploughshare instincts of their fathers ; the bourgeois have never heard of any town except their own and Paris. Before the revolution—and most assuredly the elevation of corporals and laundresses to the ducal dignity has not diminished the defect—it was rare to see a well spelt letter from a nobleman ; and the ladies knew more of the eloquence du billet than of orthography. The ignorance of the upper ranks has at all times been deplorable in a country which holds so high a situation in Europe ; and the more so as, except among a few who courted science as a fashion, real knowledge was rather a title of exclusion among those who called themselves the best society.

There is, in the constitution of English and French intellect, a quality well deserving our attention, as it has a considerable influence upon their mode of judging. The English have been placed, by their natural position, in a situation which has roused the best energies of the species, and called into action all the great and general principles of human nature. It is upon these that our countrymen have always thought and acted ; and, by them, that their understandings have been formed. The security of property, the certainty of peaceably enjoying the fruit of labour, of not being deprived of our rights or liberty, while innocent, must be among the universal principles of social existence, because they tend to its uniform advantage. They are, so to speak, the instincts of rationality, and the primary impulses of civilized beings. Now it is to these, and to every feeling of the same description, that the English have paid their constant adoration. But to none of them have the French shown any due regard. Their natural situation, too favourable to thoughtlessness, has allowed their minds to run riot, as it were, in a series of false positions, which are not those of general nature ; and has fed their intellects with sentiments which are exceptions to the common inclinations

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inclinations of reflecting men. In every instance, their attachment to things which reason holds most dear gives place to factitious passions. To the sure and peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, they prefer the precarious pleasures which unsteady wealth can purchase while it lasts; and, upon all occasions, set a higher value on the flowers than on the fruit of life; and, with an improvidence which must be unnatural, because it is destructive, they pluck the green ear of their corn, to regale their senses with the fragrance of its blossom.

The moral portrait of the French contains but few of the great features of our nature. Their character, if what is immaterial in us could admit of a substantial likeness, might be compared to a rough hewn statue of the human being, to which no soul had ever been destined; and whose surface had been polished, before its form was finished. Their feelings, sentiments, and passions, are but slight sketches of those which are prevalent among men; and we should look, in vain, for any of the strong lineaments which speak the deepest impressions of the heart, and proclaim its most energetic affections. Notwithstanding this, however, their existence is passed in extremes; and the susceptibility of their minds endeavours to compensate for the want of true sensibility. Impelled by an imagination rather physical than intellectual, which is guided by little reason, and rarely bent upon any solid pursuit, every Frenchman is alternately gigantic and dwarfish; and few can keep the middle stature; which is the assimilating characteristic of mankind. Their emotions are not the less violent for having originated in their imaginations, and for being subject to all its variations; but they have no reference to any thing except themselves and the impulse or pleasure of the passing hour.

With feelings so flimsy, and affections so futile, a nation might be supposed to have escaped the extreme of every passion; and to be incapable of profound and lasting animosities. But the violent fancies of light minds, though giddy foundations of benevolence, are powerful incitements to hatred; and it matters little whether they are permanent or not, provided they can be excited in such rapid succession, as leaves no sensible interruption in their existence. The most extravagant transports of rage have, at all times, been succeeded, in France, by excesses still more deplorable, and excited by the most paltry causes; and he who reads the history of that country, is perpetually astonished that such extreme unmeaning violence should have been so lasting. In frivolous minds too, there is no check upon outrageous caprices, no test to try their legitimacy; and the sentiments of mercy and benevolence, together with religion, are proportionally weak. In such ill-governed characters then, the virtues of humanity seldom

interpose, or interpose but feebly, to calm their frenzies; and it is more easy to argue down a tempest of the heart, than to subdue the malignant and erroneous passions which have their seat in the imagination.

In the national character of the English, all that, in the French, is outline is filled up: the sketch is finished, and the form completed, although the surface may in some parts be left unpolished. Every essential feature of the great image of man has been perfected; and every faculty and function kept distinct and separate. Our affections do not reside in our imaginations; neither, when buoyed up by the passions of fancy, do we become gigantic, or dwarfish when they desert us. Our whole moral nature is under the guidance of reason. Our religion is deep seated in our hearts, and if our passions wake, it wakes too, ready to oppose its counterpoise against their bad suggestions. We have reflection which seldom permits our virtues quite to slumber; and which, even when our pride swells highest, teaches us to ask, with more humility than the French have ever felt in the midst of degradation, if all were judged according to the strict letter of perfection, what would be our doom?

Upon dispositions thus previously biassed, many national events have erected a superstructure of love or hatred, which must also be taken into account. The British empire began the world with smaller means and fewer natural advantages than France. Some of these difficulties it was in the power of man to correct, or to counterpoise; but some of them no human ingenuity could remove. Yet, by ably taking advantage of what it was impossible to turn to profit, and by opposing greater energies of intellect, and stronger virtues to the obstacles they could not overcome, the natives of Britain have raised their country to a height of power, happiness, and glory, which does not appear to have been enjoyed by any other people upon earth. To do this assertion justice, is much beyond our space and powers; yet we must attempt a rapid sketch.

The historical events of both nations, whenever England and France have come in contact with each other, are such as to leave a long balance of success and glory to the credit of the former. During the six centuries which succeeded the Norman conquest—an event in which the French had no share—the whole tide of fortune was without interruption in our favour. We remained masters of one-third of France during nearly four centuries: we won, over the natives in the very heart of their natural dominions, and with forces not more than one to five, the three most memorable battles recorded in the history of either nation, beside a crowd of lesser days. One of our monarchs was crowned king of
France

France in their capital, and one of their's was led captive into ours. Henry VIII. poised the destinies of Francis and Charles, and Elizabeth helped to place upon the throne of France the most national monarch that ever sat upon it—a benefit too great to be acknowledged. As a counterpoise to these, and many other bitter advantages, we failed, in later times, in our attempts to oppose the Spanish succession, and the French succeeded in helping our colonies to become independent. But the former event added more to the vanity of the Bourbon family, than to the power of France; and the latter was a natural consequence of the prosperity and of the principles which we ourselves had planted among our American descendants, much more than a result of French interference. When universal terror, twice in one hundred years, hung over Europe, Britain alone remained undaunted, and held out, in one hand, a shield to the oppressed, and in the other a scourge to the wicked. We accomplished all this by a series of victories, most galling to them; by effacing their flag from every sea, and, in later times, by driving their armies before us, over the whole space of ground which separates the capitals of Belgium and Lusitania, the distance between Thoulouse and the banks of the Loire excepted. In every age, and in every clime, the Genius of France has been rebuked under us; and, if she has sometimes triumphed over the rest of Europe, it has only been that we might become the ultimate heirs and depositaries of all her glory, purged of all its crimes.

From the remotest period to which history can reach, down to the present day, the internal state of the two countries has been such as to create more envy on the one side, than on the other. With every natural advantage which can conduce to national prosperity, much greater than in Britain, still France has remained our inferior in all the grand results of happiness, nay even of genuine splendour; and a fair comparison between the two countries cannot fail to impress upon men the conviction that the bounty of nature is often more generously shown in what she refuses, than in what she prodigally bestows. If we compare the benefits which each nation derives from its territorial resources, with those resources themselves, we shall find that England has done much more, and that, at this present moment, the balance which her industry, her perseverance, in a word, which the use of her moral faculties has created, taking an average of population, wealth, power, intellect, is about five to one in her favour; in virtue and happiness much higher. And let not the word wealth alarm the men of any party. What we advance we can prove. If since the day when our present debt began, we had had recourse to the same means which the French have employed, during

during the same period, that is to say, bankruptcies, fraudulent and rapacious; violent breaches of national faith; foreign and domestic plunder, confiscations, &c. the government of this country, instead of owing £800,000,000 sterling, would now have at least thrice that sum at its disposal. But then it would have been, like that of France, dishonest; and we could not then assert, as we now do, that should any public emergency create a sudden demand for money, in both countries, the sums which in a given time, however long or short, would be forthcoming, would be at the very lowest computation in equal numbers of pounds sterling in England, and of francs in France; or as twenty-four to one. We found this assertion, not upon any vague surmise; but upon absolute documents too long to be developed at this moment.

The same superiority will be found to be our lot in every other department of intellect. In the moral and political sciences, those on which the happiness of nations depends, we are, both in theory and practice, some centuries more advanced than France. In the exact sciences, those in which she claims the greatest pre-eminence, we are still her superiors, and our excellence is greatest in those very branches which demand the greatest reach of mind, mathematics, optics, mechanics, astronomy, chemistry, medicine. In a word, there are but two roads to national supremacy; nature and art—and where nature has done least, art must do the most. One of the most taunting delights of the French, is to cast in our teeth the penury of our soil, the ungratefulness of our climate, and the scantiness of all our natural means—if they loved us, they could not pay a nobler homage to our virtues and our wisdom than is unconsciously conveyed in this sneer at the original exiguity of our means;—and they are, above all, exasperated to see, that, with a smaller and a poorer territory, with a land not flowing with wine and oil, and with little more than two-thirds of their population, we have risen to a height which, even while they rail at it, they can hardly scan.

In summing up what precedes then, we must conclude that the French are much more capable of feeling the full force of the baleful passions, and of giving themselves up uncontrouledly to their influence, than we are; and that we are more capable of inspiring pure hatred than they are; consequently, that every motive conspires to raise their detestation of us to the highest pitch. Our happiness, liberty, and wisdom, which they cannot either imitate or injure; our stupendous achievements, the elevation of our virtues, nay, the very grandeur of our failings, and last, though not the least, our clemency, generosity, and munificence, so often shown in return for their incessant intrigue and constant outrage against us, afford no palliative to their enmity.

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But in the character of the French are many things which soften animosity, and make it less bitter, though not less insolent, than when goaded on by envy. To us a Frenchman brings the honourable homage of his worst hatred unalloyed ; while we find many a mitigating quality betwixt him and the most envenomed feelings we can bear him. With the best will to do so he cannot despise us, and therefore is his hatred the more acrimonious.

Another thing which makes it much more difficult for a Frenchman to form just ideas of England, than for an Englishman to judge of France, is the great development of all the intellectual powers in this country ; and which, to be appreciated, should be scrutinized by minds capable at least of comprehending, though they may not practise, what they contemplate. France, reduced to its intrinsic value, is one of the countries in Europe the most easy to appreciate : the only difficulty is so to reduce it, amid the illusions which court our favour, and the speciousness which misleads our judgment. All the real good which it contains more than England, consists mainly in such things as are perceived by the eye, and are the objects of our grosser senses ; in the beauty of a clearer sky, and the charms of a more exhilarating climate ; in a greater proportion of luxury, and a more studious attention to physical refinement, to all that can afford enjoyment, instead of happiness, and flatter sensuality, without awakening a thought. But for any thing more solid we must not look. From their political institutions, their industry, their literature, we could not learn the twentieth part of what we could teach ; and the instruction we might reap, is, in most cases, surrounded by so much harm, as to make it often a dangerous acquisition. The most useful lesson that is to be learned among them is, that the first moments we spend with a Frenchman are, in general, the most pleasing we ever shall have in his society ; and the first glance of France,—before the few brilliant specks upon its surface have shown the darkness visible throughout the mass,—is the most favourable view in which a rational mind can contemplate the country and its inhabitants. Every day lays bare some new defect ; and—we speak it from having repeatedly watched the progress of opinion among some of our own infatuated countrymen, in whom time and observation have accomplished a cure,—the last and true conclusion to which their admirers must come is, that they are a nation without feeling and without principle.

The country of Europe, the good of which it is the most difficult to appreciate, in its full extent, is Britain. It requires a longer acquaintance with us, and a deeper study, to know us thoroughly, than to know any other nation ; not merely because we
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are less demonstrative, but because a greater share of wisdom and combination has concurred to form our institutions, and still maintains them, than is to be found in the institutions of any other country. They who consider us by the eye alone, who see nothing but the means employed, and distinguish no end, no result, may indeed be a little bewildered; because it is a principle with us, that the means employed should be left open to inspection: for we expect more profit from discussing their imperfections, than from extolling their deserts. Some intelligent foreigners, and, among the number, we may reckon M. Simon, have, at first, seen nothing in the publicity with which matters, held secret in other countries, are treated in England, but the disgusting play of every passion, openly avowed in the broad face of day, without a blush; and, from the spectacle before their eyes, they have generally concluded how much worse must be that which is concealed. M. Simon, indeed, with his usual candour, expressed his admiration at the ends obtained; but he is puzzled to trace the connection which leads to so much real beauty, through so much apparent deformity. But we are not to be studied by partial contemplation, and piecemeal prying into every petty detail, which men expect to find as perfect in the means as in the end; as if the Augean labour of cleansing human society could be accomplished without some disgusting particulars. They take a vast machine to pieces, and expect to find it as efficient when separate as when combined; that every wheel should move, and every pinion be actively impelled.

The practical difficulty of judging England is strikingly exemplified in the instance of one of the greatest foreigners that ever wrote upon this country. Montesquieu, in his '*Notes sur l'Angleterre*,' relates a number of observations which he made there about the year 1730, and we cannot help bringing a few of them together on this occasion, as they appear to us particularly well calculated to elucidate what we advance; so strangely are they at variance among themselves, and so powerfully do they contrast with the immutable principles which he had laid down in the calmness of study and meditation, when his judgment was not disturbed by the contemplation of objects which his mind was wholly unaccustomed to behold in action.

Strangers, he says, complain that the English do not love them. How can the English, who do not love each other, love strangers? Corruption is gaining ground in every rank—Money is the summum bonum. Honour and virtue are held as nothing.—Scotch members of parliament sell their votes for 200*l.* because they can get no more for them.—The English are no longer worthy

worthy their liberty. They sell it to the king, and if the king were to give it back again to them, they would sell it again.—A minister thinks of nothing but triumphing over his adversary; and in order to do so, he would sell his country and all the potentates in the world.—Every day respect for the crown diminishes.—There is no religion in England. A person having said that he believed something that he had heard, as he believed an article of his faith, every person present burst out a-laughing in his face. Finally,—who would expect it? He says—England is at this moment the freest country in the world, without excepting any republic upon earth, because the sovereign has not the power of injuring any one;—and again, ‘the liberty which one enjoys in London is the liberty of honest men, different from that which exists in Venice, which is to live with strumpets and to marry them. The equality one enjoys in London is the equality of honest men, different from the Dutch liberty, which is the liberty of the mob.’—Now surely, no person who reflects upon these few sentences would suppose them to have been written by the man who says, and truly says, that virtue is the basis of all public liberty. They may however afford some consolation to those who might otherwise be alarmed at the sad prognostication with which many good or evil-minded persons threaten British freedom. Most unquestionably the nation which, ninety years ago, was no longer worthy of liberty, could not now, unless by some miraculous regeneration, be free. If we mistake not, it was Montesquieu who, after long studying the English language in his closet, hazarded articulating a few words of it, to which, when he had frequently repeated them to some indulgent native, he received for answer, ‘Beg pardon, Sir, but I don’t understand French.’ Nor could Montesquieu better comprehend the language and the signs of practical liberty; and all the frailties which it lays bare to the world, and which, in despotism, are swept away in silence, he took for the marks of unworthiness, even though he saw, beyond dispute, that freedom, such as, by his own confession, none else on earth enjoyed, was the result.

The passions of the human heart can no more be eradicated, than the properties of matter; and when repressed by force upon the one side, they burst out with greater violence upon the other. The governments which have established themselves upon the hypothesis of their total suppression, are, indeed, most awful models of simplicity; for they know but one principle of action, but one single rule of right and wrong; and that, as the great man just quoted, and who was himself a subject of a government not much unlike to one of these, first dared to say, is
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terror—the dread of punishment according to the will of one man, without law or judgment. But the government of Britain allows the heart to find its own corrective within itself; and has not attempted to attain a pernicious simplicity, which cannot co-exist with liberty. ‘*Natura suis armis victa*,’ is the faithful legend of all our institutions; and we look for rest in the just balance and equilibrium of contending forces, not in their destruction. We conceive the whole science of liberty and legislation to consist in applying the laws, by which the human creature may remain quiescent in the midst of conflicting impulses, as the great centre of our solar system, amid the attractions which solicit him in every direction.

The vivifying principle and the soul of our whole system is publicity; and this alone is a strong presumption in its favour. The only motives which a nation can have for laying bare its imperfections, unless we suppose it sunk below all earthly degradation, and then it could not be free, are sincerity, a love of truth and horror of deceit, a consciousness of imperfection, a wish and a power to become better, a decided will to meet the coming evil, and not to shrink from the painful operation of inquiry. Let those who censure us, then, for having exposed to public view the least attractive parts of the human character, look to the consequences with an unprejudiced eye; and they will learn to appreciate a people disgraced by fewer historical crimes and less general immorality than could be found at this moment in Europe, or perhaps in history. They will see the nation that has resolved the grandest political problem, which He, whose will it is that human creatures should be happiest in society, could leave possible to the ingenuity of finite beings—with the smallest original means to compass the greatest ends of wealth, power, knowledge, liberty, virtue and happiness.

A reasonable hope might have been formed, during the last twenty-five years, that the country in which so much rational prosperity exists, would become better known to foreigners, and, above all, to Frenchmen. More than one hundred thousand of the latter visited us. Among them some were birds of passage; others remained with us. They who were our friends and free, enjoyed the amplest opportunities of learning what they pleased among us. But they were exiles and unfortunate. Their minds were bent upon their ‘*dulces Argos*.’ Our successes were painful to them, our reverses brought them despair. Even our beneficence, though bestowed without ostentation, was galling to them; and when the last band of the emigrants came to us, they who had lingered in every other part of Europe, until impending death had driven

driven them to this hospitable shore, where the cries of the wretched are never heard in vain, they received, with reluctance, a bounty, in which they at last felt they should not have so long delayed to trust. Yet, in the great number who came here late or early, it might have been expected that at least one or two would have taken advantage of their residence, to study a country which had so long been, at least, the rival of their own, and the object of their envy and aversion. But they remained attached to their own habits, regretting their delicious Paris—*ludum Paridemque*—and the Opera which made it dear to them—and returned home without carrying back a single idea that might be useful. The list of those who studied our laws, institutions and government; who even deigned to learn our language, or thought that, in any point of worthiness, we deserved their attention, would be small indeed. Yet, the emigrants, beyond any comparison, were, if not the most philosophical, the most honourable portion of the French population.

The author of the volumes before us was eminently distinguished for his attachment to the cause of the Bourbons: and his loyalty is the more meritorious, as he does not belong to the class in which royalism is a duty. In his rambles he visited many countries, and was alternately busied in diplomatic negociations and commercial speculations. His success in the latter has been, at least, equivocal; and thence it is most probable that the voice of rumour pointed him out as likely to be named minister of the French finances. But France, not finding any person among her own children worthy to be placed at the head of her treasury, at last had recourse to her old method of calling in a foreigner, M. Corvetto, once a pettyfogging lawyer in his native Genoa; then its betrayer; then a director of the Ligurian Republic; then count of the imperial manufactory, and counsellor of state to Buonaparte; and, finally, by a natural progression, minister of finance to Lewis XVIII.

M. Rubichon, however, is not without talent. He has the complete mind of a Frenchman; quickness of perception, incapacity of induction, vanity, inerrability, and the presumption common to his countrymen, that, because France is France, and he is a Frenchman, every thing there must be right, and all the rest of the world wrong. He is one of those, who, the more they advance, go the more astray. The work he has published is worthy of such a mind; for in 583 pages of his first, and 425 of his second volume, we do not believe there is a single combination of ideas which is just, or one conclusion which facts or principles would authorize.

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We are not induced to pronounce this opinion by any resentment towards M. Rubichon; for he is one of the most lenient detractors whom England has found for a long time among his countrymen. We are quite sure too that he is sincere in what he says, and that he is not warped by any voluntary prejudices. He judges England and France just as he would a book, or a prospect, or a ballet; and is not more in an error about them than he would be about the merest trifle. He appears to possess one of those minds which cannot see any thing exactly where it is; but living in a strongly refracting medium, never looks at it in a straight line, or beholds it otherwise than distorted; and taking the prismatic colours of his inflected vision for the tints of nature, is always the more convinced by the lengthened spectrum of his imagination, the more it differs from the object of which he conceives it to be the exact representation. We should not indeed have introduced him to the acquaintance of our readers, were it not that in point of false but well-meaning judgment he is a kind of phenomenon. His work too has had some success in France, and is even referred to by persons of a certain class there as their political creed concerning the countries which he compares; and many who imagine they have just notions upon England and her feudal system, quote M. Rubichon, perhaps, as Tacitus *De Moribus Germanorum* might have been quoted at the court of Domitian. Our object then is to let the English public know what the state of belief and knowledge is among our neighbours concerning our country, and that among persons more respectable than the fond sectaries of General Pillet.

M. Rubichon allows that the English had by nature many excellent qualities, but says that our institutions, our internal policy, have injured them. A representative government, the reformation, the revolution, have prevented us from running the same career of prosperity which we might have reached in common with France. He is a strenuous advocate for divine rights, which he asserts not only in favour of kings, but of the whole human race. It is by divine right that every man is what he is; and this is the true doctrine, because it is the doctrine of liberty. The representative system is adverse to liberty and civilization—a system to which the people have as much right as Caligula's horse had to the consulship. Such a mode of legislation can be advantageous only when the framers of the laws are not parties interested; when laws for England are made in Paris, and laws for France in London. Trial by jury is held in the highest contempt by English jurists, yet not so much as it deserves. The current price for a seat in parliament is 5000*l.* Montesquieu and Voltaire (for he has coupled these names together) were wrong in calling the
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House of Commons a democratic institution. In England the popular party is weaker than the aristocratic or the monarchical; but in old France stronger, *because* in the latter the parliaments were *not* elected. The feudal system is, at this hour, maintained in its full vigour in England, and without it she must have long since fallen. The Catholic religion is more conducive to morality, liberty, civilization and prosperity, than the protestant; and hence the Protestant electors are *obliged* (not enabled) to keep on foot more numerous armies than the Catholic. The reformation was undertaken for the purposes of confiscation and spoliation in the three kingdoms. Presentations to livings are usually sold by auction, or played for at the gaming table. All improvements in modern littérature, science and the fine arts are due to learned corporations, such as once existed in certain Catholic religious orders; and wherever these have been suppressed, learning has uniformly declined; hence the bourgeoisie of England is the most ignorant in the world; and no nation so little knows its own constitution as we do, and no men from their early youth are imbued with such contracted ideas as the English. Hence, too, we never have possessed one good publicist; for Coke, Hale and Holt were vast but vicious minds; Blackstone was one of the most ill-judging intellects that fertile Britain ever has produced; Pitt was a ninny and coxcomb, and Dundas the only statesman of the country who never had a wrong idea. The territory of England twenty-five years ago might have been divided into terres roturieres, nobles and communales. In France the lawyer, the merchant, the citizen, possessed much landed property; in England scarcely any. Want of taste in such things as the Catholic religion made common, has dreadfully increased the immorality of England—so much so that no man can purchase any thing unseen, or trust in another's word. What distinguishes the females of this country from all other European women, is—a bunch of keys at their sides; and even the most fashionable, she who has no pockets to carry her handkerchief, puts on a gaoler's girdle whenever she goes out from home, attached to which, at every step she takes, the pendant keys that protect her property from domestic spoliation, jingle in the ears of her admirers: and, to crown all, public spirit is the bane of empires.

We wish we could sometimes confide in M. Rubichon, for he is occasionally flattering and consolatory. The power of England, already colossal, is only in its dawn. The average yearly consumption of meat in England is 220lbs. per head; in France 16lbs.: of wheat, $3\frac{1}{4}$ hectolitres per head, yearly, in England; in France, $1\frac{1}{2}$. The product of labour to a southern Frenchman is 8; to an Italian, 22; to a northern Frenchman, 26; to a northern German,

40; to an Englishman, 140 : hence the labour of one English man produces $8\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as the labour of one French man. An English scarcity, compared to a French scarcity, is as the noces de Gamache to Count Ugolin's tower (this indeed we must vouch for, as also for this;—that what is called ruin and poverty in England, bears an aspect of more real comfort, than all the splendour we ever saw elsewhere.) In England thirty horses are kept for pleasure to one in France. England has not yet the tenth part of the wealth she will have. The first question French men ask in England is, 'Where is the peasantry?*' All this certainly wears a very satisfactory appearance; but, coming from M. Rubichon, it is quite alarming; and we could almost fear that our poor country is fast verging to its ruin. Another eulogium of his we must concur in—'L'histoire de l'Angleterre est si belle et si pure quant à ses relations extérieures, que les Anglois, comme tels, jouissent d'une grande considération.' In whatever sense he uses this phrase, we rejoice to find that a Frenchman, who speaks ill of us in other respects, does not cast in our teeth the hackneyed phrase of 'Punica fides.' It is quite inconceivable how many upon the continent, urged on by the vociferations of France, believe, or affect to believe, as they once did, the story of Thionville, that we led the emigrants to Quiberon to be slaughtered; that we were accessory to the murder of the Emperor Paul; that we winked at the invasion of France by Buonaparte, from Elba. It is in vain that we say it would have been less perfidious and less expensive too, to leave the emigrants to perish from want and misery, in those very countries which bear but a small portion of French hatred, than to equip a costly expedition, for the purpose of betraying them to the revolutionary swords of their countrymen. It is in vain to urge, that the hundred days of Buonaparte's last reign cost us 8,000,000*l.* sterling.

We shall take leave of M. Rubichon and his innocuous absurdity, with two extracts from his work, the one containing some strictures upon modern French glory, the other upon the actual state of policy, since the return of Louis XVIII. They will serve as a specimen of his style, which, as might be expected in a mind deprived of all sound judgement, must, if it has any sound quality, possess some glow.

'Qu'est devenue, hélas! cette malheureuse France, depuis qu'elle s'est laissée balotter entre les mains de tant d'aventuriers? Ils l'ont dépouillé de ces biens ecclésiastiques qui entretenoient, dans les campagnes, ce culte qui répandoit des jouissances morales, des consolations,

* We heard a similar question asked in Sir Francis Burdett's riot. A Frenchman newly arrived in England went to see what was going forward, and conceiving that the crowd consisted of spectators like himself, asked, where is the mob?

et élevoit l'ame de l'agriculteur ; des biens de ces oratoriens, et de tant d'autres congrégations zélées, qui présentoient au peuples des villes l'appas d'une instruction gratuite dans la latinité, l'histoire, la poésie, l'éloquence ; des biens de ces Bénédictins, &c. . . . des biens de ces Frères de la Charité, (the well known Père Elisé was one of these) 'auxquels la chirurgie, la médecine et l'anatomie *doivent tout*. . . . Tant de prospérité détruite, ces nobles villes de Lyons, de Marseille, de Bourdeaux, qui, par leur splendeur, seroient croire quelles avoient été fondées par des hommes qui avoient à jouir, et non à acquérir, furent désertées ; la navigation, cet art qui demande tant de combinaisons qu'à lui seul il fait la gloire d'un empire, et prouve combien l'essor des modernes est supérieur à celui des anciens, fut abandonnée. *L'Inde, témoin si longtems de la gloire de nos armées navales*, voit fuyant notre marine militaire devant *une marine marchande* ; les colonies, à qui notre pavillon annonçoit naguère de si belles lois, une si douce administration, un commerce si probe et si prospère, des voyageurs si sçavans, demandent (our author has written demande in the singular,) si la France existe encore ; et où tant de gloire flétrie a-t-elle trouvé des compensations ?—dans la gloire militaire—

'Mais, je le demande, est-ce que l'art des Condé et des Turenne a été avancé par ces gens-ci ? Quoique des myriades d'hommes aient sacrifiés à leur apprentissage dans une profession que ces deux grands hommes furent comme obligés de deviner, est-ce qu'au milieu de leurs forfanteries, aucun de nos parvenus a osé se comparer à eux ? Je dis, forfanteries, parce que lorsqu'on leur a fait observer qu'ils n'avoient jamais exercé cet art, ni dans ses finesses ni dans ses difficultés, puisqu'ils ont toujours eu de nouvelles armées à consommer, sans jamais combiner leur nourriture, leurs vêtemens, leurs hopitaux ou leurs tentes, ils ont toujours prétendu y avoir supplée par leur bravoure. A les entendre, ne croiroit-on pas que les Français, pour compter parmi les militaires de l'Europe, avoient les mêmes conditions à remplir qu'un cadet qui entre dans un régiment ; qu'ils avoient leurs preuves de bravoure à faire ? Certes, si Mars, aveugle comme Cupidon, doit aussi se laisser conduire par la folie, la France, depuis vingt ans lui, a fourni de dignes conducteurs. Mais est-ce que nos parvenus ont obtenu quelque supériorité dans cette bravoure sublime qui consiste à supporter les défis, les sarcasmes, les insultes d'une armée qui a intérêt de combattre ; dans cette bravoure qui dédaigne de corrompre les ennemis ; qui, dans l'adversité, ne cède à aucune alarme, n'abandonne pas ses blessés ; ne se livre, ni à une retraite désordonnée, ni à une fuite inutile ? La France, je le sçais, a de belles pages à ajouter à son histoire militaire ; mais elles ne sont pas plus belles que leurs précédentes. Elle en a, au contraire, d'une ignominie sans exemple ; car, jusqu'à présent, elle n'avoit jamais confié ses armées à tel général qui ait voulu les livrer à l'ennemi ; ou à tel autre qui, pour sauver son pillage, en ait sacrifié la sûreté et l'existence ; ou à tel autre qui l'ait secrètement et lâchement abandonnée dans ses désastres.'

With the general tone of the sentiments contained in the follow-

ing extract, we most heartily concur. He says that, on the return of the Bourbons—

‘ La Majesté Royale reparoissoit aussi forte qu’éclatante. La France et son roi devoient pardonner à tant de crimes’ (the crimes of the revolution,) ‘ mais ils *pouvoient* les punir; ils devoient les oublier, mais devoient-ils les récompenser? Devoit-on voir des prêtres apostats, incestueux, ou mariés, des professeurs d’athéisme, de cyniques spéculateurs, s’enparer du sceptre? Devoit-on voir les hommes les plus souillés des hommes, près de qui les sénateurs de Caligula faisoient honneur à l’espèce humaine, partager les fonctions publiques les plus élevées avec les familles les plus pures par leur fidélité et les plus illustres par leur naissance? Qu’en est-il arrivé? Ils ont réveillé ces mêmes vices qui depuis longtems réduits à l’engourdissement par l’usurpateur lui *avoient*, (*avait* in the author, who is frequently ungrammatical) fait pardonner sa sombre tyrannie; ils ont rappelé toutes les doctrines populaires; ils ont excité de nouveaux rugissemens contre la légitimité ou l’autorité du souverain, contre les devoirs de la religion et l’influence des pasteurs, contre les pouvoirs et les droits de la noblesse. Ils ont fait parade de colère, de haine, de jalousie qu’ils n’éprouvent pas; c’étoit peut-être pour la première fois dans ce monde que des sentimens si criminels étoient factices; ils n’avoient rien de vrai, rien de fondé, rien de naturel; la corruption n’avoit jamais demandé tant de science, l’atrocité tant de calculs; mais il falloit obtenir de grands complices dans de nouveaux sacrilèges.’—Farther on he says—‘Il revient ce monstre qui pendant si longtems ne s’est comme Moloch abreuvé que de larmes maternelles; il revient, mais il ne revient pas seul; il ramène cet ignominieux Barrère, celui qui fit renverser les autels, revêtir les animaux immondes des ornemens de nos pontifes, employer des vases sacrés aux orgies les plus dégoûtantes, prendre des prostituées pour la déesse Raison, et rendre nos temples le théâtre de tant de Bacchanales; il ramène ce sanguinaire Carnot qui, sans distinction de crimes, de vertus, d’âge, de sexe, ou de rang, jeta tant de victimes dans la même charrette—il ramène surtout ce hideux Fouché qui, accusant la lenteur des échafauds, leur substitua le canon à mitraille pour la destruction des habitans de Lyon, et qui, pour celle de leurs maisons et de leur ville jusque dans ses fondemens, demandoit de substituer le volcan des mines et des flammes aux travaux tardifs des hommes.’

M. Rubichon has turned over the leaves of a great many books, and has collected just the kind of knowledge which such a brain can pick from such a mode of study. His memory, however, has not always been faithful; for example, when speaking of the massacre at Beziers, (p. 314.) in the year 1209, he attributes to a military commander the words of horrid destruction which were uttered by a Catholic priest. The facts were as follows: when Beziers was taken by Simon de Montford, who commanded the Crusaders against the Albigenses, the Abbé de Citeaux, legate to the Pope, and not general of the forces, being consulted

consulted concerning the mode of distinguishing the Catholics from the heretics, in order to save the former, 'K...,' said he, 'God will distinguish the faithful;' and at his word thirty thousand fell.

A mistake of a more ludicrous nature, is the following :—In his chapter on trade, M. Rubichon tells his readers that he is quite at home upon that subject, being born and bred in the business ; and apologizes for not sketching its history. 'But every merchant will excuse me, when I tell him that the first *treaty* of commerce, mentioned by the ancients, was the sale of Joseph by his brethren ; and that, from this *earliest* commercial transaction, down to the last loan, they have all been fatally alike.' Now a desire to be pert and witty has made him forget that Joseph was sold by his brethren to some Arabian *merchants*, who were carrying perfumes and other goods from Galaad into Egypt,—at least so Josephus tells us from the authority of holy writ.

We remember to have seen an English edition of the first volume of this work printed some years ago in London. M. Rubichon, we are pretty confident, was his own translator—for who else indeed would have thought his nonsense worth translating ? and we must say, 'materiem superabat opus'; for a more conceited and presumptuous piece of absurdity we have seldom met with. But these French folks, as Praxinoe well observes—

— πᾶσι τοῖσι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἀγάγει* Ἑρᾶς.

and many of them think they can teach the English nation the English language.*

M. Rubichon hopes that no breach of hospitality will be laid to his account for the freedom with which he delivers his opinion. Certainly not. The character of a nation is public property ; and, if they who have studied it where alone it can be learned, are debarred by false delicacy from speaking of it, by whom shall we be taught the truth ? We do not conceive that, in civilized times, the obligation contracted toward a nation that does not refuse to the subjects of other states the benefit of its laws, its air, and its protection, is so great as ever afterwards to impose superstitious silence upon the grateful traveller who leaves it. But we do think it the duty of every man who has a new idea, to

* In the feuilleton of a French journal (the Bon Français of March 22d) is this sentence—*Chespire*, que les Anglais écrivent Schakespeare.—Some years ago, a semi-official relation of the alarm excited in England by the appearance of a small French squadron off our coast, stated that John Bull ran up and down exclaiming, 'Here come the French dogs, huzza ! huzza ! huzza !' and this exclamation was thus translated into French, in a note. Voilà ces terribles Français ! Notre dernière heure est arrivée ! which we beg to retranslate for the amusement of our country gentlemen. 'Here are the terrible French ! our last hour is come !'—Now is it possible to hate a nation so diverting ?

communicate it; and one such idea is compensation enough for many a dull volume. It is moreover no small satisfaction to us as Englishmen, that even foreigners can speak their minds concerning us, as freely in London as in Paris. We will venture to assert that, notwithstanding all the disparagement which his first volume contains, M. Rubichon never was insulted for his opinions in any society, never taken account by any half-pay officer, never pursued by any ruffian of a political police, never informed against by any gentleman spy, and never experienced the least inconvenience or unpleasantness, during his long residence in this truly generous and enlightened island.

We had almost forgotten to mention that the general drift of M. Rubichon's two volumes is perfectly contradictory; the first bravely published in London, during his emigration, being unfavourable to England; the second, gallantly edited in Paris since his return, being just as hostile to France. We are told by Spallanzani, that the animal called *vespertilio murinus*, vulgo, *bat*, can fly in the darkest room, and backwards and forwards, an infinite number of times through a labyrinth of obstacles, without ever hitting against any of them. Now this seems to be Mr. Rubichon's case; for notwithstanding his cecity and his perpetual flights from one absurdity to another, he never once has knocked against reason, or come in collision with one sound idea, either of which must have been fatal to his speculations; and his imagination has rambled, uncontroled, yet we do not think he would make a better poet than he has shown himself a statist.

ART. X.—*The Fall of Jerusalem, a Dramatic Poem.* By the Rev. H. H. Milman, Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading; and late Fellow of Brazenose College, Oxford. 8vo. London. 1820.

THERE is scarcely, in the whole range of ancient or modern history, a subject which embraces in itself so many circumstances of awful interest, as the last Jewish war, and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.—Besides its political importance, as perhaps the most obstinate struggle in which the Roman empire was engaged with a foreign power, from the last Punic war to the Gothic invasion; no history or portion of history presents us with facts so variously interesting. In none, that we know of, are we made witnesses of so many strange and dreadful phenomena, of generous feelings exaggerated into crimes, or of the effects which may be produced on the mind and body by fanaticism and despair; by a resolution to refuse even pardon and peace from the hands of a triumphant and detested enemy; by an insane confidence in the protection of that Deity whose holiest laws are trampled on; and

and by that pride of endurance which, when our suffering reaches a certain pitch of intensity and hopelessness, would seem to be, in itself, a source of gratification.

The more general picture of a small and divided nation, without allies, without discipline, and almost without military equipments, making head against the whole weight of a mighty empire; defending village after village, and wall after wall, with so much courage as to require a separate siege for the most insignificant hamlets, and with so much obstinacy as to make each of their own defeats a source of mourning to their invaders; their strength retreating as the extremities are cut off, to the heart and centre of their kingdom; and, at length, pent up like wild beasts in a net, within the ramparts of a single city:—the spectacle there offered of 600,000 souls, (at the lowest computation,) resisting still when no rational motive for resistance remained; exerting, at the same moment and with equal rage, their most furious passions against each other and their enemies; fighting, robbing, starving, disputing, blaspheming, murdering, and calling, with full confidence, on God to acknowledge them, by some signal deliverance, as his chosen people—must be ranked among the most awful scenes recorded of our nature, and one for which it is impossible to account without supposing some degree of judicial infatuation to have possessed a race so furious and so miserable. It is true that the physical endurance and mental obstinacy of the southern nations, and more particularly of the Jewish and Arabian family, seem in all ages to have surpassed, in seasons of hopeless misery, the more rational and phlegmatic darings of the tribes of northern Europe. But, making all due allowance for this national idiosyncrasy; and admitting, as may safely be admitted, that Josephus had been imperfectly informed, or was of himself inclined to exaggerate, in some slight degree, the horrors which his countrymen had suffered,—enough will still remain, even in the brief and half contemptuous narrative of Tacitus, to stamp the obstinacy of the Jews with something of a supernatural character, which will both correspond with, and render less improbable, the prodigies which are said to have preceded and aggravated the calamities of their city.

And, when we still further consider that all this obstinacy, this infatuation, these sufferings, these portents, had been exactly foretold by the Founder of the Christian Religion, that He had appealed to this future destruction as to the seal and confirmation of his own Divine Authority; and that His prediction to this effect was known and notoriously acted on, to the preservation of their lives and properties, by the great body of His worshippers; when we consider, above all, the *crime* for which these sufferings were denounced by Him, as the appropriate punishment, it is no wonder that not only

the Jews, but the followers of Christ and Mahommed should regard the ruin of God's peculiar city and temple as one of the most remarkable epochs in the religious history of mankind, and as one of the events to which the mind recurs with the deepest wonder and veneration.

Thus revered, and thus remarkable, we have sometimes thought it strange, that the Fall of Jerusalem has been a subject hitherto so little attempted either by painters or poets. None of the more eminent names among the former have exerted their talents on a theme which—if not too multifarious and extensive, (and who that has seen Le Brun's Battles can make this objection?)—would seem to combine in itself more richness and variety of natural and architectural scenery, of costume, of grouping, of attitude, and of interest, than any other which history offers. No considerable poet has taken more than a transient and incidental notice of scenes so strange, so terrible, and, to Christians of every sect and country, so important;* nor has the subject been so much as alluded to any where else except in some of the Oxford and Cambridge Prize Poems.

It is not, however, to be overlooked that, as the subject of a poem of any length, the Fall of Jerusalem was attended with many difficulties,—difficulties so numerous and so great, as hardly to be surmounted by a share of genius and good taste less remarkable than the present author has brought forward to subdue them. It had, in the first place, the misfortune of being too well known, both in its event and its more conspicuous details, to leave any room for that suspended and anxious interest which (however some modern critics may affect to despise a plot) was well observed by Aristotle to be the most essential, because the most popular requisite of a narrative or dramatic poem. It is easy indeed for a poet, and it is one of the poet's most ancient and acknowledged prerogatives, to warp and mould historical events according to his fancy and to serve his 'airy purposes:' but if this is not done with a very gentle and judicious hand, the reader is more apt to be disgusted with the departure from a known truth than delighted with the ingenuity of the fiction. This displeasure is felt even when the liberty in question has been taken, not with sober historic truth, but with an old and familiar fable. It has been one main cause of the total and signal failure of the different epics which have been

* There is a forgotten rhyming tragedy in two parts, called 'The Destruction of Jerusalem.' It was written by Crowne, (the ridiculous rival of Dryden,) and is said to have been acted with applause about the year 1677. It does not appear that it ever fell into Mr. Milman's hands; nor, indeed, if it had, could he have turned it to any advantage. Both parts are taken, in some measure, from the narrative of Josephus, but absurdly mixed up in the fashion of the day with court intrigue and party politics. They are however among the best of Crowne's dramas; and the first part is not without merit.

attempted

attempted on the subject of Arthur, that they have given us a hero formed on a classical model, instead of that 'good king Arthur' of the romances and ballads, the favourite of our childhood, and the subject even now of innumerable popular tales among our peasantry. It is the same dilemma of being trite on the one hand, or of violating preconceived notions on the other, which constitutes the principal difficulty of those dramatic subjects which are taken from classical antiquity.—But in the *Fall of Jerusalem* this difficulty is greatly increased by the degree of religious importance which attaches to its leading circumstances. Alteration here becomes misrepresentation; and we resent, as a sort of heresy, any poetical license on topics of which, whatever may be the incidental beauty or singularity, the main interest and importance depend on their truth alone.

Nor is that a trifling embarrassment which arises from the overpowering interest and sublimity of the scenes or events to be described, a sublimity, in many instances, not only above the aid of poetical embellishment, but which makes it as much out of place as a collar of pearls round the neck of the Farnese Hercules. The fifth chapter of the sixth book of Josephus is not poetry, but it is something more,—and the opening of the temple gate without hands, and the *METABAINΩMEN ENTEYΘEN* which resounded through the Holy of Holies, must be rather injured than ornamented by any attempt to describe the crash of the brazen hinges, and the thunders of the departing Deity.

The circumstance, however, which might seem to present the greatest difficulty of all, is the pervading and unqualified horror of the history and its details. There is, from the beginning of the siege to its conclusion, no turn in the tide of affairs, no point on which the eye can, even for a moment, repose with comfort. One deed of brutal and bloody cruelty, one instance of dismal and intolerable suffering succeeds its fellow, without respite or remission. We can feel no interest for the Romans, who are unjust and brutal oppressors, and whose leader Titus, with his long speeches and loaded gibbets, is, in spite of Suetonius and the praises of some Christian divines, more odious than a less philosophic ruffian would have been; and even the desperate courage and lofty enthusiasm of the Jews which, under other circumstances, would have been sublime, become, when exerted without any reasonable hope or motive, hideous and maniacal. In prose, these things are read with interest, because they are true as well as terrible and extraordinary: but, in poetry, which is professedly not the truth but its imitation, we require that the objects imitated should not be altogether frightful,—and Mr. Shelley alone, since the days of Titus Andronicus and the
tragic

tragic schoolmaster in *Gil Blas*, has expected to afford mankind delight by a fac-simile of unmingled wickedness and horror.

In avoiding these difficulties, Mr. Milman has derived considerable advantages from the form in which he has cast his work, which has given him the greatest possible scope in the selection and concentration of his historical facts, while it has dispensed with that continuous detail of events and description of characters, which would have been required in a poem purely narrative. The present is neither of this description, nor is it a regular drama; but, properly speaking, a story told in dialogue, a manner of writing, of which we may trace the first approach in some of the works of Mr. Southey, and which may be classed among those other innovations of the same writer which, in their day, were stigmatized as little less than barbarous, but which are insensibly producing a marked and beneficial effect on the greater part of our contemporary poets.

With the same judgment and good taste, which we have already noticed, Mr. Milman, without binding himself with needless servility to the narrative of Josephus,—has related all those facts, and described all those characters which he has thought fit to introduce from history in sufficiently close agreement with its tenour; while even his fictitious incidents are such as might really have occurred during some part or other of the siege. Titus was ready drawn, and he has made him act and speak pretty much as he is represented in Josephus and Suetonius. Of the Jewish tyrants, John and Simon, so little is known beyond the common attributes of pride, cruelty, and desperate courage, that he was at liberty to make them adopt almost any sentiments consistent with these leading traits. As the followers of John, however, are branded by Josephus as peculiarly impious and profligate, Mr. Milman has chosen to put into his mouth the tenets and usual sophisms of the Sadducees; while Simon, for the sake of contrast, is represented as a rigid and enthusiastic Pharisee. We could have wished, we own, that his pious effusions had been assigned, in preference, to the Zealot chief Eleazar, who might as well have been made the father of Mr. Milman's heroine as Simon; inasmuch as, though in some measure constrained to an alliance with John, he appears to have been by no means a cypher in the anarchy of his country, and to have been really (what Simon the Edomite hardly was) a resident in Jerusalem and the head of the puritan party there. Still, however, both John and Simon are such characters as might well have been found among the Jews at that time, and of the first, at least, the discourses and actions are throughout in unison with the character given him.

But the story must have failed in interest if Mr. Milman had confined himself to historical personages only. It would have been
abourd

absurd to convert either Titus, Simon, or the historian Josephus, into that necessary ingredient of a poem,—an enamoured swain.* His readers could have felt little curiosity as to the probable fate of men, of whom they knew the history even before they opened his book: and the poet has, therefore, rested his plot on the distresses and dangers of an imaginary character, whom he was at liberty to make as gentle, as beautiful, and as pious, as suited his purpose, and to whom the terrific accompaniments of the siege and destruction are in fact no more than the back-ground and appropriate ornaments of the picture. Throughout the drama, indeed, it is not for Jerusalem but for Miriam that we are anxious; and the dark-haired and enthusiastic Salome, however interesting in her own person, is never allowed to withdraw our attention from the superior attractions of her sister. Yet of Miriam the character and fortunes are strictly in unison with the scenes around her; and even the incident which seems most improbable,—her unperceived descent from the walls,—is not only accounted for by the supposition of a secret staircase, but is really mentioned by Josephus as an expedient sometimes resorted to by the starving inhabitants of Jerusalem. But we are unwilling to forestall the story, any further than to observe that its events are supposed to have taken place during the last thirty-six hours of the siege, which Mr. Milman brings to a conclusion with the destruction of the Temple; disregarding, by a very allowable poetical license, the languid defence maintained for some weeks longer by the seditious on Mount Zion.

The poem opens with one of the least advantageous specimens of Mr. Milman's power. The scene is the Mount of Olives, and we have a long conversation between Titus and his officers, who are made to 'advance their eagles,' and marvel, and moralize, and menace, *in good set terms*, and according to all the precedents in such cases furnished. We know not how it happens that, of all our dramatic writers, Shakspeare alone has been able to make his Roman characters speak, move, and act like men of other nations similarly circumstanced; to fold the toga in less formal plaits, and to divest his consular persons of the constrained gestures and unnatural tones of a great school-boy at his annual speeches. Shakspeare, indeed, is sometimes blameable on the other side, for a too great neglect of appropriate costume, and that uniformity of national character by which this extraordinary people was distinguished from all others; and which, surely, might be sufficiently preserved without sinking the statesman in the rhetorician, or bury-

* Crowne has moulded a lover for Clarona, the daughter of Mathias, (Mr. Milman's Simon,) out of a Parthian king, whom, for that purpose, he has brought to Jerusalem and detained there during the siege.

ing the whole human being, with all his natural passions and principles of action, under the fasces, laurels, and paludamentum of the Cæsar. But, notwithstanding this common and customary heaviness of Mr. Milman's Romans, he has afforded us, even here, some powerful writing and harmonious versification; and the following description of the City and Temple is not the worse for almost literally following the eloquent encomium of Josephus:—

‘ As on our olive-crowned hill we stand,
Where Kedron at our feet its scanty waters
Distils from stone to stone with gentle motion,
As through a valley sacred to sweet peace,
How boldly doth it front us! how majestically!
Like a luxurious vineyard, the hill side
Is hung with marble fabrics, line o’er line,
Terrace o’er terrace, nearer still, and nearer
To the blue heavens. Here bright and sumptuous palaces,
With cool and verdant gardens interspersed;
Here towers of war that frown in massy strength.
While over all hangs the rich purple eve,
As conscious of its being her last farewell
Of light and glory to that faded city.
And, as our clouds of battle-dust and smoke
Are melted into air, behold the Temple,
In undisturb’d and lone serenity
Finding itself a solemn sanctuary
In the profound of heaven! It stands before us
A mount of snow fretted with golden pinnacles!
The very sun, as though he worshipp’d there,
Lingers upon the gilded cedar roofs;
And down the long and branching porticoes,
On every flowery-sculptured capital,
Glitters the homage of his parting beams.
By Hercules! the sight might almost win
The offended majesty of Rome to mercy.’—p. 7, 8.

This scene, however, is merely introductory. The business of the drama opens with the second, which is laid by moonlight, at the fountain of Siloam, or, as Mr. Milman calls it, Siloe. Hither the lovely Miriam, daughter of the fanatic assassin Simon, but herself a concealed Christian, is accustomed to steal down by a private and ruinous staircase, conducting from her father’s house into the valley, to obtain for his support supplies of food and wine, which the rugged enthusiast believes to be brought to his house by an angel, but which are, in truth, received by the fair proselyte from the hands of her lover Javan, a Christian, who, having with the rest of the faithful, left the city before the siege, is now at large without its walls, and, to meet her at the appointed place, defies the difficulties opposed by the blockading army. Javan is first introduced,
alone,

alone, by the fountain, which, as well as his absent mistress, he apostrophizes in some lines of exquisite tenderness and beauty.

' Sweet fountain, once again I visit thee !
And thou art flowing on, and freshening still
The green moss, and the flowers that bend to thee,
Modestly with a soft unboastful murmur
Rejoicing at the blessings that thou bearest.
Pure, stainless, thou art flowing on ; the stars
Make thee their mirror, and the moonlight beams
Course one another o'er thy silver bosom :
And yet thy flowing is through fields of blood,
And armed men their hot and weary brows
Slake with thy limpid and perennial coolness.

Even with such rare and singular purity
Mov'st thou, oh Miriam, in yon cruel city.
Men's eyes, o'erwearied with the sights of war,
With tumult and with grief, repose on thee
As on a refuge and a sweet refreshment.
Thou canst o'erawe, thou in thy gentleness,
A trembling, pale, and melancholy maid,
The brutal violence of ungodly men.
Thou glidest on amid the dark pollution
In modesty unstain'd ; and heavenly influences,
More lovely than the light of star or moon,
As though delighted with their own reflection
From spirit so pure, dwell evermore upon thee.

Oh ! how dost thou, beloved proselyte
To the high creed of Him who died for men,
Oh ! how dost thou commend the truths I teach thee,
By the strong faith and soft humility
Wherewith thy soul embraces them ! Thou prayest,
And I, who pray with thee, feel my words wing'd,
And holier fervour gushing from my heart,
While heaven seems smiling kind acceptance down
On the associate of so pure a worshipper.—p. 13, 14.

Miriam, on her arrival, receives the fruit and wine ; but her lover endeavours to dissuade her from returning to her father's roof, or to the present misery and approaching perils of Jerusalem. The latter are painted with terrible distinctness.

' Even now our city trembles on the verge
Of utter ruin. Yet a night or two,
And the fierce stranger in our burning streets
Stands conqueror : and how the Roman conquers,
Let Gischala, let fallen Jotapata
Tell, if one living man, one innocent child,
Yet wander o'er their cold and scattered ashes.
They slew them, Miriam, the old gray man,
Whose blood scarce tinged their swords—(nay, turn not from me,
The

The tears thou sheddest feel as though I wrung them
 From mine own heart, my life-blood's dearest drops)—
 They slew them, Miriam, at the mother's breast;
 The smiling infants;—and the tender maid,
 The soft, the loving, and the chaste, like thee,
 They slew her not till——

Miriam.

Javan, 'tis unkind!

I have enough at home of thoughts like these,
 Thoughts horrible, that freeze the blood, and make
 A heavier burthen of this weary life.
 I hoped with thee t' have pass'd a tranquil hour,
 A brief, a hurried, yet still tranquil hour!
 —But thou art like them all!—p. 16, 17.

Javan still reminds her that the father, for whose sake she is willing to expose herself to these horrors, is unworthy of such boundless affection. Her answer is beautiful, though the last line is somewhat awkwardly expressed.

' Oh cease! I pray thee cease!

Javan! I know that all men hate my father;
 Javan! I fear that all should hate my father;
 And therefore, Javan, must his daughter's love,
 Her dutiful, her deep, her fervent love,
 Make up to his forlorn and desolate heart
 The forfeited affections of his kind.
 Is't not so written in our law? and He
 We worship came not to destroy the law.
 Then let men rain their curses, let the storm
 Of human hate beat on his rugged trunk,
 I will cling to him, starve, die, bear the scoffs
 Of men upon my scattered bones with him.—p. 21.

She conquers, therefore, his objections, and returns laden with the provisions. In the next scene, she reappears in the house of Simon. Her description of the ruinous passage which had conducted her thither, of the feelings which had formerly endeared it to her, and of the change which had taken place in it, will strike every one who recollects his own feelings as a child, and the fondness with which we all, in our time, have clung to some little secret recess, where none of our rivals, or playmates could interrupt us, and where we could at once enjoy the sense of exclusive property, and the romance of voluntary solitude.

' When yet a laughing child,

It was my sport to thread that broken stair
 That from our house leads down into the vale,
 By which, in ancient days, the maidens stole
 To bathe in the cool fountain's secret waters.
 In each wild olive trunk, and twisted root

Of sycamore, with ivy overgrown,
I have nestled, and the flowers would seem to welcome me.
I loved it with a child's capricious love,
Because none knew it but myself. Its loneliness
I loved, for still my sole companions there,
The doves, sate murmuring in the noonday sun.
Ah ! now there broods no bird of peace and love !
Even as I pass'd, a sullen vulture rose,
And heavily it flapp'd its huge wings o'er me,
As though o'ergorged with blood of Israel.'—p. 23, 24.

Miriam now meets her sister Salome, an enthusiast for the law of Moses; her feelings strung to the highest pitch of frantic excitement, by vain anticipations of the future glory of Israel; and by a secret passion of a more earthly nature, which is artfully blended with her religious madness, and which leads her to mix her dreams of conquest and renown with softer whispers of bridal songs, the lute, the harp, and the dulcimer.—But her language is so beautifully characteristic that, in justice to the author, we must subjoin a few lines from the opening of the scene.

Miriam. Sister, not yet at rest ?

Salome.

At rest ! at rest !

The wretched and the desperate, let them court
The dull, the dreamless, the unconscious sleep,
To lap them in its stagnant lethargy.
But oh ! the bright, the rapturous disturbances
That break my haunted slumbers ! Fast they come,
They crowd around my couch, and all my chamber
Is radiant with them. There I lie and bask
In their glad promise, till the oppressed spirit
Can bear no more, and I come forth to breathe
The cool free air.

Miriam.

Dear sister, in our state

So dark, so hopeless, dreaming still of glory !

Salome. Low-minded Miriam ! I tell thee, oft

I have told thee, nightly do the visitations
Break on my gifted sight, more golden bright
Than the rich morn on Carmel. Of their shape,
Sister, I know not ; this I only know,
That they pour o'er me like the restless waters
Of some pure cataract in the noontide sun.
There is a mingling of all glorious forms,
Of Angels riding upon cloudy thrones,
And our proud city marching all abroad
Like a crown'd conqueror o'er the trampled Gentiles.'—

p. 24—26.

Miriam deprecates her indulgence in such visions, and imputes them to the length of time, (two days,) which had elapsed since the last

last supply of provisions. Salome resents her unbelief, taxes her with being a Christian, and threatens to denounce her to their father, who now enters, and relates to them how he had been engaged with John and Eleazar, in searching the dwellings of the citizens for concealed provisions. One of his exploits follows:—

‘ There sate a woman in a lowly house,
And she had moulded meal into a cake ;
And she sat weeping even in wild delight
Over her sleeping infants, at the thought
Of how their eyes would glisten to behold
The unaccustomed food. She had not tasted
Herself the strange repast ; but she had raised
The covering under which the children lay
Crouching and clinging fondly to each other,
As though the warmth that breath’d from out their bodies
Had some refreshment for their wither’d lips.
We bared our swords to slay : but subtle John
Snatch’d the food from her, trod it on the ground,
And mock’d her.

Miriam. But *thou* didst not smite her, father ?

Simon. No ! we were wiser than to bless with death
A wretch like her.

But I must seek within
If he that oft at dead of midnight placeth
The wine and fruit within our chosen house,
Hath minister’d this night to Israel’s chief.’—p. 30.

These are powerful lines, and the effect which they are made to produce on Salome not only conduces to the progress of the drama, but is, in itself, extremely touching and natural.

‘ Oh, Miriam ! I dare not tell him now !
For even as those two infants lay together
Nestling their sleeping faces on each other,
Even so have we two lain, and I have felt
Thy breath upon my face, and every motion
Of thy soft bosom answering to mine own.’—p. 31, 32.

But we notice the passage not so much for its intrinsic beauty as on the old and familiar principle of finding fault, and to point out what we think the error of making the stern Pharisee the historian of his own deeds of horror, and (which is still less probable) relating them in language calculated to excite the sympathy of his hearers. We allow that the picture of distress and fiendish cruelty here offered to us, is such as completely accords with the temper of the times, and the man to whom it is imputed, and that it is such as might be easily paralleled or surpassed by a reference to Josephus. But, though it is certain that men have been sometimes led by a mistaken religious zeal to actions the most diabolical, it will

will never be found that they have described minutely, and with apparent feeling, sufferings for which they desired their auditors to entertain no pity. It would have been more natural if Simon had himself, in a slight and hurried manner, informed his daughters that he had been executing the usual severities on those who withheld food from the public store; while the detail of horrors might have been given to his followers, who, less answerable for the cruelty, might, when their chief was withdrawn, have burst forth into exclamations against the nature of the service which they had been performing.

As Salome thus relinquishes her purpose of impeaching Miriam, the hoary assassin returns, having 'washed his bloody hands and said his prayers,' and summons his daughters to the repast which his angelic guardian had again provided. Miriam, however, lingers behind, and, when alone, addresses a song to the Messiah, which, if it somewhat too closely reminds us, in a few passages, and in its general tenour, of Milton's glorious hymn on the nativity, will bear no unfavourable comparison with that or any other similar composition in our language.

'Oh Thou! thou who canst melt the heart of stone,
And make the desert of the cruel breast
A paradise of soft and gentle thoughts!
Ah! will it ever be, that thou wilt visit
The darkness of my father's soul? Thou knowest
In what strong bondage Zeal and ancient Faith,
Passion and stubborn Custom, and fierce Pride,
Hold th' heart of man. Thou knowest, Merciful!
That knowest all things, and dost ever turn
Thine eye of pity on our guilty nature.

For thou wert born of woman! thou didst come,
Oh Holiest! to this world of sin and gloom,
Not in thy dread omnipotent array;
And not by thunders strow'd
Was thy tempestuous road;
Nor indignation burnt before thee on thy way.
But thee, a soft and naked child,
Thy mother undefil'd,
In the rude manger laid to rest
From off her virgin breast.

The heavens were not commanded to prepare
A gorgeous canopy of golden air;
Nor stoop'd their lamps th' enthroned fires on high:
A single silent star
Came wandering from afar,
Gliding uncheck'd and calm along the liquid sky;
The Eastern sages leading on
As at a kingly throne,

To lay their gold and odours sweet
Before thy infant feet.

The Earth and Ocean were not hush'd to hear
Bright harmony from every starry sphere;
Nor at thy presence break the voice of song
From all the cherub choirs,
And seraphs' burning lyres
Pour'd thro' the host of heaven the charmed clouds along.
One angel troop the strain began,
Of all the race of man
By simple shepherds heard alone,
That soft Hosanna's tone.

And when thou didst depart, no car of flame
To bear thee hence in lambent radiance came;
Nor visible Angels mourn'd with drooping plumes:
Nor didst thou mount on high
From fatal Calvary
With all thine own redeem'd outbursting from their tombs.
For thou didst bear away from earth
But one of human birth,
The dying felon by thy side, to be
In Paradise with thee.

Nor o'er thy cross the clouds of vengeance brake;
A little while the conscious earth did shake
At that foul deed by her fierce children done;
A few dim hours of day
The world in darkness lay;
Then bask'd in bright repose beneath the cloudless sun:
While thou didst sleep within the tomb,
Consenting to thy doom:
Ere yet the white-robed Angel shone
Upon the sealed stone.

And when thou didst arise, thou didst not stand
With Devastation in thy red right hand,
Plaguing the guilty city's murderous crew;
But thou didst haste to meet
Thy mother's coming feet,
And bear the words of peace unto the faithful few.
Then calmly, slowly didst thou rise
Into thy native skies,
Thy human form dissolv'd on high
In its own radiancy.'—p. 33—37.

The next scene introduces Simon at his early devotions, indulging in the anticipation of the Messiah's speedy coming, according to the notion of the Jews, as a temporal prince, to rescue his people and city, and destroy their Gentile invaders. His soliloquy contains many splendid passages, but it is expressed in a temper hardly

hardly consistent with Mr. Milman's general conception of Simon's character. His very title of 'assassin,'—the colour in which he is represented by Javan, by John, and his own daughters, as a man of blood and violence, but a valiant, a wise, and renowned warrior, accord with his own language in public and, more particularly, when justifying the murder of Matthias and his sons, to designate him as a fanatic rather than a pure enthusiast. The zeal of such a man may burn like fire, and he may fancy himself the object of supernatural care and illumination. But it is himself in whom his prospects terminate,—and it is in his own cause that he expects to enlist the ministry of angels and the visible hand of Providence. He calls on God to help his people, but it is through his own agency, as a chosen instrument, that he expects their deliverance to be brought about; and he, therefore, is always piously anxious to extend his own power and influence, and to remove, by fair means or foul, whatever curbs his greatness.

It belongs to a different character to look forward with delight to an immediate advent of the Deity, and there is too much of humble as well as holy hope in the lonely reveries of Simon. It would have better suited his frame of mind to fancy *himself* the Messiah; and, in fact, Mr. Milman, with more knowledge of the disposition which he describes than is exhibited here,—has, in another part of the drama, made him associate the coming of the Messiah with the future glories of his own family. But the misfortune is that, while he is a *Burley* with the rest of the world,—he is, in his private meditations, a *Macbriar*, and we are not sure but it is this impropriety which makes us welcome with some undue eagerness the interruption of John, Eleazar, and the High-Priest, who now appear, and in altercation with whom Simon soon resumes the spirit and tone of the 'assassin.'

In the discussion which follows, the irreligious mockery of the Sadducee John is powerfully contrasted with the sanctimonious haughtiness of his rival, and the boiling impetuosity of Amariah, son of John, a fiery youth, who, without interesting himself in religious discussions, is fond of war for its own sake, and from an instinctive appetite for blood and danger. It is at length determined to accept a fresh parley, to which the trumpets of the Romans invite them; to accept it, however, in no desire of peace, but in order to insult and defy the Gentiles. Titus calls upon the defenders of Jerusalem to submit on the promise of mercy; a promise which John meets with bitter taunts on the cruelty which had been already exercised on the Jewish fugitives. Simon next speaks, and addresses the Captain of the Gentiles in a most eloquent and characteristic detail of the privileges granted to their nation by the Almighty, of the deliverances on former occasions

vouchsafed to them, and of the speedy destruction to be apprehended by Titus and his army, over whose heads the whirlwinds yet paused which were destined to sweep them from the earth, and in whose anticipated fate the inhabitants of the grave and the nethermost hell exulted in ghastly laughter. At length Joseph, the Jewish historian, now a captive among the Romans, is introduced as addressing his countrymen in nearly the same terms with those which he himself has recorded. He is interrupted by a wound from the javelin of Amariah, and the scene closes with a declared resolution on the part of Titus to cast off mercy to the winds, and to content himself with nothing less than the utter destruction of Jerusalem and its inhabitants.

The reader is now transported to a street adjoining the inner wall, on whose height Salome is hastening to take 'her customary seat,' the spectatress and, as it were, the queen of the battle beneath her. Disregarding the intreaties of her milder sister, that she will rather join the virgins who are about to move in suppliant procession to the temple, she binds up her dark locks lest they shall intercept her view of the gleaming arms and flashing banners of the combatants, and describes, in a strain of splendid poetry, the appearance of the hostile army, and the advance of those engines which menace destruction against the ramparts. A sally of her own people calls forth all her enthusiasm, as she notices the successive appearance of Eleazar, John, Ben-Cathla, and his Edomites.

'And thou! oh thou, that movest to the battle
Even like the mountain stag to the running river,
Pause, pause, that I may gaze my fill!—

Miriam. Our father!

Salome! is't our father that thou seest?

Salome. Lo! Lo! the war hath broken off to admire him!

The glory of his presence awes the conflict!

The son of Cæsar on his armed steed

Rises, impatient of the plumed helms

That from his sight conceal young Amariah.

Miriam. Alas! what means she? Hear me yet a word!

I will return or e'er the wounded men

Require our soft and healing hands to soothe them.

Thou'lt not forget, Salome—if thou seest

Our father in the fearful hour of peril,

Lift up thy hands and pray.

Salome. To gaze on him—

It is like gazing on the morning sun,

When he comes scattering from his burning orb

The vapourish clouds!

Miriam. She hears, she heeds me not.—p. 59, 60.

The

The daughters of Sion now enter in procession, and Miriam declares her intention of joining their devotions, though 'through a name by them unknown or scorned.'—A most beautiful hymn follows, in which the Song of Moses on the passage of the Red Sea is imitated and adapted to the present circumstances of the Israelites.

Evening is now come, and Miriam, returned from the Temple, laments the slow approaches of that darkness which was to terminate, for a time, the horrible scene of mutual slaughter, and again favour and conceal her return to the fountain and to Javan. On a sudden Salome bursts in, her veil thrown back, her hair streaming, as she flies in terror from her late seat on the ramparts. The Gentiles have triumphed; the defenders of Israel are driven back: the last and strongest wall alone resists the violence of the engines; but Amariah stands his ground amid flames and havoc, like an angel in the burning orb of the sun. The angry voice of Simon is heard without, rallying the fugitives, and nothing can be more exquisitely characteristic, or more happily contrasted with her sister's speech, than the exclamation of the affectionate Miriam—

————— 'Tis my father's voice!

It sounds in wrath, perhaps in blasphemy—

Yet 'tis my living father's!—

The rival tyrants now enter in fierce dispute, each laying on the other the blame of the late discomfiture. Simon charges the misfortunes of the nation on the crimes of John, his profaneness, adulteries, and Sadducean tenets. John retorts on the cruelties and hypocrisy of the Pharisee, and, in a powerful and characteristic strain of sophistry, vindicates his own opinions from the imputation of rendering men backward in the hour of danger. While they thus wrangle, Miriam is struck by the exhausted appearance and tremulous voice of her father. She recollects that there is no food at home, and goes out, determined, at all hazards, to repair to the fountain. In her absence, and while the disputants are preparing to decide their difference by sharper arguments than words, the High-Priest enters, and conjures them to lay aside for a moment their private animosities, in order to revenge an affront which God has received in his own temple. During the solemn service of the day, and while the maidens were singing the hymn of Moses to 'him who triumph'd gloriously,' he had heard, from among their number, 'a single, soft, melodious voice,' which lingered on the concluding note with a solemn invocation of the pretended Son of God, 'the Man of Nazareth.' He demands, therefore, that they join him in detecting and punishing the unknown blasphemer and apostate.

The information is received with such emotions as might be expected

pected from the principles of those to whom it is communicated. Simon declares that, if the offender were his own child, 'his Sarah's child, whom she died blessing,' his own hand should be the first to cast a stone at her. The enthusiastic Salone murmurs to herself, 'Miriam! Miriam!'—imputes her disappearance to conscious guilt, and at length rushes forwards to denounce her, but stops short in the circle of warriors, oppressed by the unaccustomed gaze of so many men, while she is shaken by her remaining tenderness for the criminal, and the recollection that their dying mother had exhorted them to mutual love. Before she can recover herself, the false prophet Abiram enters, and announces as the will of God that a reconciliation should take place between John and Simon, and that, in order to this end, Salone and Amariah should be joined in marriage. The command is acquiesced in by all parties, Simon declaring it to be 'from heaven;'—John, indifferent as to its divine authority, but referring the matter to his boy; Amariah eagerly assuring Salone that her beauty and dark locks, as she sate on the rampart, had been his strength and banner in the battle, and Salone finding it impossible to resist the will of heaven and Amariah. The nuptial feast, if the means of feasting may be found, is appointed to be solemnized forthwith, and Simon throws out some hints to Abiram for a future prophecy by asking him whether it be not probable that an union so auspicious and contracted under such awful circumstances, may be destined to give birth to the promised Redeemer of Israel.

This mixture of enthusiasm and credulity with worldly ambition and cunning is happily conceived, and far more accordant with Simon's character than the pious soliloquies which we have already noticed. The speech, too, of the false prophet, particularly the lyrical part of it, is in a glorious strain of poetry, and it is a judicious aggravation and contrast to the miseries which Jerusalem is already suffering, and the greater horrors which are impending over her, to represent her leaders looking on to distant days, and engaged in jollity and merriment. But if the entrance of Abiram be regarded as a contrivance to save Miriam from impeachment, we cannot but condemn it as extremely clumsy and inefficient. If Salone could so far overcome her natural feelings as to rush forward with the intention of denouncing her sister to death, it is not very likely that even the prospect of being united to the object of her affections could have entirely driven from her mind the discharge of what she must have esteemed a duty. It is still more improbable that so strange an exhibition as that of a noble virgin, exposing herself unveiled to the gaze of the world in the midst of a solemn assembly of the elders and warriors of her people, should have been allowed to pass without inquiry into its motives, either
from

from the high-priest, her lover, or her father. And it is utterly preposterous to represent the high-priest and rulers of the land, after solemnly pledging themselves to search out and punish the blasphemer, so entirely engrossed with the marriage of Amariah and Salone, as to have no room left in their memories for a fact at once so recent and so shocking to all their strongest prejudices.

It must be owned, however, that the danger which the lovely Miriam incurs is, to say the least, a very strange one. Was the custom of mental prayer so perfectly unknown to the early Christians as that they should think it necessary to utter all their heavenward aspirations in an audible voice? Of what is the likelihood that a maiden who had so long concealed her faith from her own family, even under circumstances where she was strongly led to attempt their conversion, should volunteer so unnecessary a risk as that of singing a hymn in honour of Christ, in the very Temple? or that an additional stave to this effect, introduced in the public service, should not draw the eyes of the whole congregation, as well as the high-priest, on the daring melodist who should venture on such an innovation? We could wish, therefore, that Mr. Milman, (if he is anxious to expose his heroine to danger on account of her religion) would contrive some more probable occasion of risk, and some more plausible mode of deliverance; and get rid of an incident which has, literally, no recommendation to counterbalance its improbability; which neither accelerates nor impedes the march of events, nor has even the advantage of proving the constancy and firmness of Miriam, since the danger commenced in her absence, and is over before she again appears. If it were necessary to make Salone throw aside her veil, it would be better to make her, instead of the high-priest, rush forwards as a mediator between the swords of John and her father.

Miriam, meanwhile, unconscious of transactions in which herself and her family are so deeply interested, has reached the fountain, in defiance of a threatening thunder-storm, and of the Roman sentinels, whose circle is now concentrated immediately beneath the walls of the city, and whose increased alertness, together with the notes of awful preparation heard in their camp, indicate an intention on the part of their leaders of speedily bringing the war to a conclusion. These prognostics are described by Javan, who, in a scene of admirable pathos and beauty, again urges her, even as a point of duty, and in compliance with the known injunction laid by Christ on his followers, to recognise the manifest signs of desolation, and take their best opportunity of escaping with him to the mountains. Her reply is exquisitely characteristic of tenderness and firmness—

'Miriam.

Javan, tempt me not,

My soul is weak. Hast thou not said of old,
How dangerous 'tis to wrest the words of truth
To the excusing our own fond desires?
There's an eternal mandate, unrepeal'd,
Nor e'er to be rescinded, "Love thy Father!"
God speaks with many voices; one in the heart,
True though instinctive; one in the Holy Law,
The first that's coupled with a gracious promise.

Javan.

Yet are his words, "Leave all, and follow me,"
"Thou shalt not love thy father more than me"—
And dar'st thou disobey them?

Miriam.

While I tread

The path of duty I am following him,
And loving whom I ought to love, love him.'—p. 94.

Her lover, at length, desists from urging her, and they part as those who are never to meet again on earth. Javan remains behind and pronounces a long lamentation on the approaching ruin of his native city. The lines are spirited, but we do not think their introduction in this place judicious or natural.—How a Jewish Christian might feel under such circumstances, we know not; but, for ourselves, we were, at this period of the drama, by far too full of Miriam to have any room left in our hearts for the elders, or Levites of Jerusalem.

We are now again transported to the streets of the city, where a wretched and terrified crowd is assembled, all eagerly discussing the multiplied portents and presages of evil by which their nation had long been menaced. One tells how the meteor, in form of a fiery sword,* which had for many months hung over the city, had now been thrice moved and brandished;—another goes back to the feast of Pentecost, and the ghastly light which had then broken forth from the altar, and 'withered men's faces to a hue like death.' A third tells how all the northern sky had been seen 'rocking with armed men, and fiery chariots.' And a Levite enters who relates that, even now, the great eastern gate of the temple had spontaneously burst open with all its bolts and bars, and defied the utmost strength of men and engines to close it again.

On a sudden, music is heard from the house of Simon, where

* The mention of this incident by Crowne may be given as a favourable specimen of his manner.

'Matthias.

What means that fiery sword's mysterious ray,
Which o'er our shaking towers, night and day,
In heaven's bright canopy does proudly shine,
As brandish'd by the Majesty Divine?

Sagan.

Methinks Jerusalem at her solemn feast,
Seems treated like the Tyrant's trembling guest,
In purple clad, her table richly spread,
But death and horror hanging o'er her head.'

the nuptial ceremonies have begun. Songs are sung illustrative of the forms of a Jewish bridal; and their rich and luxurious harmony forms a terrible contrast with the surrounding desolation and danger. What follows, it is impossible to abridge, and, long as the extract is, our readers, we are convinced, will thank us for it:—

(*At a distance.*) ‘To the sound of timbrels sweet,
Moving slow our solemn feet,
We have borne thee on the road,
To the virgin’s blest abode;
With thy yellow torches gleaming,
And thy scarlet mantle streaming,
And the canopy above
Swaying as we slowly move.
Thou hast left the joyous feast,
And the mirth and wine have ceast;
And now we set thee down before
The jealously-unclosing door;
That the favour’d youth admits
Where the veiled virgin sits
In the bliss of maiden fear,
Waiting our soft tread to hear;
And the music’s brisker din,
As the bridegroom’s entering in,
Entering in a welcome guest
To the chamber of his rest.

Second Jew. It is the bridal song of Amariah
And fair Salome. In the house of Simon
The rites are held; nor bears the bridegroom home
His plighted spouse, but there doth deck his chamber;
These perilous times dispensing with the rigour
Of ancient usage——

Voice within. Woe! woe! woe!

First Jew. Alas!

The son of Hananiah! is’t not he?

Third Jew. Whom said’st?

Second Jew. Art thou a stranger in Jerusalem,
That thou rememberest not that fearful man?*

Fourth

* ‘That fearful man!’ as he is here admirably described from the historian of the Jews, is thus introduced by Crowne:

‘Alas!
We in Jerusalem did daily see
A greater and a living prodigy;
A man like Echo pined into a sound,
A walking vault that does one tone rebound;
And night and day does in our streets proclaim
With restless soul, Woe to Jerusalem!’

Fourth Jew. Speak ! speak ! we know not all.

Second Jew.

Why thus it was :

A rude and homely dresser of the vine,
He had come up to the Feast of Tabernacles,
When suddenly a spirit fell upon him,
Evil or good we know not. Ever since,
(And now seven years are past since it befell,
Our city then being prosperous and at peace,)
He hath gone wandering through the darkling streets
At midnight under the cold quiet stars ;
He hath gone wandering through the crowded market
At noonday under the bright blazing sun,
With that one ominous cry of " Woe, woe, woe !"
Some scoff'd and mock'd him, some would give him food ;
He neither curs'd the one, nor thank'd the other.
The Sanhedrim bade scourge him, and myself
Beheld him lash'd, till the bare bones stood out
Through the maim'd flesh : still, still he only cried,
Woe to the City ! till his patience wearied
The angry persecutors. When they freed him,
'Twas still the same, the incessant Woe, woe, woe !
But when our siege began, awhile he ceased,
As though his prophecy were fulfill'd ; till now
We had not heard his dire and boding voice.

Within. Woe ! woe ! woe !

Joshua, the son of Hananiah.

Woe ! woe !

A voice from the east ! a voice from the west !
From the four winds a voice against Jerusalem !
A voice against the Temple of the Lord !
A voice against the bridegrooms and the brides !
A voice against all people of the land !
Woe ! woe ! woe !

Second Jew. They are the very words, the very voice
Which we have heard so long. And yet, methinks,
There is a mournful triumph in the tone
Ne'er heard before. His eyes, that were of old
Fix'd on the earth, now wander all abroad,
As though the tardy consummation
Afflicted him with wonder——Hark ! again.

CHORUS OF MAIDENS.

Now the jocund song is thine,
Bride of David's kingly line !

(*The prophet enters.*)

Joshua.

From the four winds, and the earth's hollow womb,
A voice, a voice—a dreadful voice is come !
A voice against our elders, priests and scribes,
Our city, temple, and our holiest tribes ;
Against the bridegroom and the joyful bride,
And all that in Jerusalem reside,
Woe ! woe ! woe !

How

How thy dove-like bosom trembleth,
 And thy shrouded eye resembleth
 Violets, when the dews of eve
 A moist and tremulous glitter leave
 On the bashful sealed lid!
 Close within the bride-veil hid,
 Motionless thou sit'st and mute;
 Save that at the soft salute
 Of each entering maiden friend
 Thou dost rise and softly bend.
 Hark! a brisker, merrier glee!
 The door unfolds,—'tis he, 'tis he!
 Thus we lift our lamps to meet him,
 Thus we touch our lutes to greet him.
 Thou shalt give a fonder meeting,
 Thou shalt give a tenderer greeting.

Joshua. Woe! woe!

A voice from the east! a voice from the west!
 From the four winds a voice against Jerusalem!
 A voice against the Temple of the Lord!
 A voice against the bridegrooms and the brides!
 A voice against all people of the land!

Woe! woe—— [Bursts away, followed by *Second Jew*.]

First Jew. Didst speak?

Third Jew. No.

Fourth Jew. Look'd he on us as he spake?

First Jew (to the Second returning.) Thou follow'd'st him! what now?

Second Jew. 'Twas a true prophet!

The Jews. Wherefore? Where went he?

Second Jew. To the outer wall;
 And there he suddenly cried out and sternly,
 "A voice against the son of Hananiah!
 Woe, woe!" and at the instant, whether struck
 By a chance stone from the enemy's engines, down
 He sank and died!

Third Jew. There's some one comes this way—
 Art sure he died indeed?

Levite. 'Tis the High-priest.
 The ephod gleams through the pale lowering night;
 The breast-plate gems, and the pure mitre-gold,
 Shine lamplike, and the bells that fringe his robe
 Chime faintly.

High-Priest. Israel, hear! I do beseech you,
 Brethren, give ear!—

Second Jew. Who's he that will not hear
 The words of God's High-priest?

High-Priest. It was but now
 I sat within the Temple, in the court
 That's consecrate to mine office—Your eyes wander—

Jews.

Jews. Go on!—

High-Priest. Why hearken, then—Upon a sudden
The pavement seem'd to swell beneath my feet,
And the Veil shiver'd, and the pillars rock'd.
And there, within the very Holy of Holies,
'There, from behind the winged Cherubim,
Where the Ark stood, noise, hurried and tumultuous,
Was heard, as when a king with all his host
Doth quit his palace.* And anon, a voice,
Or voices, half in grief, half anger, yet
Nor human grief nor anger, even it seem'd
As though the hoarse and rolling thunder spake
With the articulate voice of man—it said,
“LET US DEPART!”

Jews. Most terrible! What follow'd?

Speak on! speak on!

High-Priest. I know not why, I felt
As though an outcast from the abandon'd Temple,
And fled.

Jews. Oh God! and Father of our Fathers,
Dost thou desert us?

CHORUS OF YOUTHS AND MAIDENS.

Under a happy planet art thou led,
Oh, chosen virgin! to thy bridal bed.
So put thou off thy soft and bashful sadness,
And wipe away the timid maiden tear,—
Lo! redolent with the prophet's oil of gladness,
And mark'd by heaven, the bridegroom youth is here.

First Jew. Hark—hark! an armed tread!

Second Jew. The bold Ben Cathla!

Ben Cathla. Ay, ye are met, all met, as in a mart,
T' exchange against each other your dark tales
Of this night's fearful prodigies. I know it,
By the inquisitive and half-suspicious looks
With which ye eye each other, ye do wish
To disbelieve all ye have heard, and yet
Ye dare not. If ye have seen the moon unsphered,
And the stars fall; if the pale sheeted ghosts
Have met you wafdering, and have pointed at you

This fearful incident is thus, curiously dramatized by Crowne:

Phineas. Hark! a voice does from the vault rebound.

(A great voice is heard from under the stage, like a tube.)

Matthias. A voice! 'tis thunder, or some pagan god
Groans here tormented, chased from his abode.
'Let us depart,' the horrid voice does cry!

What art that call'st? and whither shall we fly?

Phineas. The Temple lives! it moved before and broke
The bars that fettered it, and now it spoke.

Matthias. It rather dies! and these affrightful groans
Are its departing soul's contending moans,

With ominous designation ; yet I scoff
Your poor and trivial terrors—Know ye Michol ?

Jews. Michol !

Ben Cathla. The noble lady, she whose fathers
Dwelt beyond Jordan——

Second Jew. Yes, we know her,
The tender and the delicate of women,
That would not set her foot upon the ground
For delicacy and very tenderness.

Ben Cathla. The same !—We had gone forth in quest of food :
And we had enter'd many a house, where men
Were preying upon meagre herbs and skins ;
And some were sating, upon loathsome things
Unutterable, the ravening hunger. Some,
Whom we had plunder'd oft, laugh'd in their agony
To see us baffled. At her door she met us,
And “ We have feasted together heretofore,”
She said, “ most welcome warriors !” and she led us,
And bade us sit like dear and honour'd guests,
While she made ready. Some among us wonder'd,
And some spake jeeringly, and thank'd the lady
That she had thus with provident care reserved
The choicest banquet for our scarcest days.
But ever as she busily minister'd,
Quick, sudden sobs of laughter broke from her.
At length the vessel's covering she rais'd up,
And there it lay——

High-Priest. What lay ?—Thou'rt sick and pale.

Ben Cathla. By earth and heaven, the remnant of a child !
A human child !——Ay, start ! so started we—
Whereat she shriek'd aloud, and clapp'd her hands,
“ Oh ! dainty and fastidious appetites !
The mother feasts upon her babe, and strangers
Loathe the repast”—and then—“ My beautiful child !
The treasure of my womb ! my bosom's joy !”
And then in her cool madness did she spurn us
Out of her doors. Oh still—oh still I hear her,
And I shall hear her till my day of death.

High-Priest. Oh, God of Mercies ! this was once thy city !

CHORUS.

Joy to thee, beautiful and bashful bride !
Joy ! for the thrills of pride and joy become thee ;
Thy curse of barrenness is taken from thee.
And thou shalt see the rosy infant sleeping
Upon the snowy fountain of thy breast ;
And thou shalt feel how mothers' hearts are blest
By hours of bliss for moment's pain and weeping.
Joy to thee !—p. 107—120.

After

After this the business of the drama proceeds rapidly, and it is no common praise to say, that its interest does not decline. Simon and John come out in high exultation from the banquet, chide the desponding crowd to their homes, and retire to dreams of future glory and victory, leaving the stage for Miriam to deplore the infatuation of those most dear to her. As she is endeavouring to compose her soul to prayer, the storm bursts from heaven. The noise of the thunder blends with that of the Roman engines battering the walls, with the trumpets and shouts of the Gentiles mounting to the assault, and already victorious in the streets of the city, and with the clamours and outcries of the inhabitants, flying from the slaughter, or rallying in defence of the Temple.

Simon, indeed, instead of appearing, as might have been expected, at the head of his troops, the fiercest among the guardians of the sanctuary, comes forth unarmed and inactive, and, after thrusting himself on the stage from time to time, and interrupting the current of our feelings with his persevering anticipations of a supernatural deliverance, is, without resistance, taken prisoner by the Romans, and gravely gives up his last hopes of the redemption of Israel on perceiving that the thunder-storm abates, and that the flame kindled by the Gentiles has actually power over the Temple. But we turn from this strange failure in the delineation of one of Mr. Milman's principal characters—to his lovely heroine, who is still herself, and for whom all our fears and admiration are kept alive, while we follow her flight through the blazing streets, and amid all the horrors of—

‘ — swords and men and furious faces,
Before her, and behind her, and around!—’

Nor are other circumstances of terror wanting. She meets an old man, one of those who recollected Christ on earth, and had joined in the cry of ‘Crucify him!’—He is now convinced, by the misery which has overtaken himself and his nation, of the divine authority of the person whom he had joined in condemning and blaspheming. But he is convinced too late of his error;—he believes only to despair; and aggravates his own misery and self-condemnation by calling to mind the many circumstances of awful sublimity which had attended the person and dignified the death of the ‘Man of Nazareth,’ and which now terrify and distract, though they had then no power to soften him. He disregards, in this temper, the intreaties of Miriam that he would still seek for salvation, and leaves her, shaking his grey locks, with curses on himself and her.

Salome now enters, the bridal crown yet hanging from her loose tresses, but pale, half-naked, and bleeding. Amariah had been roused from his nuptial bed by the noise of the assault, and ‘yet,’
says

says the poor lovesick enthusiast, 'there was no sound I heard.' He had looked forth and seen the inevitable ruin of his nation.

'*Salone*. He came back and kiss'd me, and he said—
I know not what he said—but there was something
Of Gentile ravisher, and his beauteous bride,—
Me, me he meant, he call'd me beauteous bride!—
And he stood o'er me with a sword so bright
My dazzled eyes did close. And presently,
Methought, he smote me with the sword, but then
He fell upon my neck, and wept upon me,
And I felt nothing but his burning tears.'—p. 141.

While Miriam is yet weeping over her sister's body, a Gentile soldier, whom she had often before observed as having singled her out, but whose pursuit she had hitherto eluded, approaches to seize her. Escape is now impossible; 'every where are more;' and she has no resource but in a passionate appeal to his natural feeling—to his love for his own wife, his own child, his own sister—and by an adjuration in the name of Christ, of whatever evil thoughts might haunt him, to excite his compassion and veneration, and commit herself to his guidance. His mien is somewhat less savage than the rest: he makes, however, no answer, but grasps her arm and leads her away in silence, 'through darkling street and over smoking ruin,' to the fountain of Siloe and her accustomed trysting-place.

'We write not for that simple maid,
To whom it must in terms be said'—

that this seeming Gentile is Javan, who has availed himself of a warlike disguise to save the object of his tenderest solicitude. In the embrace of her lover she blends her tears of joy with those of sorrow for her father and sister. Other Christians join them to take a last leave of the Holy City and its blazing sanctuary, and a splendid chorus follows, in which the Fall of Jerusalem is characterized as typical of the great and final consummation of all created things.

Thus ends this most striking poem, on the merits and defects of which even the imperfect sketch which we have given will have enabled our readers to pass judgment. In the delineation of its characters we have detected no failure but that remarkable one of Simon; and this has arisen not from poverty of imagination, or ignorance of the stronger passions of the human heart, but from the author's having formed the idea of a more striking and less unamiable fanatic than history represented, while he neglected to alter those historical traits which are inconsistent with his own conception. In consequence we have two distinct and irreconcilable Simons; the one, who is that of Josephus, a haughty, remorseless

remorseless zealot, a fiery warrior, and a crafty politician; the other a humble, a holy and well-meaning, though crazy and misguided enthusiast. The cure for this defect will be simply to divide the characters, and to assign, with some additions and alterations, to different individuals, those speeches and actions which now agree no otherwise than the plumage of different birds on the same nondescript animal. Of the other persons of the drama, John is well drawn, though not very fully developed; and he expresses himself in the defence of his heresy with an art and eloquence which we are almost sorry to see in Mr. Milman's pages unaccompanied by such an antidote as he well knows how to supply, and which might be introduced with perfect propriety into the mouth either of the High Priest, of Simon or Eleazar. Of Amariah we rather hear than see any thing; and Javan is only so far important or interesting as he develops the character and influences the fortunes of Miriam. But the main attractions of the poem are to be found in Salome and Miriam, and the contrast which they offer to each other. Both are in love, both are actuated by strong religious as well as natural feelings; but the former only is an enthusiast; and, glowing as are the colours in which her peculiarities are drawn, it is no small praise to the distinctness and truth of the artist's pencil, that our admiration and our preference are uniformly directed to the chastened affections, the calm fervour, the resolute self-devotion and self-denial of her milder and more humble sister.

Of the plot—if that name can be given to an inartificial succession of incidents no otherwise connected with each other than by the identity of the persons whom they befall—the Stagyrite would certainly not have spoken with approbation. And, even of those who do not require a more obvious dependance of events and causes than is usually found in nature, who can admire the beauty and sublimity of the separate links without too closely inquiring into their mutual connexion and coherence, there are many who will wish that the author had found for Miriam some more prominent and active share in the events of the siege and the fortunes of her family, than the mere secret conveyance of food to her father's mansion. Nor, deeply as we all are interested in our heroine's escape, will some of us fail to censure the contrivance by which Javan at first is made, out of pure tenderness, to keep his mistress in ignorance of his person and intentions, as if the apprehension of death, and outrage worse than death, were less intolerable than the sudden joy of finding herself in friendly hands.

But in spite of these defects, and of some few instances of heaviness and inflation in Mr. Milman's language, we do not envy those critics who can read his work without abundant delight, or speak of it

it without warm admiration. To ourselves, who have watched for some years back, with no unfriendly eyes, the improvement of his taste and the development of his genius, it is an additional source of pleasure to find our most favourable prognostics confirmed, and the promise of the youth so completely answered by the ripened fruits of the man. His juvenile lines on the Apollo Belvidere, with more originality than such productions commonly exhibit, had nevertheless all the characteristics, good or bad, of juvenile poetry. In his 'Fazio,' with many remarkable proofs of genius, there was much to prune away, and much yet wanting which care and cultivation might supply; and his 'Samor' was so overloaded with beauties, that the attention was lost and wearied amid a maze of fragrance, and required some sterner and more naked features from which to derive new vigour and refreshment.

Τρις μὲν ὀρίξαν' ἰὼν, τὸ δὲ τέτατον —

He has now produced a poem in which the peculiar merits of his earlier efforts are heightened, and their besetting faults, even beyond expectation, corrected;—a poem to which, without extravagant encomium it is not unsafe to promise whatever immortality the English language can bestow, and which may, of itself, entitle its author to a conspicuous and honourable place in our poetical pantheon, among those who have drunk deep at the fountain-head of intellect, and enriched themselves with the spoils, without encumbering themselves with the trammels of antiquity. But he must not stop even here. He has yet something to unlearn; he has yet much to add to his own reputation and that of his country. Remarkably as Britain is now distinguished by its living poetical talent, our time has room for him; and has need of him. For sacred poetry, (a walk which Milton alone has hitherto successfully trodden,) his taste, his peculiar talents, his education, and his profession appear alike to designate him; and, while, by a strange predilection for the worser half of manicheism, one of the mightiest spirits of the age has, apparently, devoted himself and his genius to the adornment and extension of evil, we may be well exhilarated by the accession of a new and potent ally to the cause of human virtue and happiness, whose example may furnish an additional evidence that purity and weakness are not synonymous, and that the torch of genius never burns so bright as when duly kindled at the Altar.

ART. XI.—*Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique aux Sources du Sénégal et de la Gambie, fait en 1818, par ordre du Gouvernement Français.* Par G. Mollien. Paris. 1820.

BEFORE we attend to M. Mollien, whose 'voyage' will occasion us little trouble, we must advert to a subject which we

have much at heart, and which indeed is somewhat more interesting than any which his book supplies.

We have the painful task of recording the sacrifice of another victim to the cause of African discovery. Mr. Ritchie (the person of whom we speak) was, perhaps, only inferior to Mr. Burckhardt in those qualifications which are peculiarly requisite for conducting researches in a quarter of the globe of which so little is known accurately, and so much remains to be investigated; in some respects, indeed, he might be said to have the advantage of him, being a good practical astronomer, and well acquainted with the use of mathematical and philosophical instruments. He had also a competent knowledge of medicine, having served his apprenticeship with a regular surgeon. At the conclusion of the late war, he went to Paris, and was received into the family of Sir Charles Stuart, in the capacity, we believe, of private secretary. Here he had an opportunity of attending the polytechnic schools; and the progress which he made in natural history, astronomy, chemistry, and other branches of science, joined to his situation in the British Embassy, brought him acquainted with most of the leading men in that capital. Among other eminent characters, he was particularly noticed by the Baron de Humboldt; and when it was publicly reported, that his Majesty's government intended to avail itself of the favourable disposition of the Bashaw of Tripoly to encourage the prosecution of discovery in the interior of Africa, this celebrated traveller, who was then in England, took an opportunity of recommending Mr. Ritchie as a person highly qualified for such an undertaking.

On the first intimation given to Mr. Ritchie of what was in contemplation, he immediately resigned the situation which he held in the ambassador's household, and came over to England. From Lord Bathurst he received the most liberal encouragement. To give more weight to the mission, and to contribute, it was hoped, to his personal security, he was invested with the official character of vice-consul of Mourzouk, the capital of Fezzan. An ample sum was allotted for his expenses, for the purchase of instruments connected with the various objects of science, and for presents to the native chiefs and others. In the spring of 1818 he returned to Paris, where he remained for about six months studying the Arabic language, under the instructions of an Arab whom he met with in that city; and in daily attendance at the observatory, in order to acquire a readiness in the use of astronomical instruments.

Though the principal object of the mission was the determination of the leading geographical features of the interior of Africa, yet, anxious to render the results of the enterprize as useful as possible to the progress of general science, he engaged a young Frenchman

man of the name of Dupont, belonging to the *Jardin des Plantes*, to accompany him, and undertake the collection and preservation of the various objects of natural history which might be met with in the course of their journey.*

Mr. Ritchie arrived at Malta in September, where he was joined by Lieutenant Lyon of the *Albion*, (bearing the flag of Sir Charles Penrose,) who volunteered to accompany him, as did also John Belford, a carpenter in the dock-yard of Malta. The admiral appointed a ship of war to convey him to Tripoli, where he arrived in October, and met with the most flattering reception. The Bashaw granted him all the privileges of British vice-consuls; and protection in every part of the Tripolitan dominions was secured to him in the most ample and unreserved manner.

Mr. Ritchie visited many parts of the regency, and made considerable collections of plants, minerals and insects. He experienced nothing but kindness and civility from every class of the inhabitants; and such was the favourable impression made on his mind by their uniformly obliging and respectful behaviour, that in one of his letters he says, 'I am confident that when I meet with a Tripolitan in the interior, I may expect to find a friend.'

While waiting at Tripoli, Mahommed el Mucknè, the Bey of Fezzan, arrived with a large coffila of slaves, taken in one of his annual predatory expeditions into Soudan. To this chief he was introduced and recommended by the Bashaw, and he experienced at his hands, both then and afterwards, every mark of kindness and attention. He travelled with him to Mourzouk, which they reached on the 3d of May, 1819, having left Tripoli in March. The best house in the place was appropriated for his residence, and the British flag waved for the first time over the capital of Fezzan. Mr. Ritchie soon experienced the important advantages of being a recognized agent of the British government. The character of Englishmen stood high in Tripoli, and was not unknown in Fezzan. By the natives of every description he was treated with all possible respect; and his house became the resort of the principal inhabitants of the city.

Mr. Ritchie had not been long at Mourzouk before it was announced to him that an expedition was on foot against the Eastern

* This wise measure had all the success which might have been expected from it. M. Dupont, (to end his history at once,) after receiving a year's salary at Tripoli before it was due, left Mr. Ritchie, by the advice, it was supposed, of the French consul at that place; and was heard of no more. We trust this is the last experiment of this kind that will be tried:—

— prius Appulis
Jungentur capræ lupis,

than a nation so jealous and so envious of our literary reputation unite in a kindly yoke to further its advancement.

Tibboos of the tribe of Burgu, to be conducted by the Bey himself, whom he determined to accompany. During the preparations for this journey he was seized with a fever which confined him to his bed, with frequent delirium, for two months. From this severe attack he recovered but slowly, and never entirely; at intervals the fever returned, and reduced him at length to such a state of debility that, on the 20th October, he expired without a struggle. He had for some months refused to take such nourishment as the place afforded, which was probably miserable enough, and might almost be said to have subsisted on bark. By the death of this young man the cause of African discovery has sustained a great loss. Had his life been spared, there is every reason to believe, from the propriety of his conduct, and the general esteem in which he was held, that he would have conducted the enterprize on which he was engaged to a successful termination. In reporting his death, Colonel Warrington, the resident consul of Tripoli, observes—‘As a public character, his whole conduct since I have had the honour to know him, entitles him to my warmest approbation and the highest admiration—as a private one, I feel the loss of that friendship which I valued as much as that of any human being. Although our acquaintance was but of short duration, still his virtues, his talents, his prepossessing and most engaging disposition were so conspicuous that it was impossible not to feel more than a common degree of friendship towards him, and the most lively interest on every point relating to his welfare.’

Though the career of Mr. Ritchie was short, we may safely say it has not been without its use. From the moment of his arrival in Africa he commenced his inquiries into African subjects, and collected much important and interesting information respecting the nature of negro slavery in the interior, and the practices of those concerned in this abominable traffic. He was perfectly satisfied that the accursed means adopted for making captives, were the chief and almost the sole impediments to the progress of European travellers in Soudan; and that if once abolished, ‘the road from Fezzan to Guinea would be as open as that from London to Edinburgh.’ The activity with which of late years this trade has been carried on in the northern parts of Africa, has thrown the whole of Soudan into a most confused and unsettled state; every tribe endeavouring to seize and carry off its neighbours, and committing the most horrible excesses. The number of victims brought from the eastward and the southward to Mourzouk, in the course of the year 1819, amounted to about five thousand.

It appears to have been Mr. Ritchie’s intention to pass a year in exploring the country of Fezzan and the surrounding tribes; and towards the month of November, at which time the season for travelling

travelling commences, to proceed to Bornou. Of this intention he had found means to apprize the Sultan of Bornou and the Sheik of Kanem, through a Hadji of the name of Hamet, whose wife was a daughter of the latter. She had been taken prisoner in one of the inroads made upon Kanem by the Bey of Fezzan, and brought by him to Tripoli, where the Bashaw, on discovering who she was, ordered her to be set at liberty. From both these sovereignties Mr. Ritchie received assurances of the most friendly reception. At Bornou he intended to pass a few months; and from thence to proceed to Kashna, where he also proposed to make some stay, in the hope of procuring some decisive information respecting the trade on the Niger, and the practicability of reaching Egypt by the navigation of that river; or, if he obtained no satisfactory intelligence on this point, to visit Nyffe on the Bahr el Soudan, where Hornemann died; thence to proceed to the southward of the Niger by the way of Dogomba to Ashantee, and embark at Cape Coast for England.

The establishment of a vice-consul at Mourzouk is of such obvious utility that we are glad to find it is meant to be continued, and that Lieutenant Lyon has been appointed to succeed his late friend and fellow traveller. It is important that the character of England should be well known throughout Africa; and we know of no better means of effecting this, than by an accredited agent residing at this central spot. The conduct of Mr. Ritchie had endeared him to every class of the inhabitants of Fezzan, and the regret for his loss was deep and general. His kind and conciliating manners, his extensive knowledge, and the medical advice and assistance which he had the means of bestowing, shed a lustre on the British character which is duly appreciated in the states of Tripoli, and is not altogether without respect even as far as the banks of the Niger.

In our last Number we endeavoured to shew, and we are willing to think not unsuccessfully, that the confluence of this great river and the Nile of Egypt was not impossible; we might perhaps have ventured a step further, and, from the general testimony in its favour, have argued it to be not improbable. To this point tends all the information collected by Mr. Ritchie, of whose notes respecting the interior of Africa we shall now lay before our readers a short abstract.

The first part of the intelligence relates to the countries and people between Tripoli and Timbuctoo. It was procured from Mahommed, a schoolmaster in Tripoli, born at Timbuctoo of Tripolitan parents. He had twice travelled from Tripoli to that city, by the way of Ghadames and Tuat. From Tripoli to Ghadames is a journey of thirteen or fourteen days. From that

place to Ain el Salah, (the fountain of Saints,) the frontier of the territory of Tuat, twenty days—and two more bring the traveller to Akably, the capital of the country. Tuat is an Oasis in the heart of the desert; it is a fruitful country, abounding with springs of excellent water, and producing corn, dates and every necessary for subsistence in great plenty. The people dwell in stone houses, similar to those of Tripoli. In thirty days from this town, the traveller will arrive at Mabrouk, a more considerable city than Tripoli, and built also of stone;—the name, it seems, is given from the conductors of the caravans felicitating each other on having safely traversed the desert. The Tuariek inhabit all the neighbouring parts; they are nearly black, and live in tents; they wear the baracan or ola of the Arabs, the men wrapping up their faces in it as the women do in most Mahomedan towns, whilst the females expose theirs. The best meiheries* or dromedaries belong to these people, and constitute their principal riches; they give them different names, as khamasy, setasy, sabasy, and ashrazy, according to their ability to travel five, six, seven, or even ten times as far in one day as an ordinary camel. The Tuarick are a well disposed people; and a stranger who once ingratiates himself even with the least considerable among them, is sure of being protected by all the rest of the tribe. From Mabrouk to Timbuctoo, a journey of about fifteen days, the road lies across a country abounding with provisions and good water. Thus the whole journey from Tripoli to Timbuctoo is about eighty days, in which the longest time of travelling without finding water does not exceed six,

Timbuctoo is not a walled town: some of the houses are built of stone, others of mud; many of the former are two stories high. The palace of the king is like the castle of Tripoli; it is situated in the middle of the town, and is called the kusbé. The name of the king who governed about thirty years ago was Aboubek'r; he was not a negro, but a brown man; most of the people, however, are black, and all of them Moslems. The dress of the inhabitants consists chiefly of long shirts, dyed, in general, blue or black; of the red Moorish cap, turban, and sandals. The dress of the sovereign is highly ornamented with gold. The uniform of the soldiers, who are very numerous, is red, and they are armed with muskets brought by the way of the Great Sea. They manufacture cotton cloths, and gold trinkets† at Tim-

* This species is no doubt the same as the *herie*, mentioned by Jackson and others, the existence of which has been called in question.

† In Colonel Fitzclarence's lively and interesting narrative of his 'Route through India and Egypt' are figured some of these gold ornaments used by the natives of Timbuctoo, as necklaces, ear-rings, braids for the hair, &c, of very superior workmanship, and good taste in the design.

buctoo. The market days are Tuesdays and Thursdays. There is plenty of cocoa-nuts at Timbuctoo; the name given to them

by Mahomed is *لوز المنيب*. The Nile is distant about

half a day's journey from the city; the port is called Kabra: on going to Kabra from Timbuctoo, the river comes from the right hand and flows towards the left; it is here so wide that a gun would not take effect across it. In the language of the country, it bears the name of Issa.* There are many boats upon it, which are chiefly employed in trading to Jinnie. Mahommed had no doubt that they might proceed downwards to Kashna and Bornou. He was always taught to believe, he says, that the Nile of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt are the same river. From Timbuctoo to Wangara is about twenty-five days journey; the inhabitants bring gold dust to Timbuctoo. He had not been there, but understood it to lie in a southerly direction. He has no doubt that Christians might reside without danger or molestation at Timbuctoo; and he offered to accompany Mr. Ritchie thither.

Mr. Ritchie observes that this information was corroborated by so many respectable travellers, particularly by Sidi Hamet Tooghar, the present Cadi of Tripoli, who resided for many years in the interior, and by Sidi Mahommed Dghies, the late prime minister of the Bashaw, who kept up during his life an active commercial intercourse with Soudan, and possessed property at Timbuctoo, that he could not refuse entire credence to it. He seems to think, however, that it tends to discredit the narrative of Adams, the American sailor; in which he differs from Mr. Burckhardt. 'From what I have heard, the latter says, related in Egypt and the Hedjaz by several Fellata Bedouins coming, as Hadjis, from the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo, by the way of Tunis, I believe Adams's description of that town (Timbuctoo) to be correct. One of them told me it was half as large as Cairo, and built of low mud houses, such as are common all over Soudan.' Mr. Ritchie, however, admits the singular coincidence in the mention of the cocoa-nut growing there by Adams and his informant:—botanists had decided that this fruit could only thrive in the vicinity of the sea coast; and this circumstance was advanced as a main argument against the veracity of Adams!

The next piece of information was obtained from Hadji Hamet, a native of Bornou, who had performed the pilgrimage to Mecca about five years before. He was born in the capital of Bornou, which bears the same name, and not Birney:†—this last is not, as Mr.

* It is thus named by D'Anville, and by several of the early writers.

† All reports agree that there is a great fresh-water lake in the interior of Bornou, on

Mr. Burckhardt was led to imagine, a proper name, but a word signifying 'city' in the language of the country. Hadji Hamet asserts that Grand Cairo is not so large as Bornou; and that to pass from one gate to another in a direct line, would take from morning till night. He adds that, in his journey to Mecca, he first went to Kanein, which is seven days journey to the eastward of Bornou, the stages between them being, 1. Bismillah; 2. Widu; 3. Beledonanby; 4. Sibdifafa; 5. Rigrigzime; 6. Fume; 7. Kanem. Kanem is about the size of Tuuis. The great river, which is called Tshadi at Kano (or Gano) is called Birum in the country of Kanem, and flows to the south-eastward. It is never dry, and during the summer months overflows the neighbouring country. The name of the river in Bornou is Kamadkoo;* it passes to the eastward about half a day's journey to the south of the capital; at this place is a town or port called Gambarroo, where a young virgin, richly dressed, is precipitated into the stream every year at the period of its inundation; and it is firmly believed that if the victim selected were not a virgin, the town would be swept away. Burckhardt obtained the same information in Egypt.

At Gambarroo are still to be seen the remains of the castles and houses erected by the Christians, who, tradition reports, lived there many ages ago; and copper coins in use among them are said to be frequently dug up. Before the river reaches this town it flows through the country of Soudan. Hadji Hamet was at Gano, which is twelve days journey to the west of Bornou, and close to the river, there called Tshadi. Five days to the westward of Gano is Kashna, where the river is as broad, he says, as the distance from the gate of Tüpoli to the bazaar on the sands (about one-third of a mile). It is here called the Gulbi. He had been at Timbuctoo when young, and believes the distance from Kashna to be about twenty-eight, and from Bornou about forty-five days. The places on the road are Goobur, Zamfara, Nyffé, Zegzeg, Melli and Foota, but he does not know their respective distances from each other. At Nyffé there is a large sea which is not salt but sweet. The river Tshadi comes out of this sea and flows on till it arrives in Egypt: he does not know whether the river of Timbuctoo runs into it or not. Wangara lies to the south between this sea and Timbuctoo. Kashna and all the neighbouring countries are at present in subjection to Bello, the Fellata chief, the son of Hatman

on the west side of which the city of Birney is said to be built. The name of the lake is Nou, and from it the country derives the name of Bornou, or the land of Nou.—*Burckhardt, App. No. 1. p. 477.*

* Kamadkoo appears from the vocabulary of the Bornou language, in Mr. Burckhardt's work, to be the general name signifying 'river.' It is applied to the river at Bornou in Faden's map of Africa.

Danfodio, who overran the whole of that part of Africa some years ago. Bello's place of residence is Kashna.

The intelligence procured from the next person carries us somewhat farther to the eastward. It is from Sidi Moussa, a Tripolitan merchant who was just returned from Wara, the capital of Waday, (called also Dar Saley and Bergo,*) a journey of about forty-five days of the caravan, or about the same length as that from Bornou to Mourzouk. This man travelled from Waday, through Begharmi, to Bornou; he was twenty days in going from Wara to Begharmi, and ten from the latter to Bornou; which he describes as several times larger than Tripoli. The people of Bornou and of Waday live chiefly in huts of clay covered with grass, but those of Begharmi in houses of two stories high.

'Waday,' says Mr. Ritchie, 'is a country which has been represented to me as one of the most considerable in the north-eastern parts of Africa. It was for a long time governed by a prince whose name was Abdel-Kerym, but more commonly called Saboon el Fakir, (literally, the poor man's soap,) a title which he took from the extent of his charitable actions.† Since the death of this sovereign two of his sons have successively reigned. The present king is said to be very young, and the kingdom has consequently fallen into a state of civil confusion. I am told that a very large river flows through some districts of Waday, called the Batta, which my informant supposed to be the same as that of Bornou called the Tshad. Waday is a kingdom which no European has hitherto visited.'

The Nile flows both through Bornou and Begharmi, and passes to the eastward at the distance of four days journey south of the capital of the latter country, where it is nearly a mile broad and very deep. The direction which it there takes is to the south-eastward. Sidi Mousa does not know where it goes after passing Begharmi, but he has always understood it to be the same river as the Nile of Egypt. There are vessels upon it at this place, but not very large.

Such is the substance of the information obtained from three intelligent Africans relating to the Niger and the neighbouring coun-

* 'Dar Saley is the name used by the natives; the people of Darfour and Kordofan give to it the name of Bergo. Their northern neighbours of Bornou and Fezzan, and the Moggrebyn merchants, call it Waday.'—*Burckhardt, App. No. 2. p. 484.*

† 'The King of Saley, Abd el Kerim, nick-named Saboun, 'soap,' is, next to those of Darfour and Bornou, the most potent prince in the eastern part of Soudan, and has conquered several of the neighbouring states'—*Burck. App. No. 21. p. 480.*

Again. 'Next to Bornou and Darfour, Dar Saley is the most important country in eastern Soudan. It is said to be a flat country, with few mountains. In the rainy season, which usually lasts two months, large inundations are formed in many places, and large and rapid rivers then flow through the country. After the waters have subsided, deep lakes remain in various places filled with water the whole year round, and sufficiently spacious to afford a place of retreat to the hippopotami and crocodiles which abound in the country.'—*App. No. 2. p. 484.*

tries; and the remarkable coincidence of most of it with that procured by Mr. Burckhardt in Egypt, stamps on it an additional value. Indeed Mr. Ritchie says, 'I have made many desultory inquiries of other persons from the interior; but I have never found them to contradict their testimony in any material point; they have in general fully confirmed it.'

It appears singular that the country situated immediately to the eastward of Timbuctoo, as far as Kashna, should be more imperfectly known to the Moorish traders than the rest of central Africa; but it is in some measure accounted for by the information of Mr. Burckhardt. 'Among the negro tribes,' says this celebrated traveller, 'is the great tribe of Fellata, of whom those who dwell in the neighbourhood of Bornou are Mussulmans; while others of the same tribe, who live farther west, are still pagans. This nation of Fellata appears to be in great strength throughout Soudan; they have spread across the whole continent, and I saw one of them at Mekka, who told me that his encampment, when he left it, was in the neighbourhood of Timbuctoo. The Fellata have attacked and pillaged both Bornou and Kashna, and the latter town is said to be at present half ruined. They are mostly horsemen. They fight with poisoned arrows, as do in general all the pagan tribes of this part of Soudan; the arrow is short, and of iron; the smallest scratch with it causes the body to swell, and is infallibly mortal, unless counteracted by an antidote known amongst the natives.*'

Mr. Ritchie was not able to meet with any person who could assure him, from his own knowledge, that the river, which is called Issa, at Timbuctoo, is the same which, crossing the fresh water lake at Nyffe, flows through the kingdom of Kashna, where it acquires the name of Gulbi, and after washing successively Gano, Bornou, and Kanem, turns to the southward through Begharmi, where all authentic evidence of its course ceases. 'The general belief of every person with whom I have conversed,' says Mr. Ritchie, 'is, that they are one and the same river; and the concurrence of several persons on this point, when connected with the evidence furnished by Park and Hornemann, affords a rational presumption that this opinion is correct, and ought to overbalance any hypothesis founded on the insulated testimony of an individual.'

Mr. Ritchie observes that the position of Wangara, a name unknown to those natives of Bornou and Waday who furnished the information collected by Mr. Burckhardt, must be materially altered in our maps according to the notices which he received respecting it; so likewise must that of Bornou. Of the position of

* App. No. 2. p. 486.

the latter there can now be very little doubt;* and Mr. Ritchie thinks we shall come pretty near the truth in assigning to the capital of that country 16° north latitude, and 16° of east longitude from the meridian of Greenwich; a position which differs several degrees from that which it occupies in the latest map of Arrowsmith. The city of Kanem would appear also to be very erroneously laid down; by placing it in latitude $18^{\circ} 11'$, and longitude 17° or 18° east, we shall perhaps approach much nearer to its real situation.

Wangara was not at all known to any of Mr. Burckhardt's informants, and was vaguely described to Mr. Ritchie; if it exists at all, therefore, it must lie somewhere between Kashna and Timbuctoo, in those countries which are now in possession of the Fellata. It would seem also that Haoussa is not a city, but a district in the same tract; and that Soudan, properly speaking, is comprehended between Timbuctoo and Bornou: and it is not improbable that the Bahr el Soudan, on which Nyffe is situated, or some part of the low swampy country to the southward of it, is the Wangara of Edrisi. 'It should seem,' says Burckhardt, that the negroes themselves (not the slave-traders, who call the whole of the Black country, Soudan,) give this name (Soudan) to the countries west of Baghermi.

It appears from Mr. Burckhardt's information that several rivers flow from the northward into the Niger towards the eastern part of its course. One of these in particular is said to join it between Bornou and Baghermi.

'Betwen Katakou and Bahr el Ghazel,' he observes, 'flows the great river called Shary, in a direction, as far as I could learn, from N. E. to S. W., towards Baghermi, but its source was unknown.' (This must be a typographical error, and ought to be, from what follows, from N. W. to S. E.) 'From the limits of Bornou to Baher Shary is fifteen days slow march, in the direction of the Kebly (that is of Mecca.) The route from Bahr Shary to Bahr el Ghazel is in the same direction.' He adds, 'The Bahr el Ghazel is a wide extent of low ground, without any mountains: it is called Bahr, (sea or river) and also Wady, because tradition reports that, in ancient times, a large river flowed through it.'

It is pretty obvious that this river, Shary, is the one or probably both of those called Bahr el Gazel and Misselad in the charts: of these, the former is not merely a river, but a country inundated during the rains, and intersected by numerous streams† and lakes; the

* I have been constantly assured that Bornou is more to the westward than due north of Bagerme, which agrees likewise with what Hornemann heard at Fezzan; namely, that Bornou lies south of Fezzan.—Burckhardt, App. 2. p. 488.

† Speaking of the principal of these rivers, Mr. Burckhardt says, 'According to a very general custom in Soudan, of giving to the same river different names, it is also called

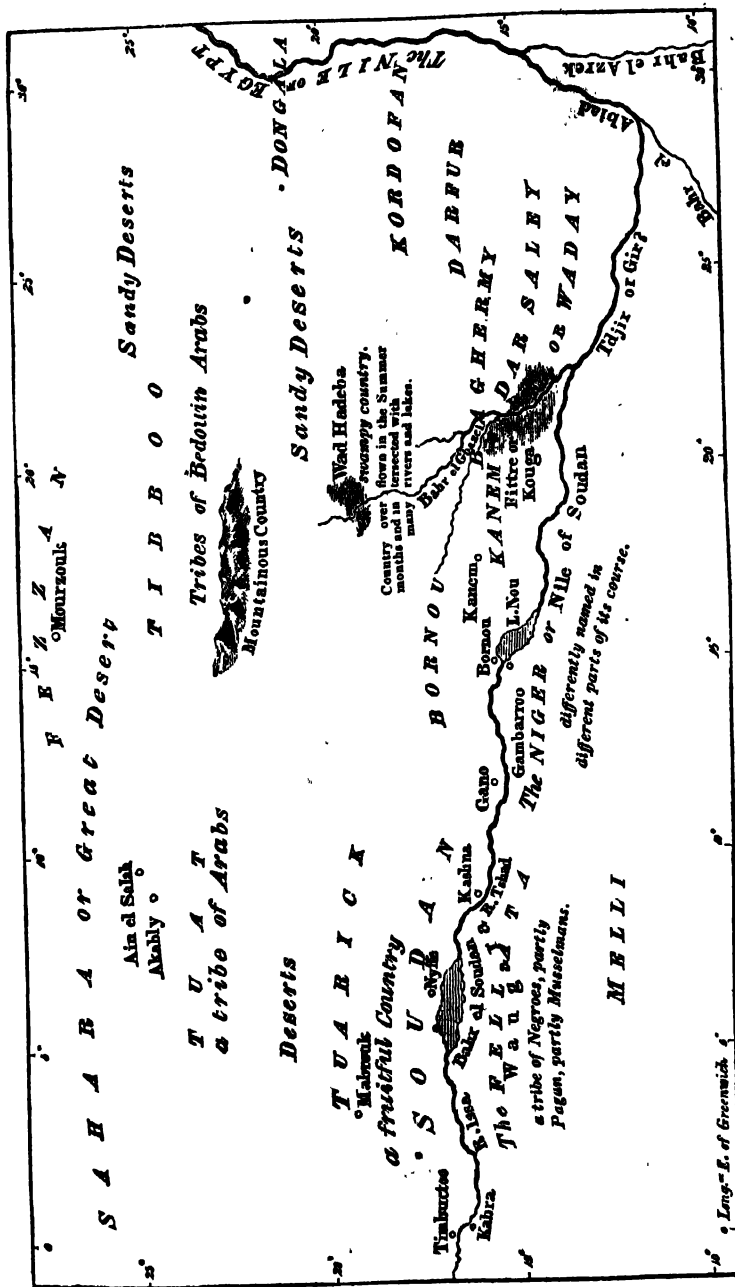
the latter was altogether unknown to Burckhardt's informants. It is probable however that the upper part of the Shary occupies the place of the Misselad, and that it flows out of the marsh of Kouga or Fittre, instead of running into it, as described in the charts. If this were not the case the Kouga would necessarily be salt, whereas all the Arab authorities make it fresh water. When Brown was told, in Darfour, of a large river running N. W. his informant might have meant, as we believe is not uncommon with the Arabs, not the direction of the stream, but the geographical line in which the bed proceeded from the place of the observer. Thus, in sailing up the Nile, an Arab would say the Bahr el Abiad flowed to the S. W., meaning thereby that it branched off in that direction, though its current runs to the N. E. 'The place,' says Burckhardt, 'nearest to the Shary in the Bahr el Ghazel, is Kanein, four days distant. From Kanem to Fittre is a journey of eight days, and from Fittre to Dar Saley three. The Arabs Beni Hassan, in the Bahr el Ghazel, turn their faces towards Dar Saley when they pray.' *

From these materials, collected by two such intelligent travellers on nearly opposite sides of Africa, and according so well with each other, we should venture to suggest a correction in those parts of the charts of North Africa, through which the Niger flows, something like the annexed sketch, leaving perhaps undecided that portion of the river from the point south of Dar Saley or Baghermi, as far as the supposed course of the Bahr el Abyad, (about 250 miles,) till further inquiries can be instituted; though after bringing it thus far, and after so many testimonies of its identity with the Nile of Egypt, it is difficult to conceive in what manner it can be disposed of but by a junction with the White river. The reason why the further course of the river is lost sight of at Baghermi or Dar Saley, may be, that the route of all the caravans, whether of traders, or pilgrims on their way to Mecca, lies through Dar Saley, Darfour, and Kordofan; and thence to the Red Sea or Abyssinia, by Sennaar, or to Egypt through Dongola. The country through which the Abiad passes, either from its low swampy soil or savage inhabitants, seems invariably to be avoided; as all the itineraries yet collected across central Africa turn to the northward at Baghermi or Dar Saley. It appears, however, that its shores are inhabited.*

called Djyr, which in the Egyptian pronunciation, sounds Gyr, and may perhaps be the Gir of Ptolemy.—App. No. 2, p. 484.

* 'A second branch of the Nile is the White Nile, (Nil el Abyadh), a river coming from the western parts, of a deep white colour, like milk.—"I have inquired (says Selym) of Moggrehyns, who have travelled in Soudan, respecting the Nile of their country, and its colour, and they stated that it rises in mountains of sand, and that it collects in Soudan into large seas—both sides of the Nil el Abyadh are inhabited."—Burckhardt, App. 3. p. 498.

The



The progressive geography of Africa has unquestionably been retarded by the absurd and erroneous system, if it deserves the name, of Edrisi, one of the earliest Arabian writers on the subject, whose assertions were adopted by others, in some instances contrary to the evidence of the senses.* He knew nothing of Africa from personal observation, and appears to have been ill qualified to digest that information which he collected from others. He considers, however, the Nile of Egypt and the Nile of Soudan as one, but he makes the latter to run out of the former instead of into it. His puerile account of this river is, that in some distant part of Southern Africa, it springs out of ten fountains, the waters of five of which run into one lake, and five into another. Each of these lakes again throws out three rivers, all of which, once more uniting, form a large lake under the equinoctial line; into this lake juts a mountainous promontory, which divides the water into two parts, one of which flowing northerly, forms the Nile of Egypt; the other westerly as far as the *Mare tenebrorum* (the Atlantic, we suppose) the Nile of Soudan. After such a ridiculous display, (which, if we did not know to be false, both on the eastern and western extremities of the continent, we might know to be impossible,) it will scarcely be argued that his information of the central parts is more correct; yet we believe that it is on his authority alone that Wau-gara has been placed in the position it still holds on the charts.

One early Arab traveller, however, whose invaluable work has most unaccountably been overlooked, had more correct notions of the geography of the interior of Africa, and the course of the Niger, than Edrisi. It has recently been brought to light, and nearly at the same moment by two different persons—by Mr. Burckhardt and M. Kosegarten of Jena. Of this extraordinary traveller, whose name is Ibn Batouta, some account will be found in Burckhardt's Nubian journeys, (Appendix, No. 3,) and an abridgement of that part of his travels which relates to Soudan and the Niger, forms what Kosegarten calls a 'Commentatio Academica.'

One complete copy only of this early Mahommedan's travels is said to exist in Cairo: this Mr. Burckhardt endeavoured in vain to discover; he procured, however, two copies of an abridgement, which are now at Cambridge, and, we believe, in progress of translation by the Arabic professor. In the mean time a brief extract from the notices given by the two above-mentioned gentlemen may not be unacceptable; and particularly of that part relating to the course of the Nile of Soudan, which is extremely interesting and important, as coming from one who was an eye-witness, who appears to have seen well, and to have collected accurate information of what he did not see.

* Leo Africanus saw the Niger at Kabra, and yet makes it run from east to west.

‘ Ibn

'Ibn Batouta,' Mr. Burckhardt says, 'is perhaps the greatest land traveller who ever wrote his travels.' He was a native of Tangier, and travelled from the year 725 of the Hegira (1324 A. D.) to 755 (1354), being thirty years. In the course of that time he several times traversed Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, the coast of the Red Sea, and the eastern coast of Africa. He then visited Bokhara, Balk, Samarcand, Kabul, India, and China. Taking shipping he landed on several of the Indian islands, visited the Maldives, and the coast of Malabar; crossed the mountains of Thibet, traversed India, and then embarked for Java. From this island he revisited China, and returned by Calicut, Yemen, Bagdad, and Damascus, to Cairo. Again he set out to perform the Hadj, and on his return visited the provinces of Spain. He next proceeded to the capital of Morocco, and thence as far as Sedjelmassa;—here the vicinity of the kingdoms of Soudan tempted the curiosity of this indefatigable traveller. It is this part which most concerns our present purpose. In 753 (1352) he crossed the desert with the slave traders to Taghary, (or Taghaza), 25 days journey from Sedjelmassa, the houses of which were built of salt stone, and covered with camel's skins. From this place he crossed a sandy glittering plain without water, or trees, where no footsteps would remain. After a journey of twenty days over this trackless desert, he reached Abou Laten, (called Ei-welaten by Kosegarten; probably the Wallet of Park,) the first town of Soudan; and here were a few date trees and water melons: 'the women are beautiful; the son of the sister inherits to the exclusion of the true son; a custom,' says Batouta, 'which I saw nowhere else, except among the Pagan Hindoos of Malabar.' This is true of the Nairs of Malabar to this day. He next reached Maly through a forest of large trees, each affording shade for a whole caravan. In the hollow trunk of one of them he observed a weaver at his loom; he also mentions a tree which affords drink to the traveller, and others in which bees make their honey. From Eiwelaten, ten days brought him to the town of Taghary, an extensive place inhabited by negro traders, and a few white people of the heretical creed of Byadha, (whom Kosegarten calls Kharid'ji), Christians or Jews. Leaving this he came to Karsekhu, (Kar Senjou of Burckhardt), situated on the bank of the Nile, which runs from thence to Kabara and Sagha or Zagha. Karsekhu is in all probability the Sego of Park, who says that in different parts of it the names are Sego-Korro, Sego-see-Korro, &c.

Ibn Batouta now proceeds to state the course of the Nile from the information which he obtained at Kabara. The Nile, he says, flows to Timbuctoo, thence to Kok or Kûku, (Kouga); thence to the town of *Muli*, the last place within the kingdom of *Muli*;

Muli; thence to *Yuwi* (*Bow* of Burckhardt) the principal seat of Negro government, and which no white person can approach. From *Yuwi* it flows into the country of the Nubians, who are Christians, and onward to *Donkola* (*Dongola*) their chief city; thence to *Jenadel*, (the second cataract,) the last place in the country of the blacks, and the first of the province of *Eswân* (*Essuân*) in Upper Egypt.

Returning to his own travels, he goes on to say that, leaving the town of *Karsekku*, he came to the river *Sausara*, and thence (in ten days, according to Burckhardt) to *Muli*, the seat of a negro sovereign, where he took up his abode in the khan of the white men. (This answers to the *Melli* or *Lamlem* marked, in some charts, on Arab authority, as containing one of the missing tribes of Israel.) Here he resided two months, and then returned to *Timbuctoo*, distant, according to him, four miles from the Nile. From this place, he proceeded, in a boat formed from the trunk of a single tree, down the river, and paid daily visits to the towns on its banks until he reached *Kûku*, the largest and handsomest town belonging to the Negroes; thence he passed on to *Burdâma*, inhabited by a tribe of Berbers, and *Tekedda*. This last place is described as built of red stones; and here the waters also, by running through veins of copper, had acquired a reddish-colour and a bitter taste. The inhabitants trade with Egypt, and carry thither slaves and copper in exchange for articles of clothing. If *Kûku* and *Burdâma* be *Kouga* and *Baghermi*, as there can be little doubt they are, *Tekedda* cannot be far distant from the *Abiad*, where copper has always been said to abound.

Ibn Batouta left *Tekedda* with the caravan, and proceeded towards *Tewat* or *Twât*, which is seventy stages distant. He next visited *Kahor*, belonging to the Sultan of *Karkan*; and after a journey of eighteen days, reached a place where the roads separate, the one leading towards Egypt, and the other to *Tewat*. In ten days more he arrived at *Dekkâr*, belonging to the Berbers; and, after travelling a month through this country, found himself once more at *Sedjelmassa*, whence he proceeded to *Fez*, where, he says, he threw away his traveller's staff, and gave thanks to God for his safe return.

Although we have yet only the mere abstract of an abstract of curious travels, (which however agrees with the preceding authorities in carrying the Niger to the second cataract of the Nile of Egypt,) we have more than sufficient to assure us that the details will be highly interesting; and we are not without the hope of procuring that complete copy which eluded the search of Mr. Burckhardt.

Much still remains to be done to settle the geography of *Sou-dan*

dan and the course of the Niger. Death has deprived the cause of discovery of two of its most promising, efficient, and intelligent promoters. The expedition under Major Gray, we fear, does not hold out any sanguine prospect of success; it had returned to Galam, on the Senegal, in August last, after a most harassing journey through the country of the Foolado, in which the party were insulted, plundered, attacked, and we believe some of them slain. Of a favourable result from Major Peddie's attempt, of which that of Major Gray is the sequel, our expectations were never raised very high. The countries through which they had to pass are so populous, and the people so well armed and so resolute, that nothing short of a little army could hope to succeed in traversing them. A small body of men is not sufficient for that purpose, though enough to awaken the jealousy of the chiefs, as to its designs; and the baggage which accompanies it more than enough to inflame their cupidity.*

As a proof how much easier it is for individuals to pass through the African tribes than a small armed party, it may be stated that Mr. Docherd, a surgeon in the above-mentioned expedition, with a few attendants, reached Yamina, on the Niger, without any difficulty. Here, however, he was obliged to stay till he received permission from the King of Sego to proceed. After waiting nearly six months, he was advised to retire higher up the river to Bammakoo, in Bambarra, from which the last accounts received from him are dated in May, 1819, when he was still in the hope of procuring the necessary permission, though several untoward circumstances operated against this expectation. In the first place, the King of Sego was at war with his eastern neighbours, (these neighbours, we suppose, are the Fellata tribes mentioned by Ritchie and Burckhardt),—his minister had died just about the time that he heard of Mr. Docherd's arrival; a few days afterwards, his treasurer and receiver of customs departed this life; and, as ill luck would have it, the chief of Bammakoo also died just after he reached that place. These fatal circumstances tended to confirm the blacks in their notions of the evil influence which the presence of the whites exerts on their countrymen, and especially on their rulers, whom they are supposed to have the power of destroying by charms and secret spells. In the present instance, they were more convinced of the effect of this baneful influence on recollecting that Mansong, Moodie, Bennie, and other chiefs who had dealings with

* Mr. Burckhardt thinks that a body of about 100 armed men might be able to penetrate Africa from the eastward towards Bagharmi; such a body might, perhaps, succeed among the Berbers and the blacks, but certainly not among the numerous tribes of the half-civilized Arabs on the western side.

Mungo Park, had died the same year in which he passed through their country.

Mr. Docherd had invariably received the kindest treatment both at Yamina and Bammakoo, and on complaining of delay was assured it was entirely owing to the custom of the country; as to make ambassadors wait was only meant to shew the king's dignity, and that it might not be supposed he was in any hurry to get rid of his guests. He seems to think that, once fairly embarked, there would be no difficulty in reaching the termination of the Niger; but we are not aware on what information this opinion is grounded. The highest navigable point of the river in the dry season is at Marraboo, where it expands into a vast sheet of water, but is full of shallows.

Markets were held at Sansanding and Yamina, twice every week, where provisions were reasonable, and every sort of European merchandize in great demand, especially articles of finery for the dresses of the females, who are fond of showy colours; among other wares were Manchester prints in great abundance, which seemed to meet with a ready sale. These must have crossed the desert of Zaahra, in the caravan from Morocco, which we suspect is, after all, the best and safest way to reach Timbuctoo.

With all the respect we feel for those who sacrifice ease, health, and every comfort in the promotion of African discoveries, we are compelled to say that M. Mollien has done less than any preceding traveller, and has no pretension whatever to rank in the list of those who have enlarged the narrow sphere of African geography. He is evidently a very young man, and wholly unfit for travelling with credit to himself or advantage to his employers. His intellectual acquirements are of the lowest order, and he possesses not a single qualification in any branch of science that a traveller could turn to advantage. His utter ignorance of natural history, of astronomy, and as it would seem of the common process of obtaining the latitude of places, renders the account of his travels unavailing for any scientific purpose, and leaves the accuracy of all his positions more than questionable. It was not necessary to visit the sources of the Senegal and the Gambia, merely to set down how the negroes of this village, and the Mahomedans of that, were disposed to treat travellers; the simplicity of the one, the cunning of the other, and the avarice of both, have long been known to be pretty much the same on every part of the western coast of Africa.

The object of M. Mollien's mission was 'to discover the sources of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Niger; to ascertain if there exists a communication between the first two rivers, and the distance which separates them; to determine the space between the Senegal and the sources of the Niger, and the means of traversing

traversing it; and on reaching the Niger to collect every information as to the possibility of descending it to its mouth: in the event of obstacles preventing the execution of such a project, he was to ascend this river, which would of itself be an important discovery.'

Of these 'judicious instructions,' as M. Mollien terms them, he fulfilled no single point, except that of reaching (if he did actually reach them) the sources of the Gambia and Senegal. The Rio Grande, he says, proceeds from the same reservoir which gives birth to the Gambia, but then, he adds, they have separate springs, each concealed in a thicket. In speaking of that of the Gambia, he tells us that 'trees *coeval* with the river render it invisible;' the other spring is at a little distance, and issues out of a kind of arch. Between the two thickets, his attendant, Ali, stamped on the ground, and the earth echoed in a frightful manner. 'Underneath,' said he, 'are the reservoirs of the two rivers; the noise thou hearest proceeds from their being empty.' The virtues of Lady Noel's divining rod would here have been suspended. A thicket of tufted trees concealed likewise the sources of the Senegal, which are said to be three, and situated about the middle of the side of a mountain—rather an unusual situation for the sources of a great river. The source of the Niger he did not visit; but he intended to do so: nay, more;—'I purposed,' he says, 'descending this river in a canoe, as far as Timbuctoo, where I flattered myself I should arrive without much difficulty, by passing myself off as a slave of my Marabout.' Unluckily, however, 'a tremendous clap of thunder' put an end at once to the whole project, and suggested to him the propriety of facing about and making the best of his way homewards:—and really, if there be any truth in his piteous situation, as delineated for the embellishment of Mr. Bowdich's translation, where he appears to be dying in the arms of his black Marabout, the young gentleman was quite right in giving up all idea of 'descending the Niger as far as Timbuctoo!'

One piece of information, however, we have extracted from M. Mollien's journey:—namely, that the sources of the Gambia and the Senegal are much higher than we had suspected, and that of the Niger on a higher level than either of them. The country rises towards the south and south-east in parallel terraces, and forms chains of mountains which increase in height in proportion as they advance to the south, attaining the highest point of elevation between the eighth and tenth degrees of north latitude; at least we assume it to be about these parallels, for, as we said before, M. Mollien employed no means of ascertaining the latitude of any one point on his journey. It is on the second terrace that the

sources of the Senegal, the Gambia, and the Rio Grande are found: the source of the Niger is on the third; and that the elevation of this is very considerable may be inferred from the Negroes having told M. Mollien that 'the highest of these mountains was constantly covered with a *white hat*.'

These mountains are situated at so short a distance from the sea coast about the Rio Nunez, and so close behind Timbo, to which Watt and Winterbottom proceeded without difficulty, that we hope some of our colonists of Sierra Leone will be found to possess sufficient zeal and activity to proceed to the source of the Niger with a barometer, and ascertain its elevation above the sea: this would be a great point gained. In the mean time, we are fully satisfied that, whatever the fall may be between the source and Bammakoo, where the stream becomes navigable, the elevation of the latter place exceeds 4000 feet, which we have already proved to be more than sufficient to carry its waters through Egypt into the Mediterranean.

The information obtained by M. Mollien on this particular point may be added as a mite to the general testimony. He learned from a Marabout, or black priest, who had performed a pilgrimage to Mecca and crossed Africa, that, 'on this side (N. W.) of the river and beyond Timbuctoo, there are countries entirely peopled by Pouls; that the Dijaliba (Joliba) discharges itself into the Nile, and that its waters, after mingling with those of the river of Egypt, pursue their course to the sea.' From two Pouls, who agreed in their accounts of the course of the Niger, he also learned that 'this great river takes its rise between Kouranko and Soliman; that in the season when the water is low they could not descend further than Marabout, where a ridge of rocks obstructs the navigation;' and they added 'that, after passing through Sego, it forms, at a vast distance from that city, an immense lake communicating with the Nile, which they called the great river of Egypt.'

When we add to all this the information obtained by M. Dupuis* at Cape Coast Castle, and when we see that, in every part of Africa, there is but one opinion among the Arabs on this subject, we know not how to refuse subscribing to the *probability* as well as the *possibility* of the identity of the Nile of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt.

* This gentleman, after being shut up for nearly twelve months in Cape Coast Castle, has at length proceeded to Ashantee, to endeavour to repair the mischief occasioned by the thoughtless conduct of Mr. Bowdich and his young companions, and by his famous treaty which was 'to last for ever.'

ART. XII.—1. *Curiosities of Literature.* By J. D'Israeli, Esq.
Vol. III. 8vo. London. 1817.

2. *Almanach des Gourmands.* Tom. I.—V. 12mo. Paris.

WHEN the good Grandgousier arrived at Paris for the purpose of completing his son's education, he contented himself with making two inquiries; first, what learned men there were in the place, and secondly, what kind of wine the inhabitants most commonly drank. Grandgousier was, as all the world knows, somewhat addicted to the pleasures of the table. Great latitude, therefore, must be given to the second inquiry. Like those corollaries in mathematics, which sometimes swallow up in interest the main proposition that engenders them, wine seems in this case to have been substituted, by a metonymy, for the more important portion which precedes it. The inquiries, therefore, properly stated, referred first to the scholars who existed, and secondly, to the dinners which were given, in that celebrated metropolis and university; and, with submission to female readers, it may be thought that two inquiries, more confirming that reputation for wisdom which belonged to this most worthy prince, could not well have been instituted.

Some remarks recently thrown out in this Journal, have had the effect, we understand, of recovering many respectable scholars from an erroneous opinion, (countenanced, it is true, by the early Greek fables, and apparently confirmed by the sparing mention made of the female sex by the Greek writers,) that, the Athenians really sprang from the ground ready-made (*αυτοχθονες*); their earliest food being, of course, whatever succulent herbs might happen to be at the breast of Mother Earth at the time. Having rescued them from such an anomaly in nature, we shall next endeavour to shew, that though leguminous herbs did form a very prominent article of subsistence among the poorer Athenians, there is no reason to believe that any deficiency existed among the richer citizens of more solid articles. It is not intended to enter into vulgar details of mutton, beef and veal; but we have an interest in remarking, that the pig formed an inexhaustible mine in the hands of an Attic cook, and that the sausages of the Grecian Athens, whether formed from the flesh of this animal, or from that of peacocks, pheasants and rabbits, obtained a celebrity,* un-
enjoyed

* Arist. in *Acharn.* v. 145-7. This article of food has not wanted modern as well as ancient eulogists. Agnolo Firenzola, distinguished among the learned for his elegant translation of Apuleius, owes all his reputation with gourmands to his song in honour of the Sausage. This song, printed in 1545, was accompanied by a whole volume of comments, written by a learned academician of Florence, named Grappa. To create further respect for that degraded and persecuted animal, the pig, we may be allowed to

enjoyed even by those of the English Athens, as Dryden, apostate as he was, has chosen to call Oxford.

An action taking place with individuals of every nation, three hundred and sixty-five times in the year, possesses intrinsically an importance more than sufficient to excuse a short investigation into the materials chiefly connected with it. We shall, therefore, make no apology for taking our station for some time in the kitchens and dining-rooms of the most polished people of antiquity. We shall begin with the lower regions.

O prole alta di nutni,
Non vergognate di donar voi anco
Pochi momenti al cibo!—*Parini.*

What a Greek kitchen *was*, the great architect of antiquity, if we recollect rightly, has left us no information. What it *ought* to have been, we could describe from sources,* whose authority upon such subjects admits, we believe, of no appeal. But with more facts before us than we can well crowd into our limits, it would be unpardonable to make digressions where fancy would have more play than truth. We shall only suppose, therefore, a Greek kitchen to have been large enough to contain a baker, a cook, a fishmonger, a dealer in perfumery, and a female weaver of garlands; an assemblage of persons, we have reason to believe, not unfrequently found there.

Persons, who have travelled much on the continent, assure us that our neighbours have the art of throwing much more variety and gratification of the palate into that article of subsistence which has been emphatically called the staff of life, than we possess. The French, and still more the German bread, it is said, is often delicious, forming of itself an agreeable article of food, and not serving, like our own, as a mere companion to pair off with so many mouthfuls of meat. But the Athenians, we suspect, surpassed our neighbours, still more than they do us, in the variety and excellence of their farinaceous compositions. Archestratus, a decisive authority upon these matters, and the earliest we can find, made the gods trade with Lesbos for their barley meal: for wheaten bread, at least of one kind, (the *απροι αγοραισι*,) he allowed, that mere mortals could not go to a better market than the Athenian. Those who read the Greek authors will not perhaps be displeased with us for recalling to their thoughts some of the terms, which parti-

remark, that the mysteries of Ceres connected him with the religion of Greece (vid. Aristoph. in *Pace*, 374.) as much as that midnight, or rather morning, supper, known in the French Catholic church by the name of Réveillon, associates him with one of the most sacred festivals of Christianity.

* *Almanach des Gourmands*, t. v. p. 27. A slight notice on the subject of culinary architecture may be found in a fragment of Sospater, the comic poet.

cularize

cularize a portion of the farinaceous substances in use among the Athenians, and the manner of preparing them. Besides the usual divisions of wheaten and barley bread, the Athenians appear to have made use of millet, (*μελινη*), of *zea*, (the *triticum spelta* of Linnæus and the *far* of the Romans,) and of a corn called *tiphè*, in the composition of bread. The species of grain denominated *olyra*, with which Homer feeds his heroes' horses, formed, in later ages, a sort of brown bread. Rice (*ορυζα*) and an Ethiopic grain resembling the seed of the plant sesame, whose fruit still furnishes a valuable oil in the East, supplied a species, called *Orindes*. But the chief attention was confined to the wheaten and the barley bread, (*αυτος, μαζα*). Into the details of each of these the copious language of the Greeks entered very minutely. The meal of the latter (*αλφιτον**) was accurately distinguished from the meal of the former, (*αλευρον*), and the act of kneading them into dough had also their separate terms, (*πεττειν, μασσειν*). Meal unboulted bore the name of *Syncomistos*; boulted to an extreme degree, it was termed *Semidalis*: a third name was imparted from the boulting cloth (*κρηστρα*), which, according to Photius, was often made of wool, and bore the same name as the fine net with which the Athenian anchovy was caught. If leaven was used, the bread received the appellation of *Zymites*; if not, that of *Azymos*. The operation of baking, as performed by the oven, the hearth, by live coals without flame, by ashes heaped up round the dough, or by placing the dough on a roaster, introduced a fresh change of names. *Ιπνιτης, εσχαριτης, απανδρακis, εγκρυφιας* were terms appropriated to these several operations. But the favourite mode of baking was that performed by the *cribanus*, or *clibanus*, an earthen or iron pot broader below than above. The dough shut up in this vessel, and surrounded with coal, or placed over a fire, was thought to warm more equally; and the bread thereby acquired a more delicious flavour.

We pass over the *Chondrites*, the 'cheek-filling' *Tabyrites*, the *Dramis*, the *Etnitas*, the *Ericitas*, the *Cyllastis*, and a multitude of other breads, both wheaten and barley,† to come to a few of the former, possessing something peculiar in their preparation or appropriations. The bread made of the first corn after the harvest was called *Thargelus*. The *Homoros* was a bread on which goddesses supped; as the *Hemiartium*, or half-circle, appeased the coarser appetite of *Hecate*. The bread given to children was, ac-

* From the barley meal was formed the powder with which the *Canephora* (the virgins elected to the proud honour of carrying the holy basket at the festivals of *Ceres*, *Bacchus* and *Minerva*) powdered themselves.

† From a passage in Plato's *Republic* (Lib. ii. 427. D.) it appears that wheaten bread was served up at table on a layer of leaves, barley bread on one of reeds.

cording to the scholiast on Aristophanes, called Collyra. The poor, who wished to fill the stomach expeditiously, we conclude, bought the bread called Panias. The bread made of new spring-wheat, and which in figure resembled the pegs or pins by which harpstrings were tightened, was called Collabus.* A large bread prepared for the ladies of Delos, when celebrating the feast of Ceres and Proserpine, took the name of Achainas: its size gave a name to the festival; and from an exclamation put into the mouths of those who carried it, it appears to have been of a very greasy composition. The Cyprian bread was chiefly dangerous to hungry horsemen travelling in a hurry; for having the effect of a magnet, it necessarily impeded expedition. The Encryphias, placed at Alexandria in the temple of Chronus for any person to eat that pleased, ranked, as we have seen, among the Athenians, with the bread baked on live coals. The Obelias, deriving its name from its price, or the manner in which it was baked, was a bread carried on men's shoulders in sacred processions, and was invented by Bacchus on his military expeditions. From a caution of Pherecrates against its purchase, the god was probably hard put to for food, when the idea first entered his head. The Stætites had a mixture of fat in it; the Meconis a strong tincture of a favourite edible among the ancients, the poppy; the Encris was composed of farina, oil and honey; the Dipyrus (synonymous with the modern *Biscuit*) of water and farina, boiled in broth, with an addition of pepper, cinnamon, and saffron: cheese, that universal ingredient in Greek cookery—much to the discomfiture of Archestratus—also entered into its composition. But the two favourite breads were the Escharites of the Rhodians, and the Cribanites. The latter was said to surpass all the rest, as being juicy, agreeable to the stomach, and easy of digestion; but gourmands must have been inexcusable in not preferring the former: for, surpassing even the *αρτοι αγοραιοι* of the Athenians, it is said to have been so delicious as to cause appetite† by eating. A Lydian, a Phœnician, and in later ages, when the excellencies of the art had been thoroughly discriminated, a Cappadocian baker was recommended. Thearion, one of the profession, could command honourable mention even from such a man as Plato;

* The Athenians, very attentive to times and seasons in their food, considered a hot Collabus, eaten with a piece of the under-belly of an autumnal pig, as an excellent antidote against repletion with anchovies.

† If the reader have ever eaten *Gaufres* in the neighbourhood of Brussels, he may have some idea of the Escharites; as in the opinion of the French commentators they closely resemble each other. Lynceus of Samos, who sets it up as a rival against the *αρτος αγοραιος* of Athens, uses a very strong expression in order to recommend its merits: *απειραστον δε και πεπληρωμενον, ηδιστην επεισχυσι "διατριβην," τον διαχρησιν εσχαριτην καλυμμεν.*

his exhibitions at the Panathenaic festival, where contending artisans displayed the prodigies of their crafts, and fought for victory as well as poets, had a cleverness in them that appeared almost miraculous to the astonished spectators: even 'the well-born,' according to Antiphanes, found it difficult to drag themselves from baking-shops, conducted on the principles of the admirable Thearion.

The mysteries of pastry, confectionary, and sweetmeats (*περμματα, πλακωντες, τραγηματα*) may be dismissed with a slight notice. The great father of criticism has not thought it below his dignity to record* that the latter were much in request at the theatres; but he also takes care to add that these little sensualities of the palate were always kept by the audience in due subordination to their mental pleasures. When the interest on the stage flagged, the demand for sweetmeats rose high; at the representation of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, if the actors kept pace with the poet, we will venture to say that there was not a single cheesecake or bonbon disposed of. The makers of these more delicate provocatives of the palate claimed the title of demiurgists, or artists *par excellence*: the task was generally entrusted to female hands. Great houses, it may be presumed, maintained a woman *ad hoc*, there being but two things in which mere mediocrity is allowed by all to be infamous—the productions of the Muse and those of the *Petit-Four*. Guests wiped their hands on pieces of soft bread, called *apomygdaliæ*: Aristophanes feeds his sausage-seller upon morsels of this kind, and the rogue, in spite of his dramatic pleasantry, deserved no better food. The *apomygdaliæ* were generally thrown to dogs.

The Greek cook is too important a person to be considered lightly; and with the copious materials upon our hands, we fear this is the only mode in which we can at present treat him. Some amusing notices on the subject may be found in Cumberland's *Observer*, and others in the volume placed at the head of these remarks. There are few subjects indeed, on which the multifarious reading of Mr. D'Israeli does not enable him to say something of interest or amusement; and the zeal with which he has rescued the Grecian cookery from the erroneous pleasantries in Smollett's admirable banquet, deserves particular commendation. A few additional remarks may still be admitted, and the subject yet remain unexhausted.

In their earlier and more important tragedies, (for the practice altered about the time of Aristotle,) the Greek poets generally confined themselves to a few leading historical or mythical events for

* Arist. in *Ethicis*, lib. x. c. 5.

the subject and characters of their dramas; the quickness of their audience requiring only a certain stock of material to set the mental faculties at work, and a glowing imagination soon supplying the rest. The writers of the middle and the new comedy followed in the same track as the tragedians; and the house of Atreus or of Laius was scarcely more sure of affording matter for the tragic muse, than the cook was of figuring in the composition of the two later schools of Grecian comedy. As the Athenians, from their levelling disposition and their love of scandal, reserved a dash of the disdainful, even for those who most commanded their respect, the lords of the kitchen, grateful as they must have been upon the whole to persons of such discerning appetites, did not command unqualified approbation. They were reproached as being particularly addicted to scoffing; as *recherchés* in their language, as indulging in new terms, as curiously minute in points of history, and as resembling in their ambiguity of speech more a Sphinx than a man. The cook vindicated his art from these trifling aspersions. He discriminated nicely between the *coquus* and the mere *obsonifex*: leaving the latter to arrange the *matériel*, to cut and slay, to blow the fire, and occasionally to mix the ingredients of a sauce, he reserved to himself the higher branches of the profession,—the knowledge of time and place—the nice discrimination between host and guest—the seasons for purchasing and the articles to be purchased. The critical moment which the fortunate invention of time-pieces enables the modern professor to observe so accurately, was no doubt a branch of the art on which he particularly prided himself; and if he could not always command success in this point, allowances must be made for the inefficient discoveries of the day. To execute all this with precision and propriety, among a people like the Athenians,—*appétits de la première classe*,—required certain gifts of nature which it would be taxing the powers of our language to endeavour to describe. An acute palate—a tongue with large capabilities—an ear quick and ready, and a penetrating coup-d'œil were among the first and most essential requisites. But the cook who aspired to the higher honours of his profession did not leave all to nature. He made great inroads into various branches of science, and among other acquirements thought necessary to enhance these rich gifts of nature, he numbered painting, astronomy, architecture, strategics, geometry and medicine. But his favourite pursuit, as we have before hinted, was philosophy. What particular branch he patronised, the dramatists, who state the fact, have neglected to specify; we shall take upon ourselves to supply the deficiency.

He belonged, then, exclusively to the Ionian school; maintaining sometimes with Thales, that water is the first principle of things,

things, and sometimes arguing with Hippasus and Heraclitus, that things differ from each other solely in proportion to their participation of caloric. If the 'atomic system' ever commanded his attention, its faultiness became most palpable to him when he saw one of his best dishes in the hands of a bad carver. The opinion of Aristotle then came home to him, that the error of Democritus arose from thinking that, because a body might be divided *any where*, it might therefore be divided *every where*. He admitted of accedents or adjuncts* (*συμβεβηκота*) in cookery and philosophy; and, directing ourselves to modern ideas, he explained the term to mean, that oysters ought always to be washed down with 'vin de Chablis,' and that a young rabbit is worth nothing, unless eaten '*en terrine et à l'eau-de-vie*.' As a disciple of the Ionian school, he was naturally opposed to the Italian philosophy, to Plato, and to Pythagoras: He laughed, therefore, at 'general ideas' and 'immutable essences'; he troubled himself little about 'numbers,' but as they applied to the proportion of guests for whom he had to provide; and in the formation of an 'omelet soufflé,' he cared little to know whether there was in his mind a form internal of the said omelet, corresponding to the form external, to which external it served as an exemplar or pattern: all this he considered with Aristotle as 'empty sound and poetical metaphor.' In treating of his art, he was happy enough to borrow the animated language of the Stagirite when describing the theologic or first philosophy; like him he spoke of a science so much above the reach of humanity, that if the gods were capable of envy, it ought to draw down the divine displeasure on the cultivators of it. But he viewed with jealousy the Aristotelian doctrine, that the mind is after a sort all things; and he was in short nothing more nor less than a gross materialist. Though the operations of his furnace and his bellows led him occasionally to coincide with the correcter metaphysicians in 'applying to the thinking principle some appellation synonymous with *spiritus* or *πνευμα*, or in likening it to a *spark of fire*, or some other of the most impalpable and mysterious modifications of matter,' yet we take upon ourselves to say that thoughts of this kind were, with him, 'angel-visits, few and far between.' The opinions, belonging two thousand years ago to the philosophical cooks of antiquity, were those since advocated by Diderot, Condorcet and Darwin, that sensation is the only source of all our ideas—that ideas are material things—

* Aristot. in *Topicis*, lib. i. c. 8. The nature of the Greek language did not permit the ancient cook to make the same signal mistake as modern philosophers have done by terming the word accedents. The cook lost thereby two things equally acceptable to his countrymen, a pun and an excuse; but he gained considerably in propriety of language as well as in common sense. See Dr. Gillies's excellent *Analysis of Aristotle's Works*.

and that no idea can be annexed to the word mind, but that of matter in the most subtle and attenuated form which imagination can lend to it. Taking these opinions for his general guides, and for his more particular one the opinion maintained by Condillac, that all the faculties and operations of the mind are only sensations transformed, the Greek cook proceeded, as we learn from the dramatists, who have attended much more to his practical than his theoretical philosophy, to adapt edibles to the passions, the ages and the pursuits of his guests: under him dishes frequently became a masked satire, and the arrangement of the table formed a concealed lecture of pathology. The lover, the tax-gatherer and the common philosopher were easily apprised of their respective defects; but the consummation of his art must have consisted in hitting, through an appropriate dish, the philosopher, who advocated the doctrine of infinitesimal or evanescent entities, in opposition to what is commonly understood by the word matter. When people could thus *eat* their way to self-knowledge, the modern novel became wholly unnecessary: accordingly nothing of the kind is to be found in the writings of antiquity. We could add much more; but, happy that writer who allows his reader to rise with a satisfied air, and to say to himself—‘But he has not made the most of his subject.’ We suggest then, finally, that the Athenian cook forestalled the Stoics in their notable opinion, *that the Cardinal Virtues are animals*, and that his ‘Philosophy of Life’ far surpassed that of Sir Charles Morgan.

Knowledge being in all cases the slow accumulation of succeeding ages, the gastronomic science had not sprung into maturity more speedily than others. It became him, therefore, who aspired—‘*approfondir le grand art de la gueule*’—to imbue his mind with the volumes containing its mysteries.

Good, good, Sibynna!

Our’s is no art for sluggards to acquire,
Nor should the hour of deepest midnight see
Us and our volumes parted:—still our lamp
Upon its oil is feeding, and the page
Of ancient lore before us:—What, what hath
The Sicyonian deduced?—What school-points
Have we from him of Chios? sagest Actides
And Zopyrinus, what are their traditions?—
Thus grapple we with mighty tomes of wisdom,
Sifting and weighing and digesting all.

But while the aspiring cook diligently attended to the practices and records of former ages, dry study was not allowed to cramp his genius and powers of invention. ‘Nullius in verba jurare’ was a maxim as predominant in the culinary art as in philosophy. The ipse

ipse dixit of Arcestratus himself did not pass unquestioned—for cookery had no bounds, and ‘thus far’ was scouted as language utterly unsuited to the infinity of the art.

The cook has been considered hitherto in his secular capacity; but in fact, his profession was twofold; and the parish-clerk of facetious memory had not more right to mix himself up with the religion of his country, than the person, of whom we are now treating, to take his place among the priesthood of Athens. All the mechanical parts of the sacrificial rites were entrusted to him; and that this was no unimportant function may be evinced from the earnest language in which Olympias writes to her son, Alexander, then engaged in his grand Asiatic enterprize, upon the subject of a person of this description whom she had sent to him at his own request. As the epistle possesses a right royal brevity, we insert a version of it, without troubling ourselves much about the difficulties of the commentators. ‘You will please to accept at my hands of a cook; his name Pelignas. He is well versed in all the modes of sacrifice usual in your own country; he is also acquainted with those practised in the Mysteries, and the festivals of Bacchus, and with such as take place before the commencement of the Olympic games. You will, therefore, pay him every attention, and be cautious of any neglect. Let me hear from you at your earliest leisure.’

That fit and able persons might never be wanting in this branch of the profession, there appears to have been a particular tribe at Athens, enrolled into a sort of collegiate body, for the sake of preserving the knowledge of these important functions. And here indeed lay the strong hold of the cook, when he wished to ward off the blows of the comic writer. Not content to remind the scoffer that not merely the sacred heralds, but even the princes and kings of Homer had formerly assisted in this pious office, he proceeded to explain to him, that cannibalism was put an end to by the profession which he presumed to jeer; and that it was a heaven-born cook, who by the lucky suggestion that an animal roasted with fire might be as palatable as the flesh of a fellow-creature, first led to a change in the prime article of human food. The common rites of his country were referred to for a proof of this; it being clear to the cook, that the use of salt in ordinary life and the abstinence from it in the entrails offered to the gods, were traditional practices, referable to this important revolution in human tastes. The progress of the art was then gradually traced to the scoffer from the primeval dish of tripe to the introduction of those masked* dainties, in which the
Greeks

* The nicer taste of modern time has very justly exploded the ‘Entrées Masquées.’
To

Greeks so much excelled; and he was made finally to acquiesce, that from these inventions proceeded the assembling of men into collective bodies, the erection of towns and the whole progress of civilized life.

We scarcely know how to excuse ourselves for entering into these ridiculous details; but they describe national manners, and if the polished Athenians could be amused by the hour with listening to such language, we may, perhaps, be excused in claiming for it a momentary smile. Having once got a *dramatis persona* of this cast into his hand, the comic poet served him up far more continually to his audience than any dish presented by the cook himself to his guests; and from the Athenian love of feasting, a poetical Lubberland gradually erected itself, of the delights of which the common Athenians appear to have become insatiable hearers. In this ideal kingdom, nature was literally one great feast, and the very elements acted but as humble appendices to the kitchen. Rain fell in potherbs, snow descended in the form of cheese-cakes, and the ground, in place of dew, covered itself with a sort of *petit pain*. In that blessed age, the characteristic of men was, that they were all fat, and that in stature they were giants.

Having discussed more largely than we intended the merits of the Greek cook, we feel little disposition to enter into a minute investigation of his sauces (*ηδυσματα*).^{*} One, however, must not be left unmentioned. The hypotrimma was a favourite Athenian sauce. What its exact ingredients were the commentators dispute, as they do about most other articles of antiquity; but that some of a very sharp and pungent quality, such as cummin, mustard, horse-radish, &c. entered into it, there can be no doubt. The great comic poet has accordingly made a very happy use of it. When the leader of his Female Radicals has properly tutored† her

trusty

To serve up a fowl in the shape of a cutlet, and to metamorphose rabbits into lobsters, is now properly left to the small cooks, who mistake industry for intellect and patience for genius. Such practices are considered to disgrace a superior artist as much as puns and plays of word derogate from the character of a man of real wit.

^{*} The Parisian sauces, if we remember rightly, exceed four-score: from a passage in Aristotle, (in *Ethicis*, lib. ix. c. 10.) we are led to infer that the number of Athenian sauces fell far short of this; or, at all events, that the Athenians were more sparing in the consumption of them. The great comic poet, who has noticed more important changes in Athenian society, has also condescended to record a revolution which took place in its sauces.—Arist. in *Avibus*, 532.

† Not to betray their sex by their language or gestures is of course among the most prominent of her instructions. Hence the leader of the female chorus, in the following extract, addresses part of her troop by masculine names, as Draces, &c.

Leader of the 1st Semi-Chorus.

'Tis the time for debate and high councils of state, | honour'd gentlemen hasten along,
(Ladies fair, I should say, but that term for a day | must wholly be banish'd the tongue.)

For

trusty band, who, in the habits of their husbands, are to take early possession of the Parliament-House, and vote themselves into the administration, a chorus of these patriots agree among themselves, as they march at break of day to their place of destination, that it was highly necessary to cast their faces into that verjuiced visage which the eating of the hypotrimma produced, and upon which the countenances of a General Assembly at Athens, it seems, were not unfrequently modelled.

The Athenian fishmonger brings us upon a ground less trodden by translators, and it is sweet, as the poet says, to gather flowers, where no hand has forestalled us. In a modern establishment, the cook frequently divides the palm with the maître-d'hôtel; in Athens, his formidable rival was the fishmonger. He too, like the cook, had his ideal age; but we cannot retrace our steps to tell of trees on mountain-tops, whose leaves were delicate sleeve-fish; of the river Sybaris, whose waves ran roasted skate; nor of little tributary streams which brought in detached colonies of phagri, cockle-fish and lobsters.—The taste for fish of every kind, salt, fresh, shell'd or otherwise, was, among the Athenians, universal, vehement, it might almost be said, exclusive. It was a passion and not an appetite. When the poet of the sock concentrated the whole energies of his malevolence against a brother of the buskin, it evaporated in—what?—a wish that there might be Cōpaic eels in the market, and that the obnoxious bard's arrival might be retarded, till previous purchases excluded him from be-

For danger not small might ensue to us all, | with shame and derision to boot,
Should this deed of high mark, which we've plann'd in the dark | furnish matter for
whisper or bruit.

Leader of the 2d Semi-Chorus.

I open my throat, sirs, to second this vote; | time it is that in Council we met,
For still I retain close imprint in my brain | the Thesmothets'^a mandate and threat.
' Who comes not with feet, which the dust have well beat, | 'ere the first rays of morn-
ing 'gin glimm—a,
With a mien shewing mickle contentment with pickle | and face looking sharp hypo-
trimma,
Notice here I proclaim, and admonish the same, | that he who comes later than this,
In his stipend and pay shall compound for delay, | and his fee of three oboli miss.
Further proof need I shew, worthy Draces & Co. | ¶to your wisdoms 'twere insult I
deem,)
How much it betides, that we spur up our sides, | if we wish for success in our scheme.
Nor, neighbours, forget, that in council we sit | side by side;—'twill add strength to our
party:
Then let every she by her vote let us see, | in the cause she is honest and hearty.
Out upon it—I've err'd—there has slipp'd me a word | with a guilty and dangerous
initial;
That s well I know, overheard by a foe, | to our cause would prove most prejudicial.

^a Of the nine Archons or rulers in Athens, six were called Thesmothets. Among their other duties, one was to take the suffrages in public assemblies. These assemblies met very early in the morning.

coming

coming a buyer !* The term implying fish (οἰον) was in the Greek language a synonym for every species of food, and more particularly for that which gave a relish to bread; and the grammarians hung delighted over a word, which, besides this comprehensiveness of signification, recalled also ideas of the two leading oppositions of the culinary art—roasting and boiling. This knowledge of the gratification to be derived from the finny tribe seems to have grown up with the progress of civilization. Homer, who doubtless speaks the opinions of his own age, allows his heroes in the *Iliad*, to catch fish; but they never feast upon their capture: and in the *Odyssey*, (lib. iv.) Menelaus and his companions are evidently hard pressed, before they have recourse to their fishing hooks.

Time, the great teacher of all things, gradually placed a juster estimate on this edible; and the sons of Chærephilus, introduced to the privileges of Athenian citizenship and knighthood on account of the excellent salt-fish sold by their father, furnished the comic poets with many a jibe. We should far exceed our limits, if we mentioned one half of the fish, both salted and fresh, in estimation among the Greeks. The former divided themselves into the fat and the lean; the tunny-fish supplying a great part of both. This estimable fish, bearing, in the different stages of its life, more names among the Greeks than the stag among ourselves, had its appropriate honours: Neptune claimed the first caught in the season, and a festival celebrated the felicitous event. The salt-fish, which, under the name of Elephantinum, has so much puzzled the commentators, owed its celebrity to a play, now lost, of Crates. Among other salt-fish, in various degrees of favour among the common Athenians, may be mentioned the Scombri, which the most correct taste decided ought to be eaten just three days after putting into brine;† the Coracini, of which the best came from the *Lacus Mæotis*, and which then assumed the name of Saperdæ; the mugiles‡ supplied from Abdera and Sinope; the enormous§

* Arist. in *Pace*, 1010. See also *Diog. Laert.* lib. ii. § 119. *Walpole's Turkey*, p. 305.

† This is *Coray* and *Villebrun's* interpretation of the original.

‡ Aristotle, who so often relieves the dryness of natural history by his incidental remarks, has recorded a trait of the mugiles, (μύγυς,) calculated to give a high idea of the amiability of fish in general. The mugiles, it appears, never made free with other fish, even in their hungriest mood; and the finny tribe, in grateful return, left the young of the mugiles entirely unmolested. We wish his testimony to the fish, called sepia, had been equally honourable to both parties. He records, upon hearsay, for Aristotle was not a man to commit himself, that when a female sepia was hooked, the males came to her help and rescued her: when the females saw a male in the same difficulty, they made off (jilts as they were!) as fast as possible.

§ The Antyllus of Philetærus records one so prodigious, that twelve guests could not eat it in three days. But this must have been a mere sprat compared with that which Ephippus, the comic poet, sets Geryon down to. When the great American sea-snake is caught, the apparatus used by Geryon may be very safely recommended for dressing it. *Athen. l. viii. p. 346.*

Tiltus, and that species of fish, of which the bigger sort were called Platistaci, the middle-sized Mylli, and the small Agnotidia. Of all salted fish, the cheapest, perhaps, was the omotarichos. In a very amusing fragment of Alexis, where a person, with his table and reckoning stones before him, settles the various prices of fish, the omotarichos is rated at $\frac{5}{8}$ of an obol: sea-muscles fetch $\frac{7}{8}$ of the same coin, and the echinus, or sea-porcupine, an entire obol. These fish, potted down, formed the common food of the Greek soldiers and sailors. Epicures pronounced them to be best when boiled in sea-water; and the hotter they were brought to table, the more agreeable they were declared to be.

To dispatch what is set before him in its hottest state—to attend to the little decencies of mastication—to eat much—and to eat long, have been laid down as four fundamental rules to be observed by every person who is placed at a modern table. These maxims proceed from deep professors in the gastronomic science, (grands hommes de bouche,) they may therefore be presumed to be correct. The Athenians, no mean proficient in the last three points, eminently excelled in the first. To gain an advantage over the other guests by eating the hotter viands, epicures did not scruple to practise keeping their hands in hot water, and gargling their mouths with the same. A bribe, properly conveyed to the cook, introduced the dinner as hot as possible, and gave the adept all the benefit of his previous exercise. The most eminent person of this class appears to have been one Pithyllus. This gourmand (we are glad that we can find no English term for the beast) guarded his hands against the extreme heat of his food by finger-stalls, and encrusted his tongue with an armour, which we are happy to see, has puzzled more learned persons* than ourselves thoroughly to understand.

This digression must not debar us from continuing our catalogue of fish, and indeed to let the reader off too cheaply would be in ill keeping with our subject. The ancient dinners were no sinecures, either in a bodily or an intellectual view. To touch a lute, to bear a part in a catch or scolium, to enliven the board, or repay hospitality by a fable† or a tale similar to those found in the old Fabliaux, were among the lighter contributions to a Grecian feast; the guests were often called upon for a more important task; and had the convivial discourses of Aristotle, Speusippus, Dion and others come down to us, we should perhaps have found

* Schweigh. *Athen.* t. i. p. 74.

† The fables or tales most in request were the Sybaritish and the Æsopic; the latter are continually alluded to by Aristophanes. A scholiast on this poet observes the following distinction between these fables; the former, he says, related to animals, and the latter to the actions of men.

that the Greeks, like the Romans, brought their common-place books when they distrusted their memories, and mercilessly showered down their contents on the unfortunate auditors.—Another list then of fish brings us among the *Alphestæ*, which were always caught in pairs, one seeming to follow at the tail of the other; the *Amia*, so delicious in itself, that in autumn, if dressed after the setting of the *Pleiades*, it defied all the arts of bad cookery to spoil it; the *Scarus*, the only fish, according to *Seleucus*, that never slept at night; the *Anthias*, particularly agreeable in winter, as the *Chromius* was in spring; the *Ellops*,* by some writers supposed to be the same as the *Anthias*; the *Batis*† (maid or skate) which, in concert with hares, and women whose gait or feet have puzzled translators,‡ formed the great attraction, according to *Eupolis*, of *Callias's* table; the *Gnapheus* or *Fuller*;—in the water, which boiled one, says *Dorion*, I washed out every one of my stains;—the *Salpa*, who never could resist a hook baited with gourds; the sacred fish *Pompilus*, to which so many romantic Greek stories are attached, and which was said to have sprung with *Venus* from the blood of the sky; and the *Aphyæ* (anchovies), for the dressing of which *Archestratus* has given a very full receipt. The fish called at *Rhodes* the fox, and at *Syracuse* the dog, is opposed by *Lynceus* to any of the Athenian fish, ‘even though surpassing *Cecrops* himself in reputation’. *Archestratus* recommends epicures to steal it at the hazard of life, if they cannot purchase it; and all accidents of fate were to be considered as immaterial, according to this great gastrologist, when a man had once eaten of this inestimable dainty. The *Aper* he declares to be too divine for the eyes of any but rich bankers and money-reckoners to look upon; and he recommends travellers to purchase it even at its weight in gold, under pain of incurring the divine displeasure, for—it is the ‘flower of nectar.’

Eels, the only instance perhaps in Athens of modest merit brought from the shade of retirement, supplied an admirable repast for the table, and no small one for the theatre; some of the happiest strokes of the comic poets being derived from its natural habits. It has already appeared incidentally, that the *Copaic* eel ranked first. The *Boeotians*, with whom this eel formed

* Jupiter is represented by *Epicharmus* as ordering a fish of this kind, just caught, to be immediately dressed for himself, politely abandoning the rest of the dinner to his imperial consort.

† In favour of the *Batis*, provided it was eaten at midwinter, *Archestratus* bates of his general indignation against cheese, as an ingredient in cookery.

‡ See *Schneider's Wörterbuch* in voce *επιποδες*, and *Barthez's Nouvelle Mécanique des Mouvements de l'Homme et des Animaux*, p. 68. *Dalecampius* in his Latin translation of *Athenæus*, renders the word *tolutim incedentes*; *Villebrune* in French, *des femmes qui font voltiger leurs pieds*.

a valuable article of trade, crowned the larger sort with a garland like victims, and then offered them to the gods. The eel ranked among fish, according to good eaters, as Helen among women in the opinion of amatory poets : Arcestratus sang its praises accordingly : ‘ I commend (says he) eels of every kind, but happiest among men is he, who lives near Messina, for there the best are found.’ The Egyptians, the bold Antiphanes tells us, rank the eel in equal honour with the gods ; but in fact, it is in much higher estimation than the gods. Offer a few prayers to the heavenly powers, continues the poet, and you gain all your desires ; but such is the value set upon eels, that you may pay ten good drachmæ and hardly get a small one after all ! How far this opinion was correct, and what the gods themselves thought of it, is not for us at this distant period to declare.

We could enlarge this catalogue : but enough perhaps has been said to give our readers a full impression of the value attached by the Athenians to an article of subsistence, which, among a large portion of ourselves, is, by some unaccountable prejudice, still only a sort of occasional luxury. A strong attempt was made some years ago in this Journal,* to combat this prejudice, and to impress upon the nation a more accurate sense of the value of the advantages to be derived from its encircling seas. Whatever impulse was given to the public mind by those remarks for a time, we fear it soon subsided under the increased diligence of the venders, and the natural indolence of the buyers, of the funny tribe. We shall revenge ourselves on the latter by dismissing this part of our subject less hastily than we should otherwise have done ; and before we close, a side-blow may convince the former, however triumphant in their machinations, that they only share the triumph of successful knavery with some former brothers of the craft.

‘ He who goes to cater,’ says Amphis, ‘ and buys herbs, when he has the power to buy good fish, is a madman.’ Fish furnished a drama to Archippus ; and posterity have probably lost much by not knowing the precise terms of the treaty, formally ratified between the Athenians and the natives of the watery element. Arcestratus, the worthy precursor of Epicurus, took long voyages for the purpose of scrutinizing the properties, juices, and savours of separate parts of fish ; epicures will do justice to the patriotic motives in which such an enterprize must have originated, and scholars owe gratitude for the confirmation thus given to the declarations of the dramatists, or the lacunæ filled up. The results of these and of other researches were, that nothing was

preferable to the conger of Sicily; that the best glaucus came from the fisheries of Megara; that the Attic coasts furnished incomparable turbot, mackerel, and soles; and that the Phalerian anchovy, after a momentary immersion in boiling oil, was a food for gods.

His more peculiar discoveries Archestratus registered in a series of hexameter verses; and his comprehensive and indulgent palate seems, from some fragments of this gastronomic treasure, which have come down to us, to have found something in almost every tenant of the waters to commend: 'on one nameless fish he has pronounced a judgment somewhat harsh; but the feelings of the poet and the gourmand were at variance; and a fish whose untractable name could not be brought into the measure of epic verse, had no right to expect much mercy.—A genuine love of fish seems, in Athenian eyes, to have been an excuse even for an aberration from political integrity. When Timocles, the comic poet, brought under the review of his audience the different orators and statesmen, who had partaken of the gold of Harpalus, the greatest allowances were made in favour of the illustrious orator Hyperides. 'The fishmongers,' said the poet, 'will be the gainers by it; for he (Hyperides) is such a devourer of fish, that cormorants are quite abstemious when compared to him.'

Stories of the excess to which this vehement love of fish was carried, abound in Greek authors, and some of them are exceedingly amusing; but we prefer to all the good old story of Philoxenus. A plain version of this will be little agreeable, we fear, to those who have seen its spirit in the terseness of Pope, or the naïveté of Fontaine; but we shall attempt it.

Of all fish-eaters

None sure excell'd the lyric bard * Philoxenus.
 'Twas a prodigious twist! At Syracuse
 Fate threw him on the fish call'd 'Many-feet.'
 He purchas'd it and drest it; and the whole,
 Bate me the head, form'd but a single swallow.
 A crudity ensued—the doctor came,
 And the first glance inform'd him things went wrong.
 And 'Friend,' quoth he, 'if thou hast aught to set
 In order, to it straight;—pass but seven hours,
 And thou and life must take a long farewell.'
 'I've nought to do,' replied the bard: 'all's right'
 And tight about me—nothing's in confusion—
 Thanks to the gods! I leave a stock behind me

* To a namesake of the dithyrambic poet, and a great fish-eater like himself, Aristotle ascribes the desire, of which the credit has generally been given to Quin the actor; that of having the œsophagus longer than a crane's, for the sake of prolonging the pleasure of taste. In *Ethics*, l. iii. c. 10.

Of healthy dithyrambics, fully form'd,
 A credit to their years;—not one among them
 Without a graceful chaplet on his head:—
 'These to the Muses' keeping I bequeath,
 (We long were fellow-nurslings,) and with them
 Be Bacchus and fair Venus in commission.—
 Thus far, Sir, for my testament:—for respite,
 I look not for it, mark, at Charon's hand,
 (Take me, I would be understood to mean
 'Timotheus' Charon,—him in the Niobe :)
 I hear his voice this moment—" Hip! halloo!
 To ship, to ship," he cries: the swarthy Destinies
 (And who must not attend their solemn bidding?)
 Unite their voices.—I were loath, howe'er,
 To troop with less than all my geer about me;—
 Good doctor, be my helper then to what
 Remains of that same blessed Many-feet!

We now quit the epicures upon whom the practical part of the gastronomic science fell, for the traders who supplied the material; and the Athenian fishmonger played too important a part in his own day to be passed over, in our's, with negligence or inattention. Such was the dignity belonging to this craft, and such the insolence, the pride, and the rapacity attending its practice, that conciliation and satire seem to have been alternately necessary to reduce the fishmonger to his proper level in society. The first was applied perhaps sparingly; but it is recorded as a fact, that Lynceus of Samos took the trouble to write a book, laying down rules, and specifying the language necessary to make fishmongers tractable and commonly civil. But we learn their failings most in the severity of comic satire. The 'Impostor' of Amphipolis undertook to pourtray their insolence. Nothing can be drawn in more lively colours, than his contrasted situations of the overbearing vender, and the timid purchaser of fish; the one with his head bent in the humble attitude of a beggarly Telephus, hardly venturing to ask the price of the article he holds in his hand; the other affecting to bestow attention upon any thing but the person before him, scarcely deigning an answer to the interrogations put to him, and with contemptuous brevity, clipping every word in his answer of its due allowance of syllables; giving *lings* for shillings, and *teen* for fourteen. Alexis follows in the same track—"When I see our generals," says that amusing poet, "with contracted brows and supercilious looks, I think their behaviour disgraceful, but I am not surprised at it; but to behold those accursed fishmongers, with their eye-brows on a level with their heads, and scarcely condescending from their bushy eminences to look upon the little creatures below them, death itself is preferable

ferable to such an odious sight.' We learn from the *Purpura* of Xenarchus that insolence was not the only characteristic of the venders of fish. An Athenian statute, it seems, forbade these persons to water their wares, when they had once become dry: to evade this, it was usual for two brothers of the trade to pretend a quarrel: blows ensued; one of the combatants fell down among the articles of their common trade, as if lifeless; water was thrown over him to recover him from his fainting fit, and thus the fish partook of the ablution in spite of the statute book! The Busybody of *Diphilus* introduces us to the knowledge of another trick, practised by these cunning dealers. When a purchaser asked them the price of a fish, he was answered ten obols; but obols were Æginetic or Attic, and the former were much more valuable than the latter. As the fishmonger took care not to specify which he meant; in receiving, he demanded the obols of Ægina, in paying, he gave the Attic; and thus the unfortunate purchaser was cheated both ways.

Persons of this cast would, of course, be great politicians, and take care of the state as well as their own shops. When *Aristophanes* therefore indulges in a laugh at the ridiculous cry so common in Athens, that a tyranny was on foot, and that the democracy was in danger, he takes care to put it into the mouth of the fishmonger, and the herb-woman whose stall supplied the fish-sauce of the day.

A tyranny!—

For so it is: no matter what th' offence—

Be't great or small, the cry is—'tyranny!'

'Conspiracy!'—the word had near grown obsolete:

Full fifty years and we have miss'd the sound of't.

And now it stinks within the very nostrils!

Salt fish is cassia to't:—'tis banded every where.

The very markets fling it in your face.

Does one prefer a sea-bream there to loaches?

Straight cries the vender, whose adjoining stall

Holds loaches only—'Slight! my mind misgives me;

Surely this man is catering'—for what?—

A *tyranny* forsooth! Has any bought him

Anchovies, and needs leeks to dress them with?

(And your green leek is pickle for a king,

A very royal food, I grant ye, Sirs,)

The herb-woman with eyes askew regards him;

'And what!' says she, 'you want a leek, friend, do ye?

Marry come up! you are not for a *tyranny*,

I hope!—what! Athens brings her condiments,

Tribute, belike, for you!—

The reader will perhaps, after all this, think it no exaggeration in
Antiphanes

Antiphanes to apply to the fishmongers one of the most powerful of the Greek mythical tales, and to declare that the sight of a fishmonger had the same effect upon him as the Gorgon's head; and that he became a petrification and not a man, at the very aspect of one of the craft.

The way is now cleared for the consideration of two articles intimately connected with Grecian dinners, and which, from their intrinsic elegance, will repay a little attention,—perfumery and flowers.—We congratulate ourselves upon getting on such decent ground; for some of the Athenian customs are not very cleanly, and a fear has perpetually haunted us, lest in our wish to impress the reader with the strong predilection entertained by that polished people for some of the dishes which we have recorded, we should be led too far, and suffer him to purchase his knowledge too dear.

Of the different perfumes used by the ancients, and the places producing the best of each kind, a sufficient account has been left by* Apollonius Herophilus, or, as some call him, Apollodorus scholar of Herophilus. He adds to his list the wholesome admonition, that the materials and the workmanship constitute the merit of things, and not the mere place producing them: and the truth of this important distinction he proves by numerous examples. Of all perfumes, the most grateful to the Athenian taste was that which had in it the odour of their favourite flower, the violet. That made from the rose, was said to be useful in potations; the lethargic and men of weak stomachs were recommended to use the unguent extracted from the quince. The white violet, besides its fragrantcy, assisted digestion; flowers, leaves and roots, respectively supplied different essences. Every part of the body had its appropriate unguent. To the feet and legs the Greeks applied Ægyptian ointment; the oil extracted from the palm was thought best adapted to the cheeks and the breasts; the arms were refreshed with balsam-mint; sweet-marjoram had the honour of supplying an oil for the eye-brows and hair, as wild thyme had for the knee and neck. The Baccharis, the Brenthium, the Royal, the Psagda, the Plangonium, the Megallium, the Nardinum, the Sagdas, and lastly the Stacte, made wholly of that which entered more or less into the composition of all the ancient ointments, viz. myrrh, had all their separate eulogists. The room, where an entertainment was given, was commonly perfumed by burning myrrh or frankincense in it. A nice distinction divided perfumes into two kinds; the first were of a thicker sort, and applied more as salves or wax (*χρίματα*); the latter were liquid and poured over the limbs

* Vide *Athenæum* in lib. xv.

(*αλειμματα*). To indulge in the liquid ointment was thought to evince a feminine and voluptuous disposition; but the sober and the virtuous, it was allowed, might use the thicker sort without any impeachment of their good qualities. The suppliers of perfumery occupied a very considerable place in the list of artisans, who contributed to the embellishments of a Grecian lady of fashion. The article itself bore a high price, but this did not hinder voluptuaries from using it profusely; not however without an occasional admonition from graver men of the mischief arising from its abuse. The old people referred to a statute of Solon, forbidding the sale of perfumery, by the male sex at least; and the grammarians found in the etymology of its name an argument against the use of a luxury, composed with so much toil and labour. Sophocles significantly described Venus as sprinkled with perfume, and looking in a mirror: and Pallas, the goddess of wisdom, as moist with the *olive oil, and practising the exercises of the palæstra. Socrates objected to the use of perfumery altogether—‘There is the same smell,’ said he, ‘in a gentleman and a slave, when both are perfumed.’ In his opinion, the only odours worth cultivating, were the odours arising from honourable toils, and the ‘smell of gentility.’

The elegant taste of the Athenians led them to make use of flowers upon all occasions. When they invoked the gods, it was with a garland on their heads; when they offered a sacrifice, they wore the same ornament. No one spoke in their public assemblies without first crowning his head with a garland; on the door of every beauty in Athens might be seen suspended the votive chaplets of her lover. ‘From the parsley offered on the tomb,’ (says† one of that class of persons, in whom premature death is a subject of regret to all,) ‘to the rose, which has always been the emblem of purity and love, there was no flower to which some meaning was not affixed, in the imagination of the Greeks.’ But it was more particularly at the banquet and over the wine that the Athenians added the perfume of flowers to their other enjoyments. The head, in which sensation resides, the temples and the breast, as being the seat of the heart, were crowned with them; even the throat had its chaplet, with an appropriate name. Most of the customs among the Greeks being founded upon some romantic story or other; the practice of wearing flowers at feasts had its peculiar tales. Æschylus referred it to a

* A difference of expression marked, whether the olive-oil was used unmixed or with water. In the first it was termed *ξηραλοιφαι*, in the second *χυταλοιφαι*. The former word also applied more particularly to the unction used preparatorily to wrestling: the second to that, subsequent to bathing or fatigue.

† The Hon. F. Douglas.

grateful memento of the chains worn by Prometheus, as a punishment for his endeavours to benefit mankind. Sappho ascribed the custom to a religious feeling: 'for flowers,' said she, 'are agreeable to the gods, who turn with aversion from those whose heads are uncrowned with them.' Philonides gives a less lofty, but perhaps a more true reason of its origin; and as his opinion, by a long introductory narrative, illustrates another practice common in the Greek symposia, it will be of service to mention it. According to this learned physician, the vine was first introduced into Greece from the shores of the Red Sea by Bacchus, and its first consequences were not of the most salutiferous kind. The liquor, extracted from it, was drunk immoderately, and unmixed. Madness and stupor, making men look more like dead than living people, ensued. A fortunate accident corrected all this. As a convivial party were quaffing by the sea-side, a sudden storm came on, which dispersed the symposiasts, who left behind them a goblet, with a large portion of liquor in it. At the conclusion of the storm the guests returned to the old spot, and found there a liquor, tempered with water, which afforded a beverage agreeable to the taste, and without any future unpleasantness. As Jupiter was evidently the author of this mixture, a practice grew up at feasts, of drinking a cup of mixed wine immediately after supper, in honour of JUPITER the PRESERVER; while the pure wine circulated to Bacchus, the GOOD GENIUS. The practice of wearing flowers, according to the worthy physician, was only a palliative before this invention of Jupiter offered a much more effectual cure.

In the pains and headaches arising from the powerful effects of unmixed wine, a compression of the head by the hands was found to convey considerable relief. This gave rise to more permanent ligatures. Ivy, as the most ready at hand, was the first herbaceous plant used for the purpose; the myrtle, the rose, and the laurel soon followed, each having some physical qualities to recommend it, besides its external beauty. By the time of Theophrastus, a much larger assortment had been pressed into the service of the chaplet. The violet, both the black and the white,—the lily, the anemone, the hyacinth,—the helichrysus, deriving its name from the nymph who first gathered it,—the hemerocallis, which dies away at night and revives with the rising sun,—the cosmosandalus, from the wearing of which in their chaplets Clearchus dates the ruin of the Lacedæmonians,—the lychnis, born of the water in which Venus bathed—these were a few among the flowers, the arrangement of which belonged to the tasteful and lucrative employment of the nose-gay-

gay-woman.* Chaplets had also assumed both variety and appropriate names and services. There was the *Choronon*, worn by dancers in the theatrical chorus; the *Calcha*, whose principal flower resembled one, which, according to Nicolaus, borders, all the year through, a lake near the Alps of some miles in circumference; and the *Pothos*, formed principally of the flower scattered on Grecian tombs, and signifying by its name, regret. The *Struthia*, whose beautiful flower was supposed to pine for spring and for the nightingale, formed part of the chaplet worn by bridegrooms. Chaplets of every kind, carried by women, were called *Epithymides*. Besides these, more strictly belonging to the Athenians, may be mentioned the *Corona Elliotis*, made of myrtle, and twenty cubits in circumference. At the Corinthian festival called *Ellotis*, it was carried in solemn procession, and within it were said to be the bones of Europa. The *Corona Thyreatica*, made of palm, served to remind the Spartans of a victory gained at Thyrea. In the public procession, where the youths of Sparta danced naked, to the sound of the martial songs of Thaletes and Alcman; and the sacred pæans of Dionysodotus, this chaplet was worn by the leader of the chorus.

After these details, we cannot venture to look very closely into an Athenian cellar: but wine and a Greek are articles too much in unison not to make a few short allusions indispensable.

When the courtiers of the King of Persia dissuaded him from attacking Greece, they adduced, as the most powerful of their arguments, that it was a country where the inhabitants drank water, and had no figs to eat. This was one of those speeches which republicans delight to represent kings as hearing from their courtiers. Homer knew the practices and the dispositions of the Greeks long before the time of Darius; and he accordingly lavished his powers in describing the wine-cup of Nestor, and the shield of Achilles. We have seen the introduction of the vine into Greece referred to a very early origin in a preceding paragraph, and history justifies us in considering the account as a true one. Amphycyon, one of the first kings of Athens, appears to have had a just presentiment of what would be the consequence of its

* A pretty story told of Pausias, the celebrated painter of Sicyon, may not improperly find a place here. In his youth he became enamoured of a beautiful norgay-girl of the name of Glycera, who had a singularly elegant taste in the arrangement of flowers into chaplets. Pausias, painting after nature and his mistress, became highly distinguished for his skill as a painter of flowers. The last effort of his pencil was a picture of Glycera herself, seated, and in the act of arranging a chaplet: a production, in the creation of which love, genius, and gratitude equally assisted, necessarily became a master-piece: it was called the 'Garland-twiner,' and a copy of it sold for no less a sum than two talents.

introduction among his thirsty subjects. He raised an altar, at Athens, to the Upright Bacchus, and near it another, to the Nymphs.* The fig too was not a very late introduction into Greece: an old mythical tale derived the Greek word expressing it from Sycæus, one of the Titans, for whose food it was declared to have been produced by Mother Earth, when he fled to her bosom for protection from the fury of Jupiter. Ælian, describing the earliest food of different nations, assigns acorns to the Arcadians, pears to the Argives and Tyrrinthians, cresses to the Persians, and figs to the Athenians. Hercules, who no doubt understood the art of putting himself into what we call condition, and the Greeks *εὐεξία*, fed solely upon beef and green figs: the Indian king, therefore, who at a much later period, sent to a brother monarch of Syria for sweet wine, figs, and a sophist, might have had all three† articles, in excellent condition, from Athens. To drink like a Greek, has become a proverb. The gods, it was understood, did not sit long at table; but the Greeks sat long, and drank deep. ‘Long may you live,’ was the congratulatory expression used to a person who drank off a large cup without taking breath; and that there might be no evasion, three public officers, we are assured, were elected in the free town of Athens, whose business it was to attend entertainments, and observe whether every person drank his portion.

The water-drinkers furnished the writers for the stage with some of their happiest attacks. When the Aristophanic Cleon vents his utmost indignation upon the great prototype of the modern

* This, translated into English, means, that symposiasts should mingle water with their wine, or join the ladies while their feet are steady.

† Readers, who value traits of national character, will hardly forgive us for omitting to mention here that evil which, under the name of Sycophancy, so peculiarly infested Athens. The term, as Mr. Mitford observes, originally signified information of the clandestine exportation of figs. Apparently to gratify the idle populace of the city, at the expense of the landholders, some demagogue had procured a law, forbidding the exportation of that plentiful production of the Attic soil. The absurdity of the prohibition, however, making the information particularly invidious, the term Sycophant grew into use as a general appellation for all vexatious informers. Full as the Grecian writers are of invectives against this odious class of men, we know of none who have painted them with so much force and vivacity, as Lysias in his speeches, and Aristophanes in his Comedies. In Nicarchus, the sycophant of his Acharnians, the vice is mere instinct; like a staunch hound, he winds his game and runs close upon the scent. In his Birds, the sycophant, more bold than Chancer’s summoner,^a whom he there resembles in vocation, announces his trade, and justifies it by reasoning: but sycophancy ran in the blood with him, and three generations, it seems, were necessary, in the poet’s opinion, before so pleasurable an employment to an Athenian could be pursued upon something more than mere instinct. The informer in his Plutus is a solemn rogue, who annoys from motives of morality, and pillages and ruins people out of a pure spirit of patriotism.

^a He dorste not, for veray filth and shame,

Say that he was a sompnour for the name.—*The Frere’s Tale.*

demagogues.

demagogues, among other reproaches, he calls him a water-drinker; and that too, when this minister of the Athenian finance had no right to construe the abstemiousness into a premeditated injury of the excise.

Cleon. (fiercely.) Discuss—propound—your cause, your ground for these your words nefarious.

Sausage-Seller, (drawing himself up.) My powers of speech, my art to reach phrase seasoned high and various.

Cleon. (a pause of astonishment; then with infinite contempt.) ‘Your powers of speech!’ ill fare the cause beneath your hands e’er falling!

Tatter’d and rent, ’twill soon present a sample of your calling.

The same disease will fortune you, that meets our eyes not rarely:—

Hear—mark—reply, and own that I discuss the matter fairly.

Some petty suit ’gainst strangers gain’d—anon you’re set a-crowding;

The mighty feat becomes forthwith a birth that’s ever growing.

By day, by night, on foot, on horse, when riding or when walking,—

Your life a mere soliloquy, still of this feat you’re talking.

You fall to drinking water next—on generous wine you trample,

While friends are sore, worn o’er and o’er with specimen and sample.

And this attain’d, you think you’ve gain’d the height of oratory—

Heav’n help you, silly wretch! you’ve yet—to learn another story.

This aversion to water was not confined to the men. At the holy feast of Ceres, where no male ever intruded, the poet just quoted represents his fair countrywomen as sitting in close committee upon the multiplied offences of Euripides against the sex. Their councils commence, like those of the General Assembly, with a series of imprecations. A curse is pronounced upon the person, who designs any evil against the female Demus; upon the culprit, who sends a herald to treat of peace with the Persians or Euripides; upon all, who are self-active, or abet others in promoting a tyranny; upon the male gallant, who forgets his promises, and the elderly female, who endeavours to make her years be forgotten in the splendour of her presents; but the final burst of indignation is reserved for those who in any way interfere with the ladies’ potations.

—If there be, who malice-fraught,

Starve the goblet, stint the draught,

Root and branch, and kin and kind,

Blast them, blessed Powers divine:—

Red be their cup, but not with wine:

And Ruin, as she reads their lot,

Say—‘they were—and they are not.’—*Arist. in Thesm.*

It is now time to quit the lower regions, and present ‘superior views of things,’ shewing, as the excellent Whistlecraft observes,

‘The higher orders of society

Behaving with *politeness* and *propriety*.’

The

The general mode of living among the citizens of Attica, is described with brevity and accuracy by Dr. Hill.

‘There was very little variety,’ says the learned professor, ‘in the private life of the Athenians. All of them rose at daybreak, and spent a short time in the exercise of devotion. Soon after six in the morning, the judges (dicasts) took their seats on the tribunal, and those employed in agriculture, manufactures, or commerce, engaged in their different occupations. At mid-day, the more wealthy citizens, who by that time had commonly finished their serious business, refreshed themselves with a short sleep, and afterwards spent a few hours in hunting, or in the exercise of the palæstra, or in walking through the delightful groves on the banks of the Ilyssus and Cephissus; or still more frequently in discussing with each other, in the forum (agora), the interests of the state, the conduct of the magistrates, and the news of the day. It was also during the afternoon that the Athenians sometimes played at *κυβερια* and *πτερεια*; two games, the first of which resembled hazard, and the other either backgammon or chess.

‘During the day, the Athenians either took no food or only a slight repast in private. At sun-set they sat down to supper, and considering the business of the day as over, devoted the evening to society and amusement, and often continued to a late hour of the night.’ Of these suppers or, more properly speaking, dinners, we propose to speak somewhat more at large hereafter.

The ‘*dîner d’ami*’—that dinner which draws from an Englishman’s cellar its oldest bottle of wine, and from his heart its oldest story—seems to have been as little agreeable to the Greeks, as to the nation from whose* language we have borrowed the term. ‘Defend me,’ says the lively † Menander with an evident feeling of horror,

‘ from family repasts,
Where all the guests claim kin,—nephews and uncles,
And aunts and cousins to the fifth remove!
First you’ve the sire, a goblet in his hand,
And he deals out his dole of admonition;—
Then comes my lady-mother, a mere homily
Reproof and exhortation!—at her heels
The aunt slips in a word of pious precept.

* *Le Baron.*
Nous mangerons ensemble un poulet sans façon;
Et je vais vous donner un Dîner d’Ami.
M. de Fortis.

Non.
Je crains ces dîners-là; j’aime la bonne-chère;
Et traite-moi plutôt en personne étrangère.

Les Dehors Trompeurs. Act. ii. sc. 10.

† In Athen. Schw. edit. v. ix. p. 277.

The grandsire last—a bass voice among trebles,
 Thunder succeeding whispers, fires away.
 Each pause between, his aged partner fills
 With “lack-a-day!” “good sooth!” and “dearest dear!”
 The dotard’s head, mean time, for ever nods,
 Encouraging her drivelling —’.

Nothing therefore remained for the Greeks but clubs or pic-nic parties, where each guest might send his own portion of the feast, or where one might provide, at a fixed price, an entertainment for all the rest. For parties of this kind the Athenians appear to have felt a passionate fondness. When Aristotle advocates the propriety of admitting that ‘complex entity, the Public,’ as he calls them, into a share of the government, he* more than once draws an argument from the pic-nic suppers, which he asserts were always better than those furnished by a single person. And Theophrastus, his great disciple, was so much persuaded of this truth, that among his legacies may be found one for the support of a pic-nic club. As some notices of this kind of entertainment have been given in another place, we shall not pursue the subject here, but shall clear the way for a more minute inquiry hereafter into the private entertainments of the Athenians, by observing, that, before the time of Menander, the law, to prevent too large a concourse of people at an entertainment, had limited the number of guests to thirty; that there were persons called *Gynæconomi*, whose office it was to number the guests, and to see that this statute was not infringed; that it was an ancient practice to give a bill of fare to the master of the feasts, who communicated its contents, at proper intervals, to the guests—that the great man, whether host or guest, was generally attended by a † flatterer, whose office, from the epithets attached to him by Julius Pollux, (the most amusing of word-collectors,) was evidently no easy one—and that recreations for the sight and hearing (*θεαματα, ακροαματα*) made part of the entertainment. The supper-hunters, (*τρεχεδειπνοι*), that class of persons upon whom is laid all the trouble of convivial conversation, and who are expected to perform the double task of never speaking with the mouth full, and yet never losing a mouthful, generally paid their quota in coin of the latter kind. They

* In *Polit. lib. iii. c. 7*. In the culinary Pleiades, to which we have before adverted, it is allowed that in broiling a fish no one excelled Agis of Rhodes; that Aphonetus shone above all the profession in a sausage or hog’s-pudding, and that Nereus, the Chian, boiled a conger-eel in a manner which might have satisfied the gods. To Aristion was decreed the pre-eminent glory of laying out the contributions to a club-feast to superlative advantage.

† The parasite was a later invention than the flatterer, properly so called. The latter was so much in request among the vain Athenians, as to furnish the philosophers with an axiom. φιλοφρονες ἢ πολλοι, says Aristotle, (in *Ethics*, lib. viii. c. 8.) that is, ‘on the score of toad-eating, man is more inclined to be the patient than the agent.’

who were present without contributing towards the entertainment, says Archbishop Potter, were termed *ασυμβολοι*, in which condition, (continues the learned but plain-spoken archæologist,) 'were poets and singers, and others who made diversion for the company.' How little strict abstemiousness was observed at these entertainments will appear hereafter. It might also be inferred from the number of physicians, who, it is evident from the writings of Plato and Aristophanes, practised in Athens, and from the importance which Xenophon attaches to the fact that his great master could retire from a supper without overloading himself.*

The repasts of the common Athenians are much more easily decided. Herbs, pottage, salt fish, a barley cake not very nicely kneaded, these with a bottle of wine, and figs perhaps for a desert, formed their usual diet, when a sacrifice or one of those feasts, which, on various pretences, were wrested from the rich, did not furnish a more substantial banquet. Thus the old dicast in the Wasps, who prefers the sparing modes of common life, when accompanied with the functions of the judicial office, to all the allurements which his wealthy son can offer him. We insert the whole of his speech, as it gives, we think, a very amusing view of domestic life at Athens.

'But the best of my lot I had nearly forgot—the court left and well loaded with honey,

Scarce in sight of my home, all the house, trooping, come, and embrace me, such coz'nage hath money!

Next my girl, sprightly nymph! brings her napkin and lymph—feet and ancles are quick in ablution;

Soft'ning oils o'er them spread, she stoops down her head, and drops kisses in utmost profusion.

"I'm her sweetest papa!—I'm the pride of the bar!"—her lips in mean time neatly playing,

As with rod and with line, the wench angles so fine, my day's pay is unconsciously straying.†

Seats her then by my side, Mrs. Dicast my pride,—feeling soul, she knows well what my calling,

And my labours to greet, brings refreshments most sweet, while speeches still sweeter are falling.

"Deign this pottage to sip,—pass this cake o'er your lip—here's a soft and a soothing emulsion,

You cannot but chuse eat this pulse, nay, I'll use to my heart's dearest treasure compulsion."

* There is a curious passage in one of the books of Plato's Republic, but to which we cannot refer at the moment, where Athens herself is considered as a sort of high-fed nervous patient—*toujours dans les remèdes*—and only recovering a little strength, in order to plunge into the same excesses, which had previously deranged and shattered her system.

† The young wheedler's mode of filching her father's obols, (not very delicate it must be confessed) arose out of a practice, common among the lower Athenians, of carrying their money in their mouths.

Then I sip and I swill, and I riot at will, nor cast eye of discreet observation,
 How your eye or your man's watches, guages and spans what my appetite's warmth and duration.
 Never yet, by my say, did I bid that knave lay for supper, or otherwise task him,
 But a cloud ever hung on his brow, lest my tongue a cake or dish extra should ask him.
 Thus from head, Sir, to feet, I'm in armour complete,—fenced and shelter'd from ev'ry disaster,
 And your wine you may spare, while this (*draws a case from under his vest*) falls to my share, and calls me its lord and its master.
 Outward, form'd 'tis an ass—spare your mirth—let that pass:—inward holds he what asks best appliance :
 (*Drinks and looks at it*) Rogue ! as keen he surveys your pinch'd beakers he brays, and trooper-toned bids you defiance.'

With Athenians of this class a good dinner seems to have been what the resources of the publican are with the lower orders in our own country, an excellent restorer of harmony and a pledge of concord between contending parties. Male readers, who perused the taunts of the rival choruses in a former Number, must have been well aware, that the feelings, there exhibited, were much too hot to hold. Female readers, skilled in tracing the passions, and who know that nothing is unconquerable but indifference, will bear, without surprise, the conclusion of these sarcasms. A few overtures from the female chorus, a salutation upon the cheek, and a little dexterity shewn in relieving their antagonist's eye of a large gnat, which infested it, gradually overcome the wrath of the rival male chorus. 'Baggages,' exclaims its coryphæus, after a decent resistance, 'there's no living with them, nor without them; and yet, as the old proverb says—they are but limbs of the old-one after all.*' This satisfactory reconciliation is, of course, to be confirmed by a feast; and when the good feelings of an Athenian were set afloat, they were most comprehensive in their nature.

CHORUS.

I quaff to you, laugh to you :—suff'ring or doing,
 No harm be between us for ages ensuing;
 But charity, amity, peace and good breeding;
 And let a joint stave mark old troubles receding.
 Oyez—let none fear
 In my numbers to hear

* ἵνα δαμνῶμαι φύσιν.

Κας' αἰνῶ τὴν τοῦ οὐδοῦ, καὶ κακῶς, εἰρήμην.
 ὥστε σὺν παντὶ ληδρῶσιν, ὡς ἀντὶ παντὶ ληδρῶν.'

Beautiful as these mystic types appear to the eye, we can assure our female readers, that they express neither more nor less, than what has been ventured as an equivalent in the text.

A reproach

A reproach or a sneer ;
No such thoughts harbour here :
But words that drop manna,
And deeds all of honey,
To feasts invitation,
And offers of money.
Time enough, and to spare,
Has ill-luck been our fare ;
Let it now be our care
The old breach to repair,
And to set things more square.
Then make proclamation,
Possessing the nation,
That he, whose poor pittance
Demands a remittance,—
Be it two pounds or four,
Or a small matter more,—
May here be supplied ;—
With a good purse beside,
His silver and gold
More securely to hold :
This further too learning
That peace once returning,
'Tis our fixt resolution
Not to ask restitution.'—

We break in upon this long-winded joint stave to observe, that the premises and conclusion of an Athenian's liberality were not always in strict accordance ; and the good-humoured poet, whom no trait of popular humour escaped, has not failed to find a niche for this.

' Further notice, Sirs, take,
That a banquet we make,
For the comfort and sake,
Of a much honour'd crew,
All good men and true,
As Carystus e'er knew.
Their presence to greet,
We have pulse as is meet :
A pig and what not,
Too, are gone to the pot ;
They may thus look for flesh
That is tender and fresh.—

(*To the audience.*) Let to-morrow then see
One and all hous'd with me ;
And come without calling,
The morning forestalling,
With your boys in a row,
And your cheeks in a glow,

All fresh from the bath,
 Taking straight the house path ;
 Then without explanation
 Or interrogation,
 Let each as if come
 To his own proper home,
 Forward instantly venture :—
 One caution I put,
 If you find the door shut,—
 'Tis a proof you can't enter.'

Among the idle, and we must be pardoned for saying, the ridiculous mistakes respecting the character of Aristophanes, none appears to us more misplaced than the received opinion, that he was a severe caustic satirist. That he could deal heavy blows, when he pleased, is most certain ; but if we had to point out the most distinguishing feature in his character, we should refer to that good-natured relish he displays for the popular humour, belonging to all free governments, and which shone more particularly in an Attic mob. A benevolent man shares in this feeling, from the milkiness of his nature ; a thoughtful man, who observes with what cheerfulness it often conducts the poor through privations, from which the rich and the learned would shrink, sees in it one of those great compensations, by which Providence equalises mankind, and leaves the stations of rich and poor, as little more than varieties of means for gaining happiness. We think it of sufficient importance to cherish popular humour, to induce us to pursue the particular species just pointed out a little farther. A chorus, who could feast a whole audience at so small an expense, had no reason to be less profuse on other points.

'Of whatever I'm possess,
 Carpet, coverlit, or vest,
 Cash and jewels, of silver and gold ;
 Here I make spontaneous offer,
 And without reserve I proffer
 To the public to have and to hold.
 Must your daughter make display
 Upon some public day,
 And her person array in all bravery ?
 I have fardingales and things,
 Stuffs and cuffs, and ruffs and rings,
 Take them all, Sirs, nor think it any knavery.
 Seal and signet you may break,
 Vest and vestment you may take,
 Cash and jewels, and diamonds and stone ;—
 Only one thing I premise,
 He that finds them has two eyes
 Of a much clearer ken than my own.

A treasury

A treasury like this was not easily exhausted.

We shall give but one instance more : the comic poet acted, it has been before observed, as the gazetteer of the times, and his ' Foreign Intelligence ' certainly furnished an intellectual repast not often found in modern journals. Thus the political fates of Prasiæ, (a town in Laconia lately destroyed by the Athenians,) of Megara, (the support given to which by the Lacedæmonians, was the principal cause of the Peloponnesian war,) and of Leontini in Sicily, (then recently suffering under the oppression of the Syracusans,) become, in the Aristophanic comedy of the Peace, the materials of an Attic myttoton or salad, and are thus served up to the audience.

SCENE—HEAVEN.

A great bowl or mortar is seen upon the stage : leeks, garlic, and cheese lie around it.

WAR, TRYGÆUS.

War. (slowly and solemnly.) Laceration,
Maceration,
Grief and scorning,
Woe and Mourning,
Past all curing,
I do scan
Unto man,
The much-enduring.
Cramps and stitches,
Aches and pains,
Rack his joints
And fire his veins !

Try. Shield me, great Phœbus, 'tis indeed a mortar
Vast beyond vastness !—then, this monster's visage !
Pain, mischief, misery, are upon his front.
And do my eyes indeed take witness of him,
The god, whose very sight creates a solitude,
The truculent—the iron-faced—still settling
Upon his legs, as if for fight preparing !

War. Double, double,
Woe and trouble,
'Triple trine,
And nine to nine,
Nine and ten,
And nine again,
I do see
For Prasiæ*
Hapless state !

See now, thy doom is seal'd, and ratified thy fate.
(Throws a leek into the bowl.)

* A word nearly similar to Prasiæ in Greek signifies a leek.

- Try.* Look, Sparta, to't—'tis her concern—not our's.
War. For Megara weep!
 And your sighs be they deep.
 For the fates strongly pull,
 And my bowl must be full;
 The loss of a fraction
 Would work me distraction:
 Nicely chopp'd, minced, and drest.
 She may yet be at rest!
(Throws in garlic, and pounds it very small.)*
- Try.* Sigh we for those same folk of Megara!
 Large floods of tears—and bitter, save the mark!
 Hath he infused for them!
- War.* Cry aloud, fair and foul,
 And for Sicily howl!
 For body and soul,
 She must go to the bowl;
 For the pride of her state
 She must yield to her fate,
 And the scraper and knife,
 Now lie hard at her life!
(Scrapes cheese,† and throws it into the bowl.)
 Pour we some honey‡ now from Attica
 Upon our work.—

Among the public entertainments of a people so theatrically disposed as the Athenians, none we may be sure ranked higher than the superb banquet, usually given by the triumphant tribe to the successful chorus. The prize feast (*πρωξια*) is the constant encouragement by which Aristophanes stimulates exertion in his orchestral troop, and in his Female Parliament he offers a bill of fare, which is certainly very provocative. The poet, who contrary to the usual practice, was dismissing his company in a dance, gives animation to the lower members of his dancers, by an intimation addressed to their upper organs.

- Leader of the Female Chorus.* 'Come away, come away,'
 'Tis no time for delay.
 If we loiter and dally,
 And stand shilly shally,
 Twixt the cup and the lip
 Some misfortune may slip,
 * And the viands tho' basted
 May never be tasted.

* Garlic was one of the most plentiful productions of Megara.

† The reader of Theocritus need not be reminded of the rich milk and cheeses, which so frequently occur in the most exquisite of all pastoral poets.

‡ It was from the odoriferous herbs on mount Hymettus, that the excellence of the Attic honey was derived.

- (*turns to one of the Chorus.*) Miss, I turn me to you ;
Throw your legs one, and two,
To a galliard that's new.
- (*One of the Chorus.*) What is bidden I do. (*begins dancing.*)
- (*Leader*) Here's another, whose flanks
But deserve little thanks.—
- (*to one of the Chorus.*) More virgins, more speed,
If a banquet you heed ;— (*the whole Chorus gradually begin dancing.*)
And I've one in my eye,
That might make sluggards fly:
'Tis plenteous, 'tis dainty,
'Tis fragrant, 'tis warm,
And the mere bill of fare
Is as long as my *arm.
There's lobster, there's prawn,
Cockle, oyster and brawn.
There's salt fish and fresh,
Caught with hook and with mesh.
Here's a cod's head and shoulders
With soles for upholders:
Those anchovies and dace
Keep a salmon in place.
And soles à la braise
Hold a turbot in stays.
Add calves heads that ride
In an ocean of brain ;
Add thrush boil'd and fried,
And teal spiced and plain.
Add honey, add spices,
Add hare-flesh in slices,
With widgeon and pigeon
And larks in a ring :
Hand me there, lady fair,
Both a leg and a wing.—
With such show of provision
Need I urge expedition?
Let her spin it and win it,
Such a banquet who chooses ;
She's too late by a minute
Sixty moments who loses.—
But excuse me, ere starting,
One little suggestion ;
Who feed large, take, at parting,
A pill for digestion.'

At entertainments of this kind, the bard, who furnished the vic-

* A considerable part of what follows is, in the original, compressed into a word of more than seventy syllables! Under these circumstances, a little departure from strict translation seems allowable.

torious piece, was, of course, a most prominent guest: the poet, just quoted, had frequent occasion to experience the value of such a situation; and if we are not mistaken in a passage in Plato, he knew how to make good use of his time, when placed in it. If the following extract shews us that Aristophanes was bald, it also proves, that, like Cæsar, he tried to cover his baldness with laurels.

For oh! if success
 These my rhymes to-day bless,
 When the table and board
 With rich viands are stor'd,
 The talk and the cry
 Will be—' Charge bumper high,
 And carouse of the best
 To our bald-headed guest;—
 And the cates, that are sweetest,
 And the cup, that is neatest,
 And the banquet's best part,
 Give we there, hand and heart;—
 Carouse to the flower
 Of Phæbus's mansion;
 To him with the forehead
 Of matchless expansion.'

We are sufficiently masters of our subject to be aware, that it is the guests, after all, who are to decide upon the merits of a feast, and not the caterer. *Θοινην ὁ δαιτυμων*, says Aristotle,* (and in matters of importance, it is proper to appeal to high authorities,) *αλλ' ἔχ' ὁ μαγειρος*. It is possible too, that our manner of handling some extracts introduced into these remarks, may have the effect of recalling to the reader's mind an homely adage in the culinary art—that the cook and the materials he works upon often come from very opposite regions.—We could perhaps advance a few words in our defence; but we hold it more decorous, as the hour is late, to make our bow in silence, and withdraw from the table. That we may not appear, however, wholly to have trifled with our readers, we shall close with a curious trait of national habits, and try to coax out of it a little moral for those who are not content to read merely for amusement. At great entertainments in Egypt, says Herodotus, a body carved in wood and most minutely resembling a corpse, was carried about and exhibited to each guest, with this admonition: 'Regulate your potations and your pleasures by this spectacle; for when you are dead, you will be no other than this.' However genteelly (*επιεικώς*) all this might have been done on the part of the corpse-bearers, the principal person

* In *Polit. lib. iii. c. 11.*

in the drama was certainly, as Plutarch, relating the story after Herodotus, suggests, an unseasonable sort of intruder. The worthy Boeotian, who misquotes authors and himself, and who speaks of the fine arts in a tone of contempt, which must have appeared absolutely glorious to his fellow Boeotians, rarely errs on the side of good feelings; he has accordingly imparted a secret for turning even this spectacle to account. Taking times and seasons into consideration, says the philosopher of Chœronea, this addition to the feast was rather misplaced; yet was it not altogether without its suitableness: it furnished a strong dissuasion against drinking and luxury, it held out powerful motives to friendship and mutual love, and it was a sort of practical homily, that life, short as it is, ought not to be made long in the commission of evil practices.

ERRATUM.

P. 20, l. 16. For *Harley* and *St. John* were made *Secretaries of State*, read *Harley* was made *Secretary of State*, and *St. John* *Secretary at War*.

TREACHERY OF THE ARABS.

IN our last Number, we mentioned in a note on Burckhardt's *Travels*, (p. 440,) that some English officers, on their way to Palmyra, had a dispute with their Arab guides, in which one of the party, Captain Butler, of the *Dragoons*, was wounded:—that they laid their complaint before the Pasha, and that, in consequence, several of the Arabs had been seized and decapitated.

We stated those particulars not lightly, but on the authority of a most respectable British officer, who had minuted them down on the spot from the concurrent reports of several of the natives. They afford, however, another proof, certainly not wanted, of that habitual disregard of strict truth for which the people of the east are notorious. The affair, indeed, was far more serious than we had supposed; but in the leading circumstance our correspondent was misinformed. The officers made *no* complaint;—but perhaps the impression made by our statement can by no mode be so effectually removed as by giving Captain Butler's own account, which we are enabled to do by the kindness of a revered relative of that gentleman. It is highly interesting; and we cannot dis-

miss it without observing, that Captain Butler and his friends appear to have conducted themselves with exemplary self-possession, intrepidity, and prudence.

Extract of a Letter, dated Smyrna, August 16th, 1819.

'As we determined on going to Palmyra, we paid another visit to the Pasha. He ordered his minister to make out the proper passports, and direct the governor of Homs, a town on the verge of the Desert, to entertain us as English princes. We had to wait ten days before the aga could get the chief that commanded the tribe occupying the Desert between Homs and Palmyra, to come to him. This fellow at last made his appearance, and agreed before the governors to escort us safely to Palmyra for two thousand piastres, half to be paid in advance, and the other half on our return. In the Arab costume, and mounted on dromedaries, with a Bedouin behind us, we set off through the Desert in the direction of Palmyra. As we had no arms with us of any kind, these fellows betrayed us. Instead of continuing their proper course, they struck off in another direction, and carried us to their camp. Nearly the whole of the day was taken up in debating what they should do with us. We at last told them we would go no farther; that we had neither arms nor money; that if they murdered us they would get nothing but the shirts on our backs; and that if they did not choose to conduct us back to Homs on the dromedaries, we would set out on foot and find our way as well as we could. Seeing us determined, they agreed to take us to Homs. After goading on the dromedaries at the rate of nine miles an hour, they suddenly stopped the animals, and knocked us off their backs. Not knowing their intent, we attempted to seize their arms, and a battle ensued. I succeeded in wrenching the mace from the hands of the Bedouin that rode behind me, and was preparing to make him feel the weight of it on his head, when one of them ran his lance into my arm, and another gave me a blow which immediately brought me to the ground. They then freed themselves from us, mounted their dromedaries and were soon out of sight. I know not how we escaped with our lives; we had not even a stick amongst us, whilst the Arabs were armed with iron maces, match-locks, and long lances: we all, however, got roughly handled. We followed a track in the sand, and arrived in the course of the night at a small village, the name of which I have forgot. As I had bled freely during the walk, I was unable to proceed farther that night, although my companions were anxious to get on; the next day we walked quietly into Homs: we found that the news of our adventure had preceded us, and that the whole town was in a bustle. We met a large detachment of Arabs, driving their camels as hard as they could go, who, taking us for some of their tribe, called to us to save ourselves, or we should be killed; they were pursued by several parties of cavalry, who shortly came up with them, killed a great number, and seized their beasts. In the mean time, some prisoners had been taken before the governor, and he immediately cut off all their heads. Had it been in our power we would willingly have prevented so much bloodshed, but the Moslem was savage. His pride was hurt that the Arab chief had so little regard for his authority. The number of these poor creatures who lost their lives was variously stated to us; I am inclined to think they were not so numerous as they wished to make us believe.'

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We are yet imperfectly acquainted with the natural history of the herring. Its winter habitation has generally been supposed within the arctic circle, under the vast fields of ice which float on the northern ocean, where it fattens on the swarms of shrimps and other marine insects which are said to be most abundant in those seas. On the return of the sun from the southern tropic towards the equator, the multitudinous host issues forth in numbers that exceed the power of imagination. Separating about Iceland into two grand divisions, the one proceeds to the westward, filling, in its progress, every bay and creek on the coast of America, from the Straits of Bellisle to Cape Hatteras; the other, proceeding easterly in a number of distinct columns of five or six miles in length, and three or four in breadth, till they reach the Shetland islands, which they generally do about the end of April, is there subdivided into a number of smaller columns, some of which taking the eastern coast of Great Britain, fill every creek and inlet in succession from the Orkneys down to the British Channel; and others, branching off to the westward, surround the coasts of the Hebrides, and pene-

trate into the numerous firths and lochs on the western shores of Scotland. Another shoal, pursuing the route to Ireland, separates on the north of that island into two divisions, one of which, passing down the Irish Channel, surrounds the Isle of Man, the other pours its vast multitudes into the bays and inlets of the western coast of Ireland. The whole of this grand *army*, which the word *herring* emphatically expresses, disappears, on the arrival of the several divisions on the southern coasts of England and Ireland, about the end of October, to which period, from its first appearance in April, it invites the attack of a variety of enemies, besides the fishermen, in every point of its route. In their own element the herrings furnish food for the whale, the shark, the grampus, the cod, and almost all the larger kind of fishes; and they are followed in the air by flocks of gulls, gannets, and other marine birds, which continually hover about them, and announce their approach to the expectant fisherman.

To keep up this abundant supply and to provide against all the drains which were intended to be made upon it, nature has bestowed on the herring a corresponding fecundity, the spawn of each female comprehending from thirty to forty thousand eggs. Whether these eggs are deposited in the soft and oozy banks of the deep sea, abounding with marine worms and insects and affording food for winter's consumption, or whether they lie within the arctic circle amidst unremitting frost and six months perpetual darkness, is yet a doubtful point; but the former will probably be considered as the less objectionable conjecture.

The esculent fish, next of importance to the herring in a national-point of view, is the codfish, which is also considered among the number of those which migrate from the north, in a southerly direction, to nearly the same degree of latitude as the herring. But there is reason to believe that its constant residence is on the rough and stony banks of the deep sea, and that it is rarely found beyond the arctic circle, and there only sparingly and in the summer months. On the great bank of Newfoundland, on the coasts of Iceland, Norway, Shetland, and the Orkney islands, on the Well-bank, the Dogger-bank, the Broad Forties, on the northern, western, and southern coasts of Ireland, the cod is most abundant and of the best quality: in some or other of these situations the fisheries may be carried on with certain success and to great advantage from November to Midsummer. On the western coasts of Scotland and Ireland all the different species of the cod genus, usually known under the name of white fish, are plentifully dispersed. Every bank is, in fact, an inexhaustible fishery, for, with fewer enemies than the herring to prey upon it, the cod is at least a hundred times more productive. The fecundity of this fish,

fish, indeed, so far exceeds credibility, that had it not been ascertained by actual experiment, and on the best possible authority, it would have been considered as fabulous to assign to the female cod, from three to four millions of eggs.*

Not only the hake, sometimes known by the name of 'poor John,' but more commonly by that of stock-fish, and the ling, are to be reckoned among the valuable products of the British fisheries, especially as articles of foreign consumption, but we may also include the haddock, which is another species of cod, as equally important for the supply of the home market. Haddocks assemble in vast shoals during the winter months in every part of the northern ocean, and bend their course generally to the southward, proceeding beyond the limits of the cod and the herring; but it is remarked that they neither enter the Baltic nor the Mediterranean. The two dark spots a little behind its head, are supposed to have gained the haddock, in days of superstition, the credit of being the fish which St. Peter caught with the tribute money in its mouth, in proof of which the impression of the Saint's finger and thumb has been entailed on the whole race of haddocks ever since. Unfortunately, however, for the tradition, the haddock is not a Mediterranean fish, nor can we suppose it to have belonged to the lake of Tiberias. The truth is the Italians consider a very different fish as that which was sanctified by the Apostle, and which after him they honour with the name of *il janitore*, a name that we have converted into *Johnny Dory* with the same happy ingenuity that has twisted the *girasole* or turnsol into a *Jerusalem* artichoke.

Several other kinds of white fish, as turbot, plaice, sole, and whittings are plentifully dispersed over various parts of the British seas, so as to afford an ample supply for the home market, the whole year round, without the smallest danger of that supply being exhausted or diminished.

The mackerel fishery in the English Channel continues about four months in the year, commencing in April or May. This too is a fish of passage, but, contrary to the course of the herring, is supposed to visit the British seas in large shoals from the southward. The mackerel is chiefly caught for immediate consumption, but is sometimes pickled for winter use. Its fecundity is very great, each female depositing, at least, half a million of eggs.

The pilchard, like the herring, of which it is a species, is a fish of passage. It makes its appearance, in vast shoals, on the coasts of Devonshire and Cornwall, and in the neighbourhood of the Scilly islands, from July to September. About the time that the pilchards are expected on the coast, a number of men called *huers*

* Philosophical Transactions, vol. 57, p. 280.

post themselves on the heights to look out for their approach, which is indicated by a change in the colour of the water. The boats in the mean while, with their nets prepared, are held in momentary readiness to push forth in the direction pointed out to them by the *huers*. On the coast of Cornwall alone, fifty or sixty thousand hogsheads of this fish are annually salted for foreign consumption.

But of all others the salmon may, perhaps, be considered as the king of fishes; and no part of Europe is more bountifully supplied with it than the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. At certain seasons of the year, whole shoals of this noble fish approach to the mouths of rivers, which they ascend to considerable distances, surmounting every obstacle in order to find a safe and convenient spot to deposit their spawn. From January to September they are in high season, but in some part or other of the coast are fit for use every month in the year. The salmon fishery is of great value, whether for home consumption or exportation. Prodigious quantities are consumed fresh in the London market, and in almost all the sea-port towns in England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales; but a far greater quantity is salted, dried, or pickled in vinegar. The lochs and friths of Scotland and Ireland are visited by salmon in such copious shoals that more than a thousand fish have sometimes been taken at a single draught. The two most productive fisheries are that of the Tweed near Berwick, and of the Bann near Coleraine; at the latter of which, Mr. Young says, 1450 salmon have been taken at one drag of a single net. The salmon also frequents the coasts of Norway and Iceland in the summer months in prodigious quantities. Hooker describes the salmon fishery in the river Lax Elbe on the latter island, where women, as well as men, took with their hands, in a few hours, 2200 salmon.*

The banks of the North sea, the rocky coasts of the Orkneys, and the eastern shores of Britain, afford, in abundance, two articles of luxury for the London market, though but sparingly drawn from those sources: we allude to the turbot and lobster. For a supply, however, of the former we have always had recourse to the Dutch, to whom we paid about £80,000 a-year; and for about a million of the latter, taken on the coast of Norway; the Danes drew from us about £15,000 a-year; for eels we gave the Dutch about £5000 a-year. These fisheries are calculated to give employment to not less than 10,000 seamen.

Even the oyster fishery supplies the market of the metropolis with an article of nutritious food for eight months in the year; and if cultivated with the same care in the neighbourhood of Chichester, Portsmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, the coasts of Wales,

* Journal of a Tourth in Iceland, by W. J. Hooker.

and among the Hebrides, as at Colchester, Milton, Feversham, &c., there is not a town in Great Britain which might not be as abundantly supplied with oysters as the London market.

Notwithstanding this never-failing harvest of food within our immediate reach, the neglect of the fisheries has never ceased to be a subject of unavailing complaint from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present time. 'It maketh much to the ignominie and shame of our English nation,' (says the learned Keeper of the Tower Records, above quoted,) 'that God and nature, offering us so great a treasure, even at our own doores, wee doe, notwithstanding, neglect the benefit thereof, and by paying money to strangers for the fish of our own seas, impoverish ourselves to make them rich:' and he complains that Yarmouth which, from a bed of sand, had risen to an opulent town, solely by the fishery, with the Cinque ports and other towns and villages to the number of 225, were, in his time, 'decayed and reduced to extreme poverty,' whilst those of Holland and Zeeland were flourishing from the riches collected on our own coasts, where not less than 400 of their vessels were constantly employed to supply England alone with fish caught on its own shores. As a contrast to our indolence or indifference, a lively picture is drawn of the bustle and activity which the Dutch herring buss fishery communicated to the various tradesmen and artisans, labourers, salters, packers, dressers, &c. and of the numbers of poor women and children to which it gave employment.* On the coasts of Holland and in its bays and inlets 3000 boats of various kinds were constantly occupied; on those of England and Scotland, in the cod and ling fishery only, they had 800 vessels, from 60 to 150 tons burden, fully employed; and each of these was attended by another vessel for supplying it with salt and carrying back the cured fish. From Bougoness to the mouth of the Thames, a fleet of 1600 busses were actively engaged in the herring fishery, to every one of which might be reckoned three others, some employed in importing foreign salt, some in conveying it to the fishing vessels, and others in carrying the cured fish to a foreign market. Thus the total number of shipping engaged in, and connected with, the herring fishery amounted to 6400 vessels, giving employment on the water alone, to 112,000 mariners and fishermen. At that time Holland could boast of 10,000 sail of shipping, and 168,000 mariners, 'although their country itselfe affords them neither materials or victuall or merchandize to be accounted of towards their setting forth.' It

* In a pamphlet entitled 'England's Path to Wealth and Honour, in a Dialogue between an Englishman and a Dutchman,' which abounds with information on the subject of the fisheries, the whole alphabet is employed, in regular order, to enumerate the various trades-people, artisans, &c. who subsist by the herring fishery.

had a navy which supported many a long and arduous contest with that of Great Britain for the dominion of the seas; and its commerce and colonies spread themselves over the most distant parts of the globe. Many fair and populous cities rose with prodigious rapidity from a few mud hovels scattered among the swamps and morasses at the mouths of the Rhine and the Waal. So universally indeed was it acknowledged that the strength, wealth and prosperity of the United Provinces were entirely owing to the herring fishery, that an observation was in common use among themselves, that Amsterdam had its foundation on herring bones.

But the best proofs from what channel the republic of the United Provinces derived its rapid flow of wealth and prosperity, may be collected from an estimate of the population of the States General, published in Holland in 1669, which stands as under:—

Persons employed as fishermen, and in equipping fishermen with their ships, boats, tackle, conveying of salt, &c.	450,000
Persons employed in the navigation of ships in the foreign trade, wholly independent of the trade connected with the fisheries.	250,000
Persons employed as manufacturers, shipwrights, handicraft trades, dealers in the said manufactures, &c.	650,000
Persons employed in agriculture, inland fishery, daily labour, &c.	200,000
Inhabitants of all descriptions employed in various concerns connected with domestic consumption and in general use.	650,000
Idle gentry without callings, statesmen, officers, usurers, soldiers, beggars, &c. who are supported by the labour and care of those above-mentioned.	200,000
Making a total of	2,400,000.

Of this aggregate population it will appear that eleven-twelfths were exercised in habits of industry; and that 700,000, or every third person nearly, was either a mariner, a fisherman, or one employed in the encouragement and increase of their marine and the fisheries. It was the boast of the pensionary De Witt that nearly one-fifth part of the population of the United Provinces earned their subsistence by the fisheries at sea, and it was his opinion that the trade of Holland could not be supported without them, but would decay with the decay of the herring fishery, which he considered as the right arm of the republic. The States General, indeed, made no secret of the grand source of their wealth and prosperity. In one of their ordinances, relating to the herring fishery, they set out by

by declaring, 'how well known it is that the great fishing and catching of herrings is the chiefest trade and principal gold mine of the United Provinces, whereby many thousands of households, families, handicraft trades and occupations are set on work, are well maintained, and prosper, &c.' The people of England were fully aware of the great advantages derived by the Dutch from a fishery carried on principally by the latter within the seas, and frequently close under the shores, of the former. Why this country, with an apparent indifference, suffered a nation which she had so recently raised out of its dykes and mud-banks to a state of independence; to erect, by rapid stages, a grand national superstructure on the basis of British produce and protection, till she became her most formidable rival on the ocean, is a subject that has often engaged the pen of the statesman; of such men as Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Monson, Sir William Petty, Sir Roger L'Estrange, and many other able and practical politicians. Neither has there been any want of efforts on the part of individuals, or of encouragement on that of government, (though the latter might not always have been properly directed,) to correct this extraordinary supineness. Liberal subscriptions have been set on foot, and vast sums of money contributed at various times for the establishment of fishing villages and the building and setting forth of ships and boats suitable for the purpose. Various acts of parliament have been passed from time to time for the encouragement of the fisheries and fishermen, conferring premiums, granting bounties, allowing exemptions from duties, and bestowing other indulgencies and privileges, protecting mariners, landsmen, and apprentices engaged in the fisheries from the impress, and allowing every person, who should have followed the occupation of fisherman for seven successive years, being a married man, to set up and freely exercise any trade or profession in any town or place in Great Britain. In the midst of all these encouragements, however, we have not been quite consistent. The cod and turbot fisheries were chiefly carried on by the Dutch. There are two baits of which these fish are peculiarly fond, the lamprey and the whilk, neither of which the Dutch possess, but both of which were amply supplied to them by us. Nay, it appears on evidence before a committee of the House of Commons that our own fishing vessels have been frequently kept a fortnight or three weeks in the Thames for want of lampreys, while the Dutch were carrying them away by hundreds of thousands at a time.* But other unfavourable circumstances of greater weight than these caused the fisheries to languish in

* Report of the Committee for Fisheries, 1786.

England, in proportion as they flourished on the opposite side of the channel; and thus, as Mr. Schultes says,

‘This country passively contributed to her rivals’ aggrandizement; and at the very period, namely 1695, when the Dutch and her neighbours were enjoying all the advantage of affluence, power and dominion, deriving annually from the British Sea fishery the enormous sum of twenty millions of pounds, we began to borrow money for public expenditure, and incur the national debt, which gradually increased in the same proportion as their wealth and prosperity; and (painful to remark) it appeared by a tract published in 1633, wherein the writer refers to the testimony and asseverations of merchants in Amsterdam, that we purchased our own fish at the incredible sum of sixteen hundred thousand pounds annually.*

It may be proper, before we endeavour to point out the remedy, to trace some of the main causes, which have operated in producing that fatal disease which has so long and so obstinately impeded the progress of Great Britain towards a successful establishment of the fisheries on all or any of the numerous situations, favourable for that purpose, on a line of sea coast, not less than 3000 miles in extent.

The occupation of a fisherman may be considered generally as the offspring of poverty; the dangers of the element on which he moves, the fatigues and hardships that he has to encounter, the disease and infirmity prematurely brought on by exposure to cold and wet, the uncertainty of a market for his fish, if successful, and the certainty of starving from a want of success, are the discouraging prospects which he who embarks in the trade has to contemplate; but as necessity is the parent of exertion as well as of invention, we do not find that a want of hands for the fisheries makes any part of the obstacles which have retarded their progress. It is pretty nearly the same with nations as with individuals; that country, which has but one of its sides abutting on the sea, must necessarily be poor before it consents to become a nation of fishermen. Thus the provinces of Holland and Zealand, whose cultivable land yielded not sufficient produce for the subsistence of one-eighth part of their inhabitants, were driven by necessity to seek for the remainder on the water. But England, which had twelve times the quantity of productive land for her population, felt not the same necessity of cultivating the sea to provide subsistence, though surrounded by that element on every side. Food was neither so dear nor so scarce, that men were driven to the necessity of encountering the perils and hardships of a boisterous element to

* Schultes's Dissertation, p. 5.

increase the quantity or reduce the price of the necessaries of life. The small portion of its inexhaustible stores that was drawn from its bosom was rather to supply an article of luxury for home consumption, than a merchantable commodity for the foreign market; and even that demand was scantily and precariously furnished. If the *catch*, as it is technically called, was too abundant, a great part of it was spoiled for want of a quick and certain market at hand, while the quantity itself lowered the price of those that were disposed of; if too scanty, the produce was not worth the expense of sending to a distant market, unless sold there at an exorbitant price. The uncertainty of the supply and the fluctuation of price were necessarily followed by an uncertainty in the demand; and such a state of the market being precisely suited for the establishment of a monopoly, a monopoly was accordingly established. For this purpose a narrow and confined spot of ground was set apart in the city of London, which absorbed the whole of the fish that came within the radius of its vortex, extending from Billingsgate, as its focal point, seven miles in every direction; and this little spot *virtually* monopolized all the best fish that were caught on the coast of the United Kingdom. This market is held as an exclusive privilege of the corporation of London by charter, 'which,' says Sir Thomas Bernard, 'in the greatest and most populous city in the world, restricts the sale of an essential article of life to a small and inconvenient market; and has exclusively placed the monopoly of fish in the hands of a few interested salesmen.'

'If the abuse (adds Sir T. Bernard) were limited to a mere enhancement of price upon those who value the articles of life in proportion to their dearth and scarcity, the power might be so modified in its exercise, as to be undeserving of public animadversion or interference. But it is now ascertained that, in a period of scarcity, when every effort is making by importation and economy to provide for the public necessities, a kind of *blockade* has checked the supply of the metropolis; large quantities of fish have been withheld or wantonly destroyed as they approached the market, and nearly two millions of inhabitants in London and its surrounding neighbourhood have been in a great measure deprived of an article of food, which might have lessened the consumption of butchers' meat and wheat-corn, to the relief of the whole kingdom.*'

The evils of this monopoly are greatly enhanced by the tricks and abuses which are contrived by the fishermen, the salesmen, and the fishmongers, who, in the present state of things, are all more interested in creating a scarcity than in the diffusion of plenty. It is more advantageous to all these parties to sell a turbot at three guineas, and a lobster for its sauce at twelve shillings, than by sending three times the quantity to market, to reduce the prices

*Account of a Supply of Fish, p. 1 et seq.

to a sixth part of what they actually are. Great care is therefore taken that the market be precisely fed to the profitable point, but never overstocked. To effect this, they have a depôt of well-boats and store-boats ready stocked about Gravesend. In these boats a supply of cod, turbot, and lobsters are kept during the season, from whence the proper quantity is daily measured out for the Billingsgate market. In the height of the season those that get sickly are thrown overboard, but, towards the end, when keeping up the price is no longer an object, thousands of sickly and emaciated cod and lobsters are thrown into the market. Not many months ago a Russian frigate ran down one of these lobster vessels, and set 15,000 of these animals adrift in the Thames. A species of cruelty is resorted to in order to prevent lobsters, so pounded up, from tearing one another in pieces; the great claw is rendered paralytic by driving a wooden peg into the lower joint.

All attempts have hitherto failed to break this iniquitous combination. Certain fishmongers, encouraged by several noblemen and gentlemen, agreed to serve out fish at reduced prices, by having it brought from the coasts by land carriage. The Billingsgate salesmen took the alarm, raised a subscription of several thousand pounds, and bribed the servants and housekeepers of the encouragers of *land carriage* fish to put the very worst fish they could get on their masters' table; from which it soon obtained so bad a character that the new fishmongers were ruined, and the old ones contrived to add to their monopoly all the fish brought to market by land as well as water carriage.

It is of so much importance to destroy this combination, that the Committee of the Fish Association, in their first Report, consider it expedient to commence their operations with the metropolis, believing, and with reason, that the increased use of fish in London, Westminster, and their vicinity, would not fail to contribute, by their example, to introduce its general consumption into other cities and places in Great Britain. To attain this object, it appears to the committee to be absolutely necessary that the present impediments to supply and distribution should be removed.

Of these impediments, the four principal ones are the following. First, Billingsgate, being the only market, is neither adequate in size to more than a small portion of the necessary supply, nor convenient in point of access, or local situation, to the immense population which, within the last century, has extended itself to the westward, over Mary-le-bone, Paddington, Lambeth, &c. a circumstance which has necessarily impeded and obstructed the distribution and sale of fish. Secondly, the doubt and hesitation of fishermen in bringing up to this only market so large a quantity of fish

fish as they might procure, while so many circumstances render the sale of it both difficult and uncertain. Thirdly, the distribution and sale, arising from the local situation of Billingsgate market: 'the labour and loss of time of a poor basket-woman, who can afford to buy only a small lot of fish, must be greatly increased, by her being obliged to resort to Billingsgate between three and six o'clock in the morning, on account of her little purchase, and to return with it several miles on her head, before she can begin her sale.* The case with regard to mackerel, which more or less applies to other fish, is thus stated by Sir Thomas Bernard.

'It is a singular but well known fact, that at the very time when there is the greatest quantity of mackerel to be caught in the part of the British channel which supplies the London market, and when that fishery is most abundant, the fishermen who frequent Billingsgate, almost wholly discontinue the mackerel fishery. This extraordinary circumstance is thus accounted for. These fishermen depend in a great measure for customers on fishwomen who attend daily at Billingsgate with their baskets on their heads, to purchase the mackerel, and carry them for sale about the metropolis. As long as these women continue their attendance on the Billingsgate market, the fishermen are secure of a certain degree of custom for their fish; but as soon as the common fruit comes into season, they give up dealing in fish; finding the sale of gooseberries, currants and the like, to produce them a larger and more secure profit, with less risk or trouble. The fishermen being thus disappointed of a sale for their mackerel, at the time when they are most abundant, give up, in a degree, their employment for the season; and an immense quantity of palatable and nutritious food is thereby annually withheld from the inhabitants of the metropolis.

'This circumstance of the want of means of sending their fish generally into the town, not only prevents the mackerel being caught; but, even after they have been caught and brought up the river, precludes a considerable part of it from ever reaching the market; for all that arrives at this period beyond the estimated demand of the fishmongers, *however fresh and good*, is thrown into the Thames, and destroyed before it reaches Billingsgate; with the consequence of enhancing the price of mackerel to the opulent part of the metropolis, and of excluding most of its inhabitants from a participation in this cheap and plentiful supply of food.†

The fourth great impediment, mentioned by the committee, to the general use of fish in the metropolis, is the *uncertainty* of price, and the total ignorance in which the public are kept as to the *daily state* of the supply. 'The housekeeper who is going to market, knows pretty correctly what will be the price of mutton, beef, bread, cheese, and almost every other article of subsistence, but

* First Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 12.

† Account of the Supply of Fish, p. 3 and 4.

has no means of guessing whether fish will, that morning, be two-pence or two shillings a pound.' She knows, indeed, that the price depends mainly on the pleasure of the fishmongers, and considers it therefore a sort of prohibited article, fit only for the tables of the rich and luxurious. Indeed the great mass of inhabitants, consisting of tradespeople, mechanics, and small annuitants, would as soon think of going into Owen's or Grange's shops to ask the price of a pine-apple, as to inquire of Grove or Taylor the prices of cod, turbot, or salmon in the height of the season and when the town is full. Hence, when it may happen that there is even a glut of fish, which however is rarely the case, as there is no mode of diffusing that information, there is none of increasing the means of sale.

There is, however, another and not an artificial impediment to the regular supply of the metropolis by water carriage, which arises from the navigation of the river Thames. Whenever there is a prevalent south-west wind, which makes it impracticable to get up the river, the fishermen take shelter in a small bay on the Essex side of the mouth of the Thames, called Holy Haven, or sometimes East Haven; here they are obliged to wait a shift of wind, and, if disappointed in this, their cargoes are thrown overboard, and they proceed on another fishing voyage. The committee therefore propose to open a communication by land carriage between Holy Haven and the metropolis; the distance is only thirty miles, of which about four or five would require a new road to be made. Were this once effected, a daily and regular supply of fish would reach town in five or six hours after its arrival in Holy Haven, and the increased expense would not exceed one halfpenny a pound.*

The first step to the removal of all these obstacles to a more extended use of fish in the metropolis, appears obviously to be the dissolution of the present monopoly by the establishment of new markets. The evil of this monopoly is not a complaint of recent date; it would seem to have been felt so far back as the year 1749, when an act was passed 'for making a free market for the sale of fish in the city of Westminster; and for preventing the forestalling and monopolizing of fish;' yet, from some strange and unaccountable circumstances, though the population of Westminster and its connected neighbourhood has increased more than three-fold since the passing of that act of George II. no benefit whatever has been derived to this immense aggregate of population from it. The commissioners, in fact, seem to have mismanaged the concern al-

* Second Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 6.

unite every effort to provide an increase of subsistence, and to shake off that annual dependence on the uncertain and ruinous importation of wheat corn and other grain, at an expense amounting, in the same period of twelve years, to no less a sum than forty-two millions of money, sent out of the kingdom in quest of the necessary articles of life.*

It must not be disguised however, that, such are the prejudices of the common people, and of the poor more especially, that were the supply of fish so abundant as to reduce the price to a very low rate, it would be considered as unwholesome, or not fresh, or out of season, and would consequently find few purchasers. A gradual introduction of fish as an ordinary article of food is preferable to a sudden overflow. An example set by their superiors frequently tends to the removal of the prejudices of the lower order. The late Admiral Rodney, dining at Carlton House, congratulated the Prince of Wales on seeing a plate of what he thought British cured herrings on the table, adding that, if His Royal Highness' example was followed by the upper ranks only, it would be the means of adding 20,000 hardy seamen to the navy. The Prince observed that he had paid him an unmerited compliment, the herrings not having been cured by British hands—'but,' continued His Royal Highness, 'henceforward I shall order a plate of British cured herrings to be purchased at any expense, to appear as a standing dish at this table: we shall call it a *Rodney*, and under that designation, what true patriot will not follow my example?'† We fear the *Rodney*, like the monument voted to the memory of that gallant officer, has long been suspended.

But the uncontrouled command of the sea, the local and natural advantages arising out of the insular situation of Great Britain and Ireland, 'encircled by inexhaustible shoals of nourishing and gratifying food,' the equally inexhaustible mines of salt which both the land and sea afford us, are advantages so eminently superior to those which most other nations are gifted with, that we ought not to be satisfied with the supply of our home consumption—We should imitate the Dutch, and draw from our stores a copious supply for exportation to foreign countries, in exchange for other articles of consumption, and thereby increase the national wealth, strength, and industry, and 'provide a great and unfailing nursery for our navy—the bulwark, the defence, and the glory of the United Kingdom.'

Here, we must confess, the causes of former failure are neither so obvious, nor the remedy against future failure so easy. Funds were not always wanting to supply every necessary material on a

* First Report of the Committee of the Fish Association, p. 5 et seq.

† Proceedings of the British Society at the London Tavern, 25th March, 1789.

grand scale, nor were precautions neglected for ensuring success. So early as 1580 a plan was proposed to raise £80,000 for establishing the British fishery; in 1615 the like sum was raised by a joint-stock company; in 1632 a royal fishing company was established under the sanction of King Charles I. In 1660 parliament granted a remission of the salt duties, and freed all the materials employed in the fisheries from customs and excise. In 1661 the national fisheries met with great encouragement under the auspices of Charles II. In 1677 this monarch incorporated the Duke of York and others into 'The Company of the Royal Fishery of England.' In 1713 it was proposed to raise £180,000 on annuities, for the purpose of establishing a fishing company. In 1749, by the recommendation of George II. in his opening speech to parliament, and in consequence of a report of a committee of the House of Commons, £500,000 was subscribed for carrying on the fisheries under a corporation by the name of 'The Society of the Free British Fishery,' of which the Prince of Wales was chosen the governor. This society, which was patronized and promoted by the first men in the kingdom, promised fair for a little time, but it soon began to languish, nor could the enormous bounty of 56s. a ton prevent its total failure. The attention of parliament was again called to this great national object in 1786, when a new corporation was formed under the name of 'The British Society for extending the Fisheries and improving the Sea Coasts of the Kingdom,' which, if it does not flourish with all the vigor that could be wished, is still in existence, and we believe in an improving state.

These failures however, injurious as they might be to individuals, who contributed to the funds, were not so to the public; the towns and harbours of the maritime counties were improved, the number of seamen increased, the pilotage of the coasts better understood, and a body of expert fishermen formed, many of whom continued their occupations on the ruins of the several companies.

The success of the Dutch was owing in great measure to the steady industry of that indefatigable people. Their fishery, however, was conducted on a well-regulated system, by which all were required rigidly to abide; it was a concern, in which the whole nation might be said to partake. Every one felt it a duty to have a share in the fishery. An officer with the title of Admiral commanded the fishing squadron, whose directions all the rest were implicitly to obey. The English Companies, it is true, whether joint-stock or royal, had their regulations; but each fisherman when at sea 'was left to himself, and permitted to fish as best liketh him;' he was, in short, under no restraint or discipline. The Dutch, besides, were purely fishers; 'in season and out of season' they occupied

occupied themselves in matters solely connected with the fishery. The English combined with their fishery some other employment which but too frequently furnished an excuse for putting to sea, perhaps at the proper moment, whenever they might find themselves disposed to loiter on shore. It is an old complaint that while the provident and indefatigable Dutch went out to sea as far as the Shetland Islands to meet the herrings, the English quietly waited their arrival on the coast and in the creeks. 'The Hollanders are industrious,' says Sir John Burroughs, 'and no sooner are discharged of lading but presently put forth for more, and seek for markets abroad as well as at home; whereas our English, after they have been once at sea, doe commonly never retorne againe until all the money taken for their fish be spent, and they are in debt, seeking only to serve the next market.*' The English moreover being, as we have before observed, half traders and half fishers, were in the habit of proceeding to the mid channel and there bartering their goods for fish with the Dutch and Flemings; a practice which led by no very slow degrees to systematic smuggling, which was found to be an employment so much more genteel and easy, as well as profitable, that the fishing towns became so many depositaries of contraband goods.

We may therefore not be much out in ascribing the failure of the English fisheries for the home market to a want of those facilities which would create a steady demand, and ensure to the fisherman a certain and ready sale of his produce; and of those for the foreign market, to a want of system and management in the Royal and Joint-stock Companies—to a want of funds by individual fishermen, and the unwillingness of men of capital to engage in a concern of such doubtful success;—to which may be added the indifference and want of attention arising from the mixed employment of our fishermen: perhaps, however, the failure was after all mostly owing to the Dutch having anticipated and secured to themselves the best of the foreign markets, where their herrings had obtained the character of being so much superior to ours, that it was in vain we endeavoured to enter into competition with them, even in regard to price.

If we turn our attention, in the next place, to the fisheries of Scotland, we shall find that there too they have always languished; yet all the natural inducements that can invite or compel to the cultivation of the fishery exist on the northern and western shores of that country, and more especially on its appendant islands of Orkney, Shetland, and the Hebrides. It is here that 'the British Society for extending the Fisheries' have chiefly exerted them-

selves, and here indeed their exertions were most required. The total change which the rebellion, and the consequent breaking up of the clans, occasioned in the situation and circumstances of the Highlanders, compelled many thousand families to seek for employment on the opposite shores of the Atlantic. This emigration depopulated whole districts. The soil was not ungrateful nor the climate ungenial; both the sea and the land offered abundant means of subsistence: but the change was too violent to admit of proper measures being taken to allure these poor people to the pursuit of the fisheries and the cultivation of the waste lands. Seduced too by false statements, and deluded by imaginary happiness, they fled from their native shores to undergo a state of misery ten times more severe than that from which they vainly flattered themselves they were escaping. Their deplorable condition in the promised land of America is thus feelingly, and we believe faithfully, described by a gentleman who spared no pains in directing his inquiries into the 'most effectual means of the improvement of the coasts and the western isles of Scotland.'

'Within these few years I have taken much pains to inquire, and have had the very best opportunities of ascertaining, the unhappy fate of many of those unfortunate people who have emigrated, either from Scotland, Ireland, or Wales, to that part of the globe; and even within these few months I have had an account of the poverty, wretchedness, nakedness, and misery of many of those people, which it is almost horrible to describe. Of money there is none to be obtained; what is carried out is soon expended; and when their clothes are worn out they have no means of replacing them. If they should even obtain employment as labourers, they can get no wages in money from their employers. If they obtain land, they can get nothing for its produce: their food a little Indian corn and water, they drag out a miserable existence, with little chance of ever acquiring the only consolation that remains, that of procuring the means of returning to their native land, in which many hundreds of these deluded people declared to my friend that they would be glad to accept the most abject employments, or even to beg from door to door rather than support the miseries of their situation in America. The women who had gone out were of all others the most wretched; nor is there, of either sex, or of any description, a single individual, who has recently emigrated to America, that would not think it the most fortunate emancipation to be landed naked on their native shores.*

To put an effectual bar to the recurrence of so much misery on the return of peace, to prevent so many brave men and their families being lost to the country, in which the interests of humanity are no less concerned than those of sound policy, no great sacrifice on the

* Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot on the improvement of the coasts and extension of the fisheries of Scotland, &c. by R. Fraser, Esq.

part of the public would seem to be required. These emigrations are not so much owing to a redundancy, as to a scantiness, of population. The dispersion of the inhabitants over a wide tract of country is unfavourable to the cultivation and improvement of it; it is useless to raise grain where there is no demand for it—no markets—no roads—no assemblage of people in towns, uniting in one point the various occupations of social life, and sending forth, like the heart in the human body, health and vigour to the extremities. In such a country the great landholder finds his advantage in converting whole districts into pasture for the rearing of cattle and sheep, which require not a turnpike road for driving them to a market. The same scantiness of population on the sea-coasts, where all are fishermen, is attended with the same disadvantages. The families of these poor people are in a state of constant migration; for the wives and children of fishermen are employed in gutting the fish. The women travel along the dreary coast, from bay to bay, in the cheerless months of November and December, with their infants on their backs, a little oatmeal, a kettle and a few other utensils, which an uninhabited waste could not supply: 'they commence their cold and heartless labour without shelter for themselves or their infants, without any change of their daily diet of fish and oatmeal, no house to screen the sick or the dying—the heath, the cavern, or stunted bush their only bed, the snow or the hoary frost their only covering.*' So strongly, indeed, was the House of Commons impressed with a sense of the evils arising out of this state of the country, that it is declared in the Act † which incorporates the 'British Society,' 'that the building of free towns, villages, piers and fishing stations in the Highlands and islands of North Britain, will greatly contribute to the improvement of the fisheries, agriculture, manufactures, and other useful objects of industry in that part of the kingdom, in which the dispersed situation of the inhabitants have hitherto proved a great impediment to their active exertions; and their being collected into fishing towns and villages would be the means of forming a nursery of hardy seamen for His Majesty's navy, and the defence of the kingdom.'

Accordingly three fishing settlements were fixed on by the Committee of the Directors; one at Ullapool, on the north; another at Loch-bay, in the Isle of Sky; and the third on the south coast, at Tobermory; since which has recently been added a fourth at Pulteney-town, near Wick in Caithness. Bounties were also given at the same time and certain facilities granted with regard to the salt duties, which have subsequently been extended; but this is not enough: before any effectual remedy can be applied to the Scotch

* View of the Highlands, 1781.

† 26 Geo. 3.

fisheries, the indulgence must be enlarged, more towns built, and all the restraints and complicated regulations arising from the duty on salt completely done away. This is of far greater importance to the fisherman than the allowing of bounties, and in the end attended probably with less loss to the revenue. We think with Adam Smith, that a tonnage-bounty, proportioned to the burden of the ship, and not to her diligence and success in the fishery, is not the best stimulus to exertion; but we by no means agree with him, that vessels will be fitted out for the sole purpose of catching, not the fish, but the bounty. We must also doubt the correctness of the fact adduced in illustration of his theory, namely, that, in the year 1759, when the bounty was fifty shillings the ton, the whole buss-fishery of Scotland brought in only *four barrels* of herrings; so that each barrel of merchantable herrings in that year cost the government, in bounties alone, £159 7s. 6d.* This is at least strangely inconsistent with what he advances in the very next page, namely, that the great bounties had given such *encouragement* to the buss-fishery as to ruin the boat-fishery. But facts were then, as they now are, against his theory; the buss-fishery, in spite of bounties, is gone to decay, while the boat-fishery not only survives but improves. We agree with him, however, that bounties have the effect of encouraging rash adventurers in concerns which they do not understand, and cause them to lose, by their ignorance, more than is gained by the liberality of government. The bounty, in fact, is no encouragement to the actual fisherman. In the Shetland islands the laird is the proprietor of the boats. All that the poor fisherman catches is to be delivered to the laird's steward at a very low rate, who, in return, gives him the heads of the fish for himself and family, and serves him with the necessaries of life from the laird's storehouse at an enormous profit, sometimes at the rate of five shillings for a peck of oatmeal of eight pounds weight. His family employ themselves in making worsted stockings, mittens and night-caps, for which they are allowed about five pence a pair!†

It appears from the report of a committee of the House of Commons in 1785, that the whole of the duties on salt received into the Treasury from the counties of Argyre, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, on an average of the preceding ten years, amounted only to £ 172 6s. per annum, and there is reason to believe that they have not since that time increased. These counties might therefore be exempt from the duties on salt without much injury to the revenue; but this is not enough; they should

* Wealth of Nations.

† General Remarks on the British Fisheries, 1784.

also be exempt from 'the various vexatious bonds and penalties which at present accompany that indulgence, and which in many cases are as distressing to the fishers as if they paid the duty on the salt they use.'* How, for instance, can it be expected that the poor fisherman should send to the distance of 80 or 100 miles to a depôt of salt for every boat load of fish he may wish to cure? how can he convey such cured fish to a custom-house, equally distant, to have it examined? He has not sufficient capital to purchase a ship load of salt; or if he had, where is he to keep this perishable article? It is well known that for want of facilities which would enable individuals to purchase small quantities of salt, hundreds of boat loads of fish are cast away, or thrown upon the land as manure.

Nothing can more strongly exemplify the beneficial effects arising from the free use of salt, without being subject to bonds, pains, or penalties, than the privilege granted by Parliament to the inhabitants of the Isle of Man to import salt from England duty free, not only for curing fish, but for all other domestic purposes. In the year 1769 the inhabitants of this island amounted to 17,500. 'In the year 1784,' says Mr. Fraser, 'I had the honour to be appointed by the Treasury to make an inquiry into the state of the revenue and fisheries of that island. I found that, at that period, without bounties on their boats or the tonnage of their fishing smacks, or any premiums other than the free use of salt, they carried on a most extensive fishery, which employed 2500 seamen. In the absence of the herrings, the fishermen supplied the consumption of the island, in great abundance, with white fish, the agriculture was greatly increased, and the population consisted of 30,000 souls, having nearly doubled the number of its inhabitants in fifteen years.'† In 1798 their boats had increased both in number and size; from the burden of ten to twelve tons they had now advanced from sixteen to twenty two tons, of which the number exceeded 350, each employing seven or eight men; they had besides from forty to fifty fishing smacks from twenty to forty tons each, the whole employing upwards of 3000 seamen, which were then equal to the number of men and boys employed in the whole of the buss fishery of Scotland, supported by bounties exceeding £20,000 a year.‡ The prosperity of this island continues to be progressive, which is ascribed principally to the free importation of salt. That frauds are here committed on the revenue, and that, if the same indulgence was granted to the fisheries of Scotland, they would be committed to a greater extent, proportionate to the greater facilities of disposing of this ar-

* Committee of Fisheries in 1785.

† Letter to the Right Honourable Charles Abbot, from R. Fraser, Esq.

‡ Report of the Committee of the House of Commons for the Fisheries, in 1798.

ticle, there can be no doubt; but it is probable, on the other hand, that the trade and manufactures of the United Kingdom would be more benefited by the increased quantity of food thereby procured, and the national prosperity more advanced by the increased wealth of a numerous body of fishermen, than it possibly can be by the trifling sum which may accrue to the revenue from the present system of the salt laws as they affect the fisheries. We are persuaded, however, that means may be discovered effectually to prevent duty-free-salt from being used for any other purpose than that of curing fish, by making it unfit for, or immediately detected if applied to, any domestic use; as tinging it, for instance, with a pale red, green or yellow colour, while liquid in the pans, and thus communicating a tint to the solid crystals, which would in no shape injure the fish.

The whole sea coast of Ireland, its bays, creeks, inlets, lakes and rivers abound with all the various kinds of edible fish and of the very best quality; yet the fisheries of this part of the United Empire have, if possible, been more neglected than either those of England or Scotland. The Nymph bank* on the southern coast, abounding with cod, hake and ling, and presenting a fishery, perhaps not quite so extensive, but equal in all other respects, to that of the banks of Newfoundland, was a late discovery. The Liverpool market is scantily supplied from this bank; but those of Bristol, Bath, Plymouth, Exeter, Portsmouth and London might derive an ample supply of white fish from thence with greater certainty and facility than from the banks of the North Sea, the wind blowing fair from it for all those markets nine months out of twelve. But the Irish, poor and wretched as they are, and surrounded as the island is with inexhaustible fishing grounds, are either so indolent or have so little inclination to engage in the fisheries, that they have not yet proceeded a single step beyond procuring a partial supply of their own wants. They seem indeed to have less taste for a sea-faring life than their insular situation might be supposed to create, a proof of which is given in the few men which that country furnishes for the royal navy. With a population consisting of considerably more than one fourth of the whole population of the United Kingdom, Ireland does not supply more than one-seventh of the men belonging to the navy, and three-fourths of this small portion are landmen. Those few who follow the occupation of fishermen are so much prejudiced in favour of their own imperfect methods of catching fish, that they have hitherto resisted all attempts at improvement. A gentleman, it seems, by a particular

* So called from the vessel in which it was discovered, by Mr. Doyle, and of which an account was published in 1736.

kind of trammel net, proved to them that in a couple of hours he could take ten times the quantity of hake that they with their hookers were able to do in a whole night. The cost of one of these hookers is from £130 to £150; it is navigated by four men and a boy, and the mode of fishing is by the hook and line. A set of trammel nets with a boat costs only from £30 to £35. They employ four men, but when thrown out require no attention and do not prevent the use of the line at the same time,—the one is certain, the other uncertain. The hake, though playing about in shoals, are not always in the humour of *biting*; but they cannot escape the trammels. The hook too must be *baited*, and baits are sometimes not to be had. The poor fisherman can never hope to raise out of the produce of his labour so large a sum as from £120 to £150 to enable him to purchase a hooker; but a small boat and a net may fall within his compass, or at any rate may be purchased by a joint contribution of the boats' crew; and the feelings of proprietorship would give a spur to his activity. Yet with all these obvious advantages, such was the prejudice against this new method of taking fish, that the crews of the hookers, alarmed at the supposed diminution of their profit, occasioned by the increased supply, combined together along the whole coast and destroyed the trammel nets wherever they discovered them.*

An enlightened society for Ireland, formed on similar principles to that of the British society for extending the fisheries, &c. in another part of the United Kingdom, might be the means of removing those prejudices. Still the same difficulties would remain with regard to the salt laws, the removal of which it is presumed would, under proper regulations, give such a spur to the Irish fisheries, as would amply compensate the loss or failure of the distant fishery of Newfoundland, neither of which are impossible contingencies. It may be lost by the war; it may fail through the exertions and success of a rival. In point of fact, it has for some years past been progressively on the decline; whilst that of New-England has continued to flourish in the same progression.

It is stated on good authority, that in the year 1805, the number of vessels employed in the American fishery amounted to about 1500, carrying about ten thousand men, who had caught from 8 to 900,000 quintals of fish, while the whole produce of the Newfoundland fishery did not exceed 500,000 quintals, and the number of vessels and men employed did not amount to one half of that employed by the Americans.† The causes of this falling off are stated to be; first, the prohibition from making such local

* Hints for the Improvement of the Irish Fishery, by Geo. N. Whately.

† Considerations on the Expediency of adopting certain measures for the Encouragement or Extension of the Newfoundland Fishery. 1805.

laws and regulations as might be suitable to the circumstances of the inhabitants; secondly, the restriction which prevents the resident inhabitants from erecting their necessary dwellings; thirdly, the prohibition against the enclosure and cultivation of land, which prevents the inhabitants from raising any part of their provisions beyond a few potatoes; and fourthly, the restriction laid on the importation of provisions from the United States, which confines that importation to bread flour, Indian corn, and live stock, and that only on conditions not calculated to afford the inhabitants much relief. 'From a system the first object of which is to withhold that principle of internal legislation which is acknowledged to be indispensable to the good government of every community—which restrains the building of comfortable dwellings, in a climate exposed to the most inclement winter—which prohibits the cultivation of the soil for food—and restricts the importation of it from the only market, which the inhabitants have the power to go to—from such a system it is not surprising that the inhabitants of Newfoundland are not able to maintain a competition against the American fishermen.*

We have our doubts whether the Newfoundland fishery would be worth the carrying on, provided our home fisheries were in a better state of cultivation. To send out an annual supply of food for all the men employed on this fishery, to the distance of 3000 miles, and an annual supply of fishermen and seamen, who make it a convenient stepping-stone in their emigrations to America, while the home fisheries on the coasts of Ireland and Scotland, equally productive of the same kind of fish equally good, are nearly abandoned, is, to say the least of it, a questionable policy. It adds little to the wealth and less to the strength of the empire, and it appears to us quite impossible that we can, on return of peace, carry on a competition with the Americans on their own shores.

The brief review which we have taken of the British fisheries conveys not a flattering, but we believe, a faithful, picture of their present state. The supply, as we have seen, is inexhaustible; the demand, not satisfied either in the home or the foreign market; the object, of great national importance; the means, completely within ourselves; and success, certain under a well regulated plan. We have our doubts, however, whether Mr. Schultes has suggested such a plan; like most projectors, he brings forward only the favorable bearings, and promises too much.

The outline of his scheme, if we rightly comprehend it, is this—The herring fishery to be placed under the continual support and immediate direction of the government, whose chief officers, as

*. * Considerations on the Expediency of adopting certain measures for the Encouragement or Extension of the Newfoundland Fishery. 1805.

factors or *middle men*, are to inspect the curing and packing of all fish for the foreign market. The salt laws to be revised, restrictions removed, all penalties abolished, and the intervention of excise officers dispensed with. A fund of *six millions* to be raised and issued in descriptive notes of one to five pounds each, to be recalled at the end of five years, and bearing interest at five per cent. To build or purchase a fishing navy of 4000 good stout vessels, not less than 50 or 60 tons burden, each of which, with all the appropriate furniture, is calculated to cost about £3000, or the whole fishing flotilla twelve millions; one half of the value to be advanced by the fund above-mentioned. The fish to be cured on board and repacked on shore, according to the regulations observed by the Dutch. All the herrings caught and packed to be purchased by government at 25s. a barrel of sea-sticks, which, when repacked, may be disposed of at 42s. a barrel. It is supposed that each ship will take and cure annually, on an average, 600 barrels or 2,400,000 barrels on the whole, which, after repacking, will give 1,600,000 barrels of merchantable herrings. The account would then stand as under.

Payments.

For 2,400,000 barrels at 25s. the barrel, £3,000,000,	
in five years	£15,000,000
Deduct five years interest on the sum borrowed	1,500,000
	£13,500,000

Receipts.

1,600,000 repacked herrings, or, in five years,	
8,000,000 barrels at 42s.	16,800,000
Profit to Government	3,300,000
Or annually	£660,000

Of the 1,600,000 barrels he estimates 600,000 for the consumption of Ireland, and one million to the northern nations of Europe; for he observes, that as it is ascertained the latter took from the Dutch 624,000 barrels in 1653, it may be presumed, 'upon the calculations made by political arithmeticians,' there must have been a double population since that period, and consequently there must be a double demand. We are not sufficiently interested to inquire in what school Mr. Schultes learned his political arithmetic, but if his mercantile arithmetic is not grounded on better principles, we suspect that Government would have but a losing bargain by employing him as their accountant in the new national herring

herring fishery. We do not see clearly, what appears so very obvious to Mr. Schultes, how the poor's rate would become extinct by compelling each poor person to eat four salt herrings a week. His other plan, of raising 'seven millions eight hundred thousand pounds a year,' is as certain as it would be ingenious, if—'if two-thirds of the poor of England and Wales should earn by manual labour three shillings a week each person.' But his 'illustration' of increasing the revenue and diminishing taxes by repositories of pickled herring in every town, is, to us at least, an 'illustration' in the form of *obscurum per obscurius*.

We have a more rational and feasible 'project of a plan for the improvement of the British fisheries' by an anonymous author.* He proposes, 1. A grand national corporation organized under the immediate protection and superintendence of parliament. 2. A capital stock of to be raised in shares by the sea port towns and corporations, proportioned to the advantages of locality, and amount of their trade and tonnage; an annual dividend of 5 per cent. guaranteed on the capital. 3. Conveniences for shipping, storehouses, sheds, &c. constructed in places contiguous to the best fishing grounds. 4. A free use of salt by the managers without any interference of the revenue officers. 5. The fish taken and cured to be exempt from all duties whatever; on the other hand no bounties to be given. 6. Fishermen disabled by accident, age, or infirmity, and the widows and children of fishermen to be provided for. 7. The corporation to be authorised to propose rules for the regulation and discipline of the fishery. He proposes to catch and cure in the deep sea herring fishery, for the foreign market, 900,000 barrels, and for home consumption 600,000 barrels, or 1,500,000 barrels annually, which at 24s. a barrel would be worth £1,800,000. To do this there would be required 60,000 tons of decked vessels manned with 14,000 men and boys. The cost of these vessels, with their furniture, nets, and the wharfs, storehouses, &c. he estimates at £1,050,000, which with the total annual expenditure, risk, and interest on the capital will be further augmented to the sum of £1,673,250, so that after allowing a fair profit on all the articles of expenditure, and finding employment for vast multitudes on shore, there will remain an annual surplus saving of £126,750. On the same principle on a capital of £764,000, expended on the cod fishery, he makes out a clear annual gain of £136,000 by employing 40,000 tons of decked shipping, and 4800 men and boys to catch and cure 600,000 barrels of cod fish.

The outline of the plan we consider as unobjectionable. We

* Plan of National Improvement, &c. Brunswick. 1808.

would

would only add that the shares should be reduced into so small a sum, ten pounds for instance, that every poor fisherman might have the chance of becoming a proprietor, and should always be entitled to a preference in the purchase of shares, which, in addition to the price paid for his labour would ensure him 5 per cent. on all his savings; the clear profits, after the appropriation of a fund to provide for decayed fishermen and their families, might either be applied to an increase of the dividend or extension of the capital. It is for want of some such security, that capital has not been adventured in the home fisheries; and government only can afford satisfactory security. Wherever a capital has been advanced, it has been done with the sole view of securing a monopoly, as in the case of the salesmen of Billingsgate. A real master fisherman with an establishment of vessels, boats, nets, &c. is a character wholly unknown on the coasts of Britain; but let the government guarantee the capitalist 5 per cent. for the money he advances, under proper regulations, and every seaport in the kingdom, favourably situated for the prosecution of the fisheries, would speedily furnish whatever sum might be required. Supposing a million sterling to be advanced by individuals of the various fishing stations on the coast, the annual expense to government would not exceed £50,000, while the benefits which the nation would derive from it are incalculable. We think nothing of voting twenty or thirty thousand pounds annually for carrying on the Caledonian canal, which many well informed persons consider as an useless expenditure of money; whilst the same sums annually expended on the improvement of the sea coast and on the encouragement of the deep sea fishery would add more to the wealth, strength, and prosperity of Scotland, than all the Caledonian canals which engineers have projected.

In a national point of view the extension of the home fisheries would be attended with many important considerations. By augmenting the quantity of food there would necessarily result a reduction in the prices of all the necessaries of life; the condition of the labouring poor, artificers, and tradesmen would be improved; and a permanent fishery would be the means of rearing and supporting a bold and hardy race of men for the defence of the sea coast, and of creating a nursery of excellent seamen for the navy, not less valuable, we might perhaps say, more valuable than that of the coal trade. This is a consideration of more importance at the present moment, when, after a war of twenty years duration, our old seamen are fast wearing out, and the ordinary sources of recruiting young ones greatly exhausted by the regular army and militia, into which landmen are tempted to enter by the large bounties, which exceed those given by the navy in a

five-fold proportion. The merchant service is no longer that nursery of seamen for the navy which it used to be. Merchant vessels are now for the most part navigated by invalided seamen and foreigners; and the Americans have robbed us of 40,000, or as some say, 60,000 seamen. We are strongly inclined to think that the late unfortunate captures of our frigates by the Americans were less owing to any disparity in the respective sizes of the ships and the weight of metal, (though that disparity is sufficiently great to account for it,) than to the circumstance of the enemy's ships being manned wholly with prime seamen, which their limited navy enables them to do; whereas in our immense fleets one third part only of the crews of the ships consists of able seamen, (among whom the petty officers are included,) the rest being made up of ordinary, landmen, and boys. We may add too that, in many of our ships, every tenth man is a foreigner. We are ready to admit that, from such inferiority of bodily strength, and of numbers versed in seamanship, this new naval enemy may occasionally have the advantage; but we repel with disdain and indignation the calumnious assertion that our seamen have become 'heartless:' an assertion so false and libellous that it could have been hatched only in the mischievous designs of some dark and malignant spirit, or in the disordered brain of a maniac; but no sooner hatched than confuted by the fact of a British frigate completely subduing, in fifteen minutes, an American frigate, her superior in size, her superior in metal, her superior in number of men. It is, perhaps, not generally known, that immediately after boarding, the *Chesapeake* separated from the *Shannon*, while the colours of the former were still flying and the ship unhurt, so that in fact the whole of her remaining crew was conquered by about 140 British seamen, with Brooke at their head, who scoured the decks and drove the whole crew into the bottom of the ship with 'irresistible fury.'

With such men, trained by such an officer, we have little to apprehend from the superior magnitude of the enemy's ships; but we do entertain very serious apprehensions lest the supply of these brave fellows should fail. By encouraging the fisheries, however, every seaport town, every little village on the coast, and on the banks of the creeks and inlets, would become a nursery of seamen. Every spot to which boats and vessels resort must necessarily raise seamen; the very sight of them creates a taste for the sea in the neighbouring youth; and the little adventures and risks of a coasting voyage or a fishing expedition, instead of deterring, serve only to excite in boys of spirit a stronger desire to brave the 'bills of the stormy deep.' We must not flatter ourselves that the long protracted war has increased our naval power; far otherwise is the case, as every experienced officer in the service well knows.

It

It is therefore the more incumbent on the government to omit no measures that may tend to keep up this 'arm of our strength,' so essential to the honour, the independence, and the security of Great Britain; and we know of no measure so well calculated to produce this effect, as that of giving every possible assistance and encouragement to the home fisheries.

But the encouragement of the fisheries in a naval point of view is almost of equal importance on the recurrence of peace, as in the midst of a war. What, we would ask, is to become of the 145,000 seamen and marines now serving in the navy, at the conclusion of the war? Supposing that 45,000 be required to be kept in full-pay, what is to become of the remaining 100,000? When the commerce of the whole world, which we now almost exclusively possess, comes to be divided among the several maritime nations of Europe and America, so great a number of discharged seamen will in vain seek for employment in our commercial marine; and if not employed in the home and foreign trade, or in some way or other, must obviously be lost to the country. We may fairly reckon however that of these 100,000 men, one in five, from long service, wounds and infirmities, will be unable to provide for himself, and will, therefore, be a fit object for the nation's gratitude, dispensed through the medium of that noble institution, towards the support of which, indeed, every seaman contributes, and is therefore the more entitled to its relief. But where are the funds to be found to provide for 20,000 additional objects, who, on every consideration, must be thought deserving the benefit of Greenwich hospital! There are at present on that establishment about 2500 in, and 10,000 out, pensioners, requiring an annual sum of £120,000. In peace the revenues must fall off greatly, as many of the productive sources will then be dried up. A national fishery would give employment to all such Greenwich pensioners as were able to be useful, whether in the ships fishing at sea, or the boats attached to the fishery, or in the various occupations connected with it onshore, the number of whom may at least be reckoned at two-thirds of the whole. It is well known that there are few of the in-pensioners, comfortable as they are, who would not rather prefer a small out-pension to enable them to pass the evening of their days among their friends, who mostly reside at some or other of the sea port towns of the United Kingdom. Now every in-pensioner costs the establishment, at least £36 annually, while the largest out-pension does not exceed £18, and many are as low as £7. Hence thrice the present number of those in the hospital might be subsisted, and with greater comfort to themselves, by admitting the helpless only as in-patients, and allowing all such as were still able to do something, full liberty to go where

where they pleased. By this regulation, were the fisheries once established on a grand national plan, employment might be found on every part of the coast of the United Kingdom for a vast number of brave and deserving men, each retiring to the neighbourhood of his native spot: and here, with the addition of his small pension to his earnings, the worn-out seaman might be enabled to pass the remainder of that life, of which the best portion had been devoted to his country's service, among the friends and companions of his early days.

Every one must be fully aware of the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of manning the navy on the breaking out of a new war. For every ship of the line that we could send to sea, the first six months of the war, the enemy, by his marine conscription, would be able to man and equip five. But a national fishery, established on a grand scale and under proper regulations, would form such a nursery for the navy that we might then rely with certainty on a supply of seamen equal to the manning of twenty sail of the line at the shortest notice, on the speedy equipment of which the safety of the country might perhaps mainly depend.

We pretend not to know whether the attention of the government may or may not have been drawn to this important subject; but we do know that the highest considerations of state-policy—that every motive of public interest and private benefit—urge the immediate adoption of some efficient plan for the extension and improvement of the fisheries. The present state of the war makes such an undertaking the more necessary, whilst farther delay may be altogether fatal to it. It is essential to the success of any plan that our fishermen should obtain a full possession of the fishing grounds, and be in vigorous pursuit of all the various fisheries from Shetland to the Land's End, before the termination of the war. That period once arrived, the golden opportunity will have passed away. Whenever peace shall take place, we may be well assured that our ancient rivals the Dutch, who by French alliance have lost their navy, their commerce and their colonies, will, through French assistance, strain every nerve to re-create the one and regain the others. To effect this, they have the same means and the same resources which succeeded so well and so rapidly in former times. Nothing that we can possibly do, on the return of peace, will check their progress half so effectually as an immediate and vigorous prosecution of the fisheries, on our part, while the war lasts, and the getting possession, not only of the best fishing grounds, but also of the best foreign markets for the disposal of their produce. Those markets are now open to us. The Baltic, the Mediterranean, the whole coast of Spain and Portugal, the West India islands, the Brazils and Spanish America would ensure

ensure a demand for an almost unlimited quantity of salted fish. It would be idle to suppose that, on the return of friendly relations with the Dutch, we shall be able to prevent their fishing on our coasts, and in our very harbours, as they have been accustomed to do heretofore. In the last short interval of peace they came over to dredge for oysters, and to procure whilks for bait, in the very mouth of the Thames. French fishing vessels visited the banks and inlets on the coast of Ireland; and a boast was made, in the official journal of that country, that, in the course of two months, the Boulogne fishermen caught as many herrings on our side of the Channel, as produced them £28,000; and that one third of this sum was paid by English fishermen in ready money for the purchase of fish caught on their own shores!

In any negociation for a general peace, every effort will be used by our inveterate and deadly foe to thrust forward, as a prominent feature, *the liberty of the seas*. Our naval superiority is, in fact, the *lethalis arundo* that rankles in his breast. By that superiority the spark of liberty has still been kept alive on the continent of Europe, and by it alone have Spain and Portugal been rescued from the tyrant's iron grasp. We are therefore accused by him, on all occasions, and the accusation is re-echoed by his worthy coadjutor in America, 'of wishing to exclude the universe from that element which constitutes three-fourths of the globe;' and of throwing a barrier across this 'common highway of nations.' The accusation, we need not say, is utterly unfounded. The superiority which we have obtained by the skill and valour of British seamen has been used with British generosity and moderation. But, we confess, it has frequently occurred to us, that the charge might have been answered by a public declaration, stating clearly and explicitly what those maritime rights are, 'which,' to use the words of Mr. Abbot when speaking in the name of the Commons of England, 'we have resolved never to surrender.' The ground on which we stand is too firm and too elevated to require us to rest our foundation on undefined pretensions. We may, with safety, not only declare what those rights are, but further, that we shall wage interminable war rather than abate or compromise one iota of them. We hold the full and free use of the ocean, and every part thereof, by the whole universe, as a fundamental principle of public law, subject only to those regulations which have been established and sanctioned by the law of nations. England, it is true, has long claimed the sovereignty of the seas as a right which universal conquest has fairly given her; a right which we trust she will long continue to hold for her own honor and for the general happiness of mankind. Her sovereignty however is purely military, and in other respects but a 'barren sceptre;

sceptre ;' for, we repeat that at no period does it appear that she ever intended to set up any claim to a legal and possessory right of the sea to the exclusion of other nations.

That we have used the sovereignty of the seas with moderation is no idle assertion. If, by the common consent of nations, the sea has been held to be innocent, and inexhaustible, and therefore, that every one has a right to use it for navigation, and for fishing, England has not infringed either of those rights. She has exercised no prerogative of power beyond what is strictly recognised by the law of nations—assumed no privilege that could tend 'to the establishment of any legal right to the dominion even of her own seas. The *Mare Clausum* of Selden was certainly calculated to mislead, and it did mislead, a great part of the public on a point to which the public feeling was tremblingly alive; but the ablest statesmen of that day never thought of confounding the two questions of military dominion, and legal right of possession; or, as Vattel expresses it, 'England never claimed the property of all the seas, over which she has claimed the empire;' whilst he admits at the same time, that she had a right to take possession of the herring fishery on her coasts, though the omission of so doing caused that fishery to become common.

As the right to an appropriate fishery on our own coasts may speedily be brought into public discussion, it may be worth while to inquire how the fact stands with regard to our claims to the fishery in the seas of Great Britain—whether we have, in point of fact, at any period of our history, established a claim, by assuming to ourselves the power of granting licenses, or assigning limits, to those fisheries. There are two or three points on record that would seem to countenance the idea of the Kings of England having exercised these acts of sovereignty. Sir John Borroughs, whom we have before quoted, says, in his *Sovereignty of the British Seas*, that Philip the Second, king of Spain, obtained of Queen Mary his wife, a licence for his subjects to fish upon the north coasts of Ireland, they paying yearly for the same one thousand pounds sterling, which was accordingly paid into the exchequer of Ireland; but he produces no authority excepting the hearsay of the son of Sir Henry Fitton the treasurer. Such payment is no where on record, and, if ever made, was either a private bribe or an extortion. What appears to render this the more probable, is that the ambassadors of Queen Elizabeth openly affirmed to those of Denmark, when that power pretended to prevent foreigners from fishing between Norway and Iceland, 'that the kings of England had in no time forbid the freedom of fishing in the Irish sea, albeit they were lords of both banks.' Again, it is recorded by Camden, and quoted by a number of writers, that the Dutch asked leave of the governor

governor of the castle of Scarborough to fish for herring on that part of the coast, observing that 'the English always gave leave to fish, reserving the honour to themselves, but slothfully resigning the profit to others.' But Sir Philip Meadows observes that Mr. Camden has produced no authority for such an assertion; that the governor might probably, by his civilities to the fishermen, make some perquisites, and derive some emoluments, by permitting them to dry their nets on shore, fetch victuals and water, &c. but that it is not likely he had so indefinite a power, as to enable him to give leave, upon bare asking, for foreigners to fish at pleasure within the royalties of the crown; that at any rate it is manifest that no state ever did pay to the crown of England any yearly sum or other consideration for liberty of fishing upon the seas of England, for, in such case, such sum must have passed into the account of the exchequer as a branch of the royal revenues, and have there remained on record.* He further observes that none of our leagues and treaties made either with the house of Burgundy or with the house of Austria, since the union of the two houses, or with the States General, since their disunion from both, have ever reserved to the crown of England, any annual payment, fee-farm or consideration, for their liberty of fishing in our seas; that a certain sum was never agreed, and that an uncertain one could never be demanded; that, on the contrary, all the ancient treaties from the time of Edward IV. to James I. with the dukes of Brittany and Burgundy and the princes of the Low Countries, invariably covenant on both sides that their respective subjects should freely, and without let or hindrance, fish every where upon the sea, without asking any licenses, passports or safe conducts.—For instance, in the treaty between Edward IV. of England and Francis duke of Britany, the fishermen of both nations *pourront peaceablement aller par tout sur mer pour pescher et gagner leur vivre, sans impeachment, ou disturber de l'une partie ou de l'autre,* &c. Thus also in the Intercursus Magnus made in 1495 between Henry VII. and Philip IV. it is agreed *quod piscatores utriusque partis poterint ubique ire navigare per mare, secum piscari, absque impedimento, licentia, seu salvo conductu.* And the Dutch in the time of Queen Elizabeth were never molested in the enjoyment of the same privileges.

There are two cases, however, on record, that would seem to establish the fact of a licensed fishery on the part of England. In the seventh year of King James I. 1600, a proclamation was published, inhibiting all persons of what nation or quality soever, not being

* Observations concerning the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas, composed by Sir Philip Meadows. *Pepysian Manuscripts.*

natural born subjects, from fishing upon any of the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland, and the isles adjacent, without first obtaining licences from the king, or his commissioners, authorized in that behalf, which licences were to be renewed yearly. This royal edict, however, which further required a rateable composition to be paid into the exchequer, proportioned to the tonnage, seems altogether to have been disregarded by the continental states, whose subjects met with no difficulty in obtaining an indefinite liberty of fishing every where close upon the English shores, and even within its bays and havens, without the least fear of molestation, by the payment of some trifling fee or gratuity. A repetition of the proclamation by King Charles I. in 1636, with the view of establishing a claim to an appropriate fishery, met with no better success. The better to enforce this edict, the Duke of Northumberland, as admiral of the fleet, was sent into the North Sea to compel the Dutch fishermen to take licences, and to pay for the same, at a moderate rate, which they gladly accepted, to secure to themselves the benefit of the fishery without molestation; but the ambassador of the States General in England remonstrated against this unprecedented proceeding and disavowed the act of their fishermen. Henry IV. of France did, however, it seems, pay England the compliment of asking permission to fish for soles on the English banks for the use of his own table; and our own Henry VIII. condescended to renew a treaty which Henry VII. had made with John II. of Denmark, in which it was mutually covenanted that 'the liegemen, merchants and fishermen of England, should fish and traffic upon the Northern Sea, betwixt Norway and Iceland, but under a proviso of first asking leave, and renewing their licences from seven years to seven years, (*de septennio in septennium*;) from the kings of Denmark and Norway and their successors.*

Next as to a limited fishery. This expedient has also been tried, but with no better success than a licensed one. The precise boundaries of that marine territory, which approximates to the dominions of any prince, have never been established by universal consent. It has been held indeed as a general maxim of national law, 'that he, who is lord of both banks, is lord of the intermediate channel;' but even this concession is subject to modification where that channel is the passage into open seas. Civilians unanimously agree as to the right of sea property, but differ as to the extent and quantity of that right. One living on the borders of the Atlantic, might with seeming propriety extend that right an hundred miles into the ocean; another dwelling on the shores of the Baltic or Mediterranean

* Sir P. Meadows, on the Dominion and Sovereignty of the Seas. *Pepysian MSS.*
might

might think twenty leagues of sufficient extent; another again might maintain, that so much of the sea appertains to the land, as a man can see over from the shore on a clear day; all these notions have in fact had their supporters. But as Sir Philip Meadows observes with regard to the last, 'if a man see from Dover to Calais, I suppose the like can be done from Calais to Dover; and whose shall the sea be betwixt?' The opinion of more modern writers on the law of nations seems to assign the distance of a cannon shot from any part of the shore as the extent of marine jurisdiction, or, as a general principle, that legal dominion of the sea should extend so far from the coast as the safety of the nation renders it necessary, and her power is able to assert.* The extent of the British seas has at all times been a fruitful theme of dispute and discussion with neighbouring nations. In the attempt to settle the honour of the flag between England and France, Richlieu proposed that French ships should strike the flag and lower the topsail to British ships in the English Channel when nearer to the English shore, and that British ships should strike to those of France when meeting nearer to the French coast. The Cinque ports considered their jurisdiction to extend half seas over: the Trinity house were of opinion that the British seas extended from Cape Finisterre to the middle of Van Statenland in Norway, and from thence northward of Scotland and the isles thereof. The Lords of the Admiralty having in 1712 called on Sir Charles Hedges, the judge of the Admiralty Court, for his opinion as to the extent of the British seas, he delivered it as follows, which our readers will perhaps be inclined to consider as that of a good courtier, rather than of a sound lawyer.

'1. I take it without any doubt that the four seas, namely, east, south, west and north, are within her Majesty's sea dominions, as Queen of Great Britain. 2. That the east and south parts of this dominion extend to the opposite shores, and if a line be drawn from Berwick to the Naze in Norway, and another from Cape Finisterre to Cape Clear, or the most western point of land in Ireland, I conceive the space within those lines has been always reputed a part of the British seas; but I cannot say this is the utmost extent of them southward, there being some opinions that carry them farther. 3. If a line be drawn from the north Foreland to Calais, and another from the islands of Scilly to Ushant, I think the space between those lines and the opposite shores describe that part of the British seas called the Channel; and the other space from the Channel to the Naze is called the German ocean.' After describing the seas of Scotland and Ireland, he goes on to say that 'if the British domi-

nion may be extended as far from the Irish shores to the westward in any proportion that the ocean bears to the Mediterranean, the Gulph of Venice, the Euxine, Sound, Belt or White Sea, which are possessed by several princes or states, who restrain those respective dominions; the Queen of Great Britain may take in many more leagues than any of them do miles; or, if they claim by virtue of being possessed of opposite shores, her Majesty may, by the same rule, claim the western ocean beyond Ireland.* When Sir William Temple boasted that by the treaty concluded in 1673, between King Charles II and the States General, the flag was carried to all the height his Majesty could wish, because it was stipulated in the 4th article of that treaty, 'that the States General of the United Provinces, in due acknowledgment on their part of the King of Great Britain's right to have his flag respected in any of the seas from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, agree, &c. that their ships shall strike their flag and lower their topsail, &c. Sir Philip Meadows asked, 'what has England to do with the bay of Biscay or sea of Norway? From Cape Finisterre to Van Staten is a greater stride than the British seas, (as in former treaties the article stood,) but then it weakens our standing. The limits fixed between the two capes are too wide for dominion, too narrow for respect. The crown of England claims no dominion in any seas but the British only, yet it claims respect every where and in all seas.†

More moderate as well as more rational were the ideas of King James I. as to sea dominion and marine jurisdiction. It appears from Selden, that in the year 1504, the second of his reign, he caused twelve sworn men well skilled in maritime affairs to trace out on a map the sea coasts of England, on which were drawn straight lines from one promontory or headland to another, and all that was intercepted and included within these lines was called the king's chambers and royal ports. With this sea chart was published a royal proclamation, in which they are stiled 'the places of the king's dominion and jurisdiction.' Sir Leonine Jenkins calls them 'those ancient sanctuaries where by the law all merchantmen are in safeguard, and all hostilities whatsoever are to cease, and where all parties, though in enmity with one another, are equally to pay a reverence to, and enjoy the benefit of, his Majesty's protection.'

This act of King James has been considered as impolitic, because it implied that he had no right, or, if he had, that he relinquished it altogether, beyond that boundary. It was soon evident however, that he had no intention to limit his right of the fisheries within such narrow bounds, as we have already seen by his pro-

* Admiralty Records.

† Letter from Sir P. Meadows to Mr. Secretary Pepys. *Pepysian Papers.*

clamation five years afterwards, prohibiting foreigners from fishing on any of the coasts and seas of Great Britain and Ireland without a licence. In fact, in the very same year that he caused the said sea-chart to be drawn, the commissioners appointed to conclude an union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, among other things concerning the trade, mutually agreed 'that the fishing within the friths and bays of Scotland and in the seas within fourteen miles distance from the coasts of that realm, where neither English nor other strangers have used to fish, should be reserved and appropriated to Scotchmen only; and reciprocally Scotchmen to abstain from fishing within the like distances off the coasts of England.' In the same reign, Lord Carlton, the English ambassador at the Hague, was informed, that a communication had been made to the United States commissioners in London, that their subjects would then and in future be prohibited from fishing within fourteen miles of his Majesty's coasts.* The Dutch however paid little attention to this notice. They out-numbered us in their merchant shipping in the proportion of 10 to 1,† and their navy as to number and tonnage was far superior to ours. It was manifest indeed that they were determined to try with us a vigorous contest for naval superiority, and King James did not find it prudent to provoke it at that time.

Since then no good precedent can be advanced to establish the right of Great Britain to impose on her opposite neighbours either a limited or a licenced fishery, even in her own seas, the obvious policy on her part would be that of forming a numerous and expert body of fishermen, while the war continues, which has given us the unrivalled commerce of the world, as we have long been the uncontrouled masters of the sea. We know of no other effectual mode of retarding the progress of the enemy in a rivalry of the fisheries, than that of a prior occupation of them; for, peace once restored, in vain we should endeavour to exclude them from our fishing grounds; the very attempt to do it would involve us in endless disputes and difficulties. If, in the midst of war, we are so indulgent or so indifferent as to permit them to fish half Channel over, they will not scruple to visit our bays and harbours in time of peace. We permit even to our enemies the enjoyment of a benefit which, under a change of circumstances, they would peremptorily refuse to us. We allow them to come out and fish without molestation, notwithstanding that fishery not only feeds their markets, but supplies the blockaded fleets with a succession of seamen—almost the only seamen whom they have the opportunity of making.

* Sir P. Meadows on the Sovereignty of the Seas. *Pepysian MS.*

† Hume.

We did indeed, on one occasion, seize some fifteen or twenty the Dutch schuyts, because, on the loss of the *Flora* in 1808, the surrounding fishing boats, instead of assisting the sufferers, inhumanly made away from the wreck and left the vessels to perish; about the same time too the Dutch had broken a cartel more they had concluded with Great Britain. But what was the consequence? The Dutch fishermen found in our easy philanthropy an amnesty for the loss of those brave men of the *Flora*, who were perished through their inhumanity; the schuyts and fishermen were restored, the order rescinded, and the Dutch fish as before without molestation.

The immense advantages to be derived from establishing a national fishery on a grand scale, must plead our excuse for extending the present article to so great a length. Happy shall we be if we have succeeded in drawing the attention of those to the subject, through whose influence and exertions alone those advantages can be obtained.

ART. II. *An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions.* By John Ferriar, M. D.

THE observation of Dr. Johnson, that the belief in apparitions could become universal only by its truth, and that those who deny it with their tongues, confess it with their fears, has perhaps received more consideration than it is fairly entitled to. The last remark will not carry very far at any rate, nor is it of much avail even in the very small extent to which it is applicable; for the fear of ghosts may well survive the belief in them, and is much oftener the effect of habit, than the result of conviction. It was said of a certain officer, the early part of whose life had been passed in extraordinary shifts and distresses, that a reverse of fortune, which brought plenty and ease, never could put him above the fear of bailiffs, at sight of whom he invariably fled; and it may perhaps be averred that there scarcely lives a person who does not retain a more or less painful impression from some danger which no longer exists. The first part of the sentence has however more weight, and though the universality of the creed respecting spirits cannot be argued as a proof of their visitation, it at least proves the existence of some universal causes, which must have led to such a belief. A discussion of these forms the subject of the work at present under our consideration.

The author prefaces it by declaring that he is about to open a new and unbeaten field to the composer of romance, and to present an effectual antidote to the terrors of the ghost-story, assuring those whom

climation.rites to his 'enchanted castle' that the door will not be on any of them 'by a grinning demon, but by a very civil person in a licence. Instead however of ushering in his guests with the sea-cha and solemnity, which such a description implies, he has an unadmitted them before away goes this grave personage with among sep and a jump; which might almost baffle the activity of fishing its goblin-page. We will tax our muscles to accompany withir elasticity and irregularity of movement. He begins by al- neither that impressions have been made upon the senses of persons resery, which were apparently præternatural;—that by such 'the Scott the dead and the absent have been seen and their voices coast have been heard.' Proposing to explain these reputed prodigies by physical means, he states it to be a known fact that, in cases of delirium and insanity, spectral delusions take place and often continue during several days; but says it has not been generally noticed that similar effects may have been produced by a partial and undetected affection of the brain. Deducing all fantastic apparitions from this source, he, for greater perspicuity, as he states, distributes his matter under the three following divisions:—1st. The general law of the system to which spectral impressions may be referred; 2d, the proof of the existence of morbid impressions of this nature without any sensible external agency; 3d, the application of these principles to the best authenticated histories of apparitions,' but he soon loses sight of his arrangement.

Having thus announced the plan of the author, we shall follow him as we can; but feel that we give no very favourable earnest of our activity by being stopped, at the very threshold, by this bold proposition. 'It is a well known law of the human economy, that the impressions produced on some of the external senses, especially on the eye, are more durable than the application of the impressing cause.' The author first illustrates this position by the description of a faculty, which he had himself possessed, in his youth, of recalling, in the dark, any interesting object that he had seen in the course of the day, and colouring the copy with all the brilliancy and force of the original; and then in confirmation of his system, cites an insinuation of Dr. Darwin in his *Zoonomia*, that this error, like the deceptions of perspective, is only corrected by experience. To this principle he attributes dreams, the supposed spectacles exhibited in the aurora borealis, and other natural illusions, illustrated by different examples. But were the impression made upon the organs of sight not, what it certainly is, a mere repetition, effected we know not how, through the force of imagination, but, in fact, permanent, and only corrected by experience; we should perceive in children the first dawn and progress of observation, as well with respect to this, as to the illusions of perspective, the process of which is easily traced.

traced. Were the impression, of which the author treats, other than imaginary, why need he have resorted to a dark room in order to renew the images with which he had been previously amused? These would have been still visible, according to his theory, (unless he means to argue yet more whimsically, that this uneffaced picture of things once seen operates to the exclusion of what is before our eyes,) though confused with the objects of his immediate view. He would have enjoyed his romantic prospects in mid-day and in a garret; the only inconvenience might have been the having his green fields dotted with a tester bed, high-back chairs and bureaux.* This principle too is insufficient, as he afterwards virtually admits, to the establishment of his system respecting apparitions; for those who have sleeping or waking dreams, do not only copy, they imitate and compound. We confess that we have the more delight in battering this new and extraordinary proposition, because we think the doctrine singularly uncomfortable. Other 'of the external senses,' we are informed, may be capable of this real secondary affection. Now though there are many impressions which all would willingly reproduce, we believe that no one covets a second edition of squalls and broken bones. *Vous ne devez pas dire que vous avez reçu des coups de bâton, mais qu'il vous semble d'en avoir reçu*, may be a very unsatisfactory suggestion to a man who has been just cudgelled, but it is more cruel, and not a whit more philosophical, after admitting his first misfortune, to persuade him that it will be renewed at a time when there is not a twig in sight, or an arm to brandish one; especially if he has not been bastinadoed often enough for him to have corrected this impression by dint of experience. Such is the consolation afforded by 'a very civil person,' who professes to annihilate the tyranny of the imagination.

The manager, having now explained the nature of his machinery, draws up the curtain and exhibits his phantasmagoria, which presents us with legions of spirits, black, white, blue and grey. One trick in the puppetshow deserves to be recorded. One of the mortal dramatis personæ in imagination swallows the devil; a case which, in our opinion, should be referred to a confused association of ideas. From the most generous motives 'he resisted,' says Dr. Ferriar, 'the calls of nature during several days, lest he should set the *foul fiend* at liberty. I overcame his resolution, however,' he adds, 'by

* We do not mean to deny the retina, in some cases, retaining, *for a few seconds*, the impressions which it has received; but we deny the extent in which this fact has been maintained, and the inferences which have been drawn from it. Such instances are, we believe, rare, and usually considered by medical men as arising from some debility, or morbid affection of the organ.

administering an emetic in his food.' Another case of a young lady, who was accompanied by her own apparition, may be ascribed to the author's own principle of insanity, as she may certainly be pronounced to have been *beside herself*.

Taking a large skip here, amongst other impediments, over lycanthropia, (in which the patient imagines himself to have become a wolf, 'an impression,' we are told, 'which has, no doubt, been produced or strengthened by narcotic potions of hyoscyamus and datura stramonium,' query, wolf's bane?) for we find that we cannot leap fair with the author, we find ourselves, amongst accessory causes of delusion, with respect to spectres, followed, as usual, by stories more or less apposite. One of them, that of M. Bezuel and M. Desfontaines, is extremely curious. These two, when boys, the eldest, M. Bezuel, being only fifteen, made a compact, which, for greater solemnity, they signed with their blood, engaging that whichever died first should visit the survivor. They were soon afterwards separated, and, at the end of two years, the agreement was fulfilled by M. Desfontaines, who had been drowned near Caen, and who appeared, on the succeeding day, to his friend. The circumstances which preceded this visitation are particularly worthy of attention. Bezuel was amusing himself one day in hay-making at a certain M. de Sortoville's, when he was seized with a fainting fit, which was succeeded by a restless night. He experienced a second fit, in the same meadow, on the following day, attended with the same consequences. Again on the third day, while on the hay-stack, he experienced a similar attack, and this was a prelude to the ghost, &c. He tells the story himself.

'I fell into a swoon; one of the footmen perceived it and called out for help. They recovered me a little, but my mind was more disordered than it had been before. I was told that they asked me what ailed me, and that I answered, "I have seen what I thought I should never see." But I neither remember the question nor the answer. However, it agrees with what I remember I saw then, a naked man, in half length, but I knew him not. They helped me to go down the ladder, but, because I saw Desfontaines at the bottom, I had again a fainting fit: my head got between two stairs, and I again lost my senses. They let me down, and set me on a large beam, which served for a seat in the great *Place des Capucins*. I sat upon it, and then no longer saw M. de Sortoville nor his servants, though they were present; and perceiving Desfontaines near the foot of the ladder, who made me a sign to come to him, I went back upon my seat, as it were to make room for him, and those who saw me, and whom I did not see, observed that motion.'

He proceeds to state, that the apparition took him by the arm and conducted him into a bye lane, where he conversed with him for nearly three quarters of an hour, and informed him of all the particulars of his death, which had taken place, as was before
stated,

stated, on the preceding day. All saw him walk away; and M. de Sortoville and his footboy heard him speaking in the manner of one who was asking and answering questions. All this time, however, his spiritual companion was invisible but to himself. Their intercourse was repeated more than once. That the fainting fits were the cause of this illusion there can be no doubt, and Dr. Ferriar informs us, speaking from his own experience, 'that the approach of syncope is sometimes attended with a spectral appearance;' but it is seldom that an opportunity can be afforded, as in the present instance, of watching the gradual concoction of a ghost. The appearance of Desfontaines, like the first crude apparition seen by Bezuel, was only a half length, and this mode of seeing spirits by halves appears more general than we should have supposed; for we are told, in another place, that two old ladies, who were inhabitants of antient castles, comparing notes respecting their different residences, one of them averred that hers was haunted by the appearance of the upper part of a human figure, a piece of intelligence which was received with great apparent satisfaction by the other, inasmuch as it explained to her why her mansion was visited only by the lower half. It does not appear that they resorted to the obvious expedient of tossing up *heads or tails* for double or quits. Dr. Ferriar, however, who has served up every variety of spectre, has, in addition to these semi-goblins, furnished us with an instance of a double phantom, or rather a sort of polypus ghost. We extract the story, which is taken from Lucian, as furnishing a new and amusing theory of the division of labour.

'Eucrates says that he became acquainted in Egypt with Pancrates, who had resided twenty years in the subterraneous recesses, where he had learned magic from Isis herself. "At length," he states, "he persuaded me to leave all my servants at Memphis, and to follow him alone, telling me that we should not be at a loss for attendants. When we came into any inn, he took a wooden pin, latch, or bolt, and wrapping it in some clothes, when he had repeated a verse over it, he made it walk and appear a man to every one. This creature went about, prepared supper, laid the cloth, and waited upon us very dexterously. Then, when we had no further occasion for it, by repeating another verse, he turned it into a pin, latch, or bolt, again. He refused to impart the secret of this incantation to me, though very obliging in every thing else. But having hid myself one day in a dark corner, I caught the first verse, which consisted of three syllables. After he had given his orders to the pin, he went into the market place. Next day, in his absence, I took the pin, dressed it up, and repeating those syllables, ordered it to fetch some water. When it had brought a full jar, I cried "Stop, draw no more water, but be a pin again." It was in vain, however, that he reiterated the command of *as you were*, the perverse pin continued his employment till he had nearly filled the house. "I, not able to endure this obstinacy, (continues Eucrates,) and fearing the

the return of my companion, lest he should be displeased, seized a hatchet and split the pin in two pieces. But each part, taking up a jar, ran to draw more water, so that I had now two servants in place of one. In the mean time Pancrates returned, and, understanding the matter, changed them into wood again, as they were before the incantation."

The author having, at last, dismissed his shadows, sums up his evidence by the declaration that the facts which he has stated have afforded to himself a satisfactory explanation of all difficulties respecting what he terms spectral appearances; he calls upon the physician and philosopher to examine such cases with accuracy instead of regarding them either with terror or contempt, 'and to ascertain their exact relation to the state of the brain and of the external senses;' he observes, that were this done, 'the appearance of a ghost would be regarded as of little more consequence than a head-ache,' and finally congratulates himself on having 'released the reader of history from the embarrassment of rejecting evidence in some of the plainest narratives, or of experiencing uneasy doubts when the solution might be rendered perfectly simple,' and thus he reconducts his guests to the entrance of his enchanted castle.

'Prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburnâ.'

We fear that the doctor's nostrum will not turn out the perfect specific he imagines.

*'O vous qui craignez tant les esprits,
Et qui les craignez sans y croire,'*

may, as we have before stated our opinion, be applied to the largest class of those for whom he prescribes. On these all medicine will be thrown away; their morbid propensities must be left to wear themselves out, or if any potion can avail, it is a disease wherein the patient must minister to himself. There is, however, another description of actual, or possible, ghost-seers, who might, perhaps, profit by such a discussion of the subject; but this determined assailant of the world of phantoms has left unattempted the two strongest works, behind which they may intrench themselves. Every one who has experienced a violent nervous attack, or witnessed the effect of it on others, and indeed every one who has had the nightmare in daylight, must, if they think at all, have found in such causes an explanation of ghosts, and will have easily conceived to themselves a more diseased state of organs, which might represent phantoms more vivid, more precisely figured, and more permanent than those with which they have been visited. But the difficulties with regard to accepting this, as a general solution of the mystery, are, first, the evidence we have of more persons than one having witnessed these appearances; and, next, that of some event, which could

could not, by natural means, be known at the time, having been thus manifested; a circumstance which appears at once to explain the cause and to attest the truth of such a visitation. These two defences are, however, certainly more assailable from the previous demolition of the outworks which surrounded them.

The great point to be considered with regard to the supposed verification of ghosts by the testimony of more than one person is, that if we give the witnesses credit for being honest, it would be going much too far to allow them to be unprejudiced. In the great majority of cases of this description which are in circulation, it is to be observed, that the minds of those who have seen such sights, were prepared for the reception of the wonderful by circumstances either of time, place, or conversation. Men, in this situation, resemble instruments tuned to the same pitch, which, if a note of one be struck, will repeat the sound on a corresponding string. The following story may serve as an illustration. A traveller in the east found himself in a village where there was a great outcry against vampires. It may be necessary to premise, that the vampire of spectral history is a dead body which has the privilege of sucking the blood of the living. So universal was the belief that the magistrates granted a general search warrant, and the traveller accompanied a great number of the inhabitants to the churchyard for the purpose of putting it into execution. The grave of a person suspected was opened in his presence, and while *he* saw nothing but a putrid and macerated carcass, the rest beheld, in the same object, freshness of complexion, and corpulence, in short, all the known indicia of the delinquent's profession, and were much inclined to give the dissentient an opportunity of practising it, in his own person, for obstinately maintaining his opinion. Here all the assistants but the stranger were predisposed to belief; but it may be shewn, by another instance, that the imagination of one person will reflect the images represented by that of another, even where it has not been previously wrought upon and prepared for such an impression. A modern poet who, though he has exercised a powerful command over the world of spirits, is certainly free from superstition, accompanied a friend the evening to a place in Edinburgh, where they sold oysters. They were shewn into an inner room, and sat down to table. Here they were joined, as they believed, by an unknown person, whom neither of them knew; but it is to be remarked, that his appearance was unaccompanied by any circumstances of terror. He neither swallowed his oysters, shell and all, or did any thing which could subject him to suspicion. They lost sight of him they knew not how; and on going into the next room and inquiring about their uninvited guest, were assured by those who had remained there during the whole time they

they were within, that no one had passed through that apartment, which afforded the only means of access to their own. It may, perhaps, be objected to any inference drawn from this anecdote, that the imagination of the two gentlemen in question had probably been warmed with wine. Perhaps so: but *le peril monte la tête comme le vin*, says Madame de Staël, and fear is as quickly communicated as an electric shock. We may also consider optical deceptions, which have been generally mentioned by Dr. Ferriar amongst the causes of ghost-seeing, as one explanation of these better attested stories; but they are of much too rare occurrence to be admitted as a universal solvent of apparitions.

With respect to the second class of spiritual anecdotes, which includes all accounts of visitations, where some event appears to coincide with the spectacle represented by the imagination, we must recollect that we hear only of those where the result corresponds with its supposed signification; the thousand instances in which it does not, are never communicated. A young man, a writer in India, is surprised by the appearance of his mother (whom he had left in England), bathed in tears. He conceives this to be an intimation of his father's death, communicates what he has seen to a friend, and this person, under the idea of giving him a lesson against credulity in the future disproof of his fears, desires him to make an entry of all the circumstances in his pocket-book. The sensible intention of this friend is disappointed by the verification of the vision. Take, on the other hand, a story which may well weigh against the preceding. Three brothers, out of four, sleeping in the same room, when boys, dream that their father is dangerously ill, or dead, yet nothing had passed which might naturally have suggested to them so painful an idea. His death would have been but one wonder the more, but he long survived the triple omen by which it was apparently figured. The fact is, whimsical combinations are continually taking place, which, when they involve nothing which savours of a ghost, we are content to consider as the effect of what is called chance; if they do, we must cut the knot in one case as well as in the other. Many of these are as much out of the reach of calculation as any story of second sight. We take one as an instance. A short time ago, a seaman, belonging to the *Arrogant*, died, and the wages due to him were claimed by his brother, named John Carr, living at No. 4, Spicer Street, Shadwell. On inquiry, however, it was found that Mary Carr, his sister, residing at Lowth, in Ireland, had been appointed his executrix. Orders were given for sending her the papers necessary to her receiving whatever might be due; but these were, by some mistake, forwarded to the direction of the first claimant, at No. 4, Spicer Street, Shadwell. In this street there were two Nos. 4, and

and at one of these actually dwelt another woman of the name of Mary Carr, who, having possessed herself of the papers, attended at the Navy Pay Office, and received the money.

Still we have not traced the illusion to its source: if we have explained the causes which have fortified, or appeared to prove the truth of this belief, it is more difficult to explain how the mind first acquired it,—how it first came by the idea of a ghost; and unless we were prepared to argue that this is innate, we know but one solution of the difficulty, which is the supposing it to spring out of the universal belief in the immortality of the soul; whether this be a traditional fragment of revelation, or an induction formed from dreams. To these the savage always ascribes divinity. The Indian, therefore, whose imagination first represented to him, in sleep, the image of a deceased friend, though, in his dream, he might imagine him still alive, would, on waking, conceive his apparition to have been indicative of another state of existence. Respecting the ready adoption of the creed, we shall find no difficulty, when we consider how universally our hopes and fears rest upon a world beyond our own; and, perhaps, there is no more striking proof of the predisposition of the human mind to that weakness, which forms the subject of the present essay, than the instinctive dread of darkness, remarkable in children, who have escaped the taint of nursery superstition. The gloom of itself seems to dispose the mind to melancholy, and a vague feeling of insecurity leads the imagination to people it with such terrors as it can furnish and dress up, out of its preconceived ideas. A father and mother, who had taken every possible precaution to preserve an infant daughter from all the horrors of the church-yard, observed in her an evident apprehension of being alone in the dark. They naturally concluded that their care had been fruitless, but, on examining into the object of her fear, she confessed that this was no other than ‘*Ell-wide*.’ She had heard the word used by her mother, and, not knowing that the said *Ell-wide* was ‘base and mechanical,’ being struck with the majesty of the name, and receiving ‘*ignotum pro magnifico*,’ had adopted him as an object of respect, precisely upon the same principle on which the late worthy member for Sussex cheered, at the bare mention of the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia.

But we feel that we have caught the contagion of story-telling; we have been too long occupied in this Συναγία, we willingly drop our weapons, and retire from the conte

ART. III. *Correspondence of the late Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. with the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the Years 1796—1801, chiefly on Subjects of Classical Literature.* 8vo. pp. 232. London; Cadell & Davies; Edinburgh, Blackwood; Dublin, Keene. 1813.

THE diffusion of wealth, literature, and curiosity; the increased disposition to read, and the increased ability to buy books, have not only added to the number and fertility of living writers, but have also occasioned the press to groan under a vast additional load of posthumous publications. No sooner does an eminent person die, than his scrutoire is ransacked, and his friends are solicited for materials to make a volume. His works are sought for with almost as much regularity as his last will and testament; and by the time the latter has been proved at Doctor's Commons, the former are almost ready to appear in Paternoster-row. Nor is this process applicable to professed writers alone. A few sketches, or hints, or a fragment found in his port-folio, or verses ascribed to him; or, if none of these things exist, the never-failing resource of his correspondence, by the kindness of friends, and the diligence of publishers, is quite sufficient to raise a man after his death to the dignity of an author who, in his whole life, never entertained any settled thoughts of becoming one. This practice is not unattended by advantages. It adds to the public stock of harmless amusement. It often preserves important facts, and sometimes even rescues valuable compositions from oblivion. Besides, it gives us a deeper insight into human nature, by exhibiting to us nearer at hand, and at moments of carelessness and confidence, those persons, whom we had been accustomed to admire at a distance, when veiled by prudence, and protected by forms. On the other hand, it must be owned, that it not only ministers to a laudable desire for knowledge, but tends, quite as much, to gratify that low illiberal curiosity which is nourished by idle anecdotes of private life, and that malignant enviousness which comforts itself for the general superiority of great men, by contemplating their weaknesses and defects. Perhaps, after all, it is more for our advantage to maintain inviolate the respect due to the best specimens of our nature, than risk it by unnecessary disclosures—to embalm the illustrious dead, than deliver them over to the dissector for the sake of throwing new lights upon the intellectual anatomy of man. All indeed would be well, if the task of selecting from posthumous papers were performed with honesty, and with tolerable discretion; but in nine instances out of ten we have to lament a failure on one side or the other, and the reputation of the dead is sacrificed to the imprudence, vanity, or rapaciousness of the living.

The fate of Mr. Fox, in this respect, has always appeared to us
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peculiarly hard. He left behind him a reputation to which none but the very highest excellence in literature could have added. It was a reputation which not even his bitterest enemies ventured to call into question. The feelings of political animosity seemed overcome by a generous sentiment of exultation in that genius and eloquence which added perceptibly to the stock—great as it is, of English glory. His whole conduct, and some points of his character, were the subject of endless dispute, but his talents were left to be estimated by the zeal of his followers, and if the ‘*Historical Fragment*’ had never seen the light, they might without much contradiction have indulged themselves in triumphantly conjecturing ‘how well he would have written had not politics and pleasure denied him leisure for literary pursuits.’ But the work appeared, and at once precluded all such speculation, by as great a disappointment as ever occurred in the literary history of the world. It failed instantly and totally. The partiality of friends, and the magic of a great name were unable to sustain it for a single day. Yet no book was ever more fairly dealt by. The public was certainly desirous to admire it if that had been possible; Mr. Fox’s political adversaries were not active in decrying it; his followers shewed a decent regard to his memory by praising it at the risk of their own character for taste. The sages of the north too did their duty without shrinking, and boldly proclaimed a new era in our literature. But all efforts were fruitless. The defects were too striking to be concealed or extenuated; and in the work of an author who (as we were told) had formed so high a notion of the dignity and simplicity of history—a work upon which he had bestowed so much time and so much anxious care—for which journeys had been undertaken, and libraries searched, the public were astonished to find a style inaccurate, though laboured, cold at once and declamatory; and the narrative of events more than a century old deeply tinged with the prejudices of his own age and his own party.

In some instances too, the tendency of the work is such as we should have been better prepared to meet with in the writer of a German drama than of an English history. Without entering into any discussion of Mr. Fox’s political opinions, we may be allowed to complain when they evidently interfere with the just appreciation of character, and the very sense of right and wrong. It is impossible to read the sentimental story of Monmouth, (upon which Mr. Fox has put forth all his strength,) without being persuaded that in the estimation of the writer, disloyalty, like charity, is a merit of so transcendent a kind, that it may serve to cover almost every sin. Monmouth was, even to his last moments, singularly disregardful of the obligations and even the decencies of domestic

domestic life; his understanding was feeble, and he wanted even courage, the only virtue that can throw lustre upon the character of a weak man engaged in great transactions. Mr. Fox endeavours to make of him a sort of hero of romance; and the fate of this unfortunate but guilty person, excites in his breast, at the distance of four generations, a more tender sympathy than he ever deigned to express for the whole clergy and nobility of the most ancient civilized monarchy in the world, plundered, exiled, and butchered, in his own time, and almost before his own eyes. Not that we are inclined to consider coldly such an event as Monmouth's execution, or to censure the emotions of a generous pity. But Mr. Fox evidently feels for him a greater interest than belongs to his character, or even to his misfortunes. He extenuates his failings not only with that indulgence which flows from a just and humane consideration of the infirmities of our common nature, but with the affectionate eagerness of a partizan.

We have always regretted that the publication of this unfortunate work was not prevented by the exercise of a sounder discretion in his surviving friends. It diminished the reputation of a great man, without (so far at least as we are aware) any one advantage beyond the mere gratification of public curiosity to compensate for the loss. If, indeed, Mr. Fox had already appeared before the world with distinction as an author; if, like the great man whose disciple he once boasted himself to be, his literary had corresponded to his political fame, the mischief of publishing even the '*Historical Work*,' would have been comparatively small. The failure of a single posthumous performance would have signified little when the public judgment had already been fixed by happier efforts. From that nothing could be inferred, but that Mr. Fox, in common with many other eminent persons, was not able to command his own talents equally at all times, and on all subjects. Unfortunately, however, his whole character as a writer has been staked upon one performance, which can attract notice only by its astonishing disproportion to the talents of him who produced it; and one of the greatest English orators and statesmen is introduced into the world of literature only to take his place in the inferior classes of English authors. We think it hard upon the memory of so great a man as Mr. Fox to place him in a point of view in which he must appear decidedly inferior to those that are the natural objects of comparison with him. Equal, in the judgment of his contemporaries, to Bolingbroke or to Burke, he ought not to have appeared as an author at all, except in some work which would have placed him by their side, in the first ranks of literary fame. It may be said that great indulgence is due to an unfinished posthumous performance,

published without the consent of the author. To this we answer, in the first place, that such an appeal to the candour of the world is always a little hazardous. People are apt to judge of a thing as they find it, and without sufficient consideration of the circumstances under which it appears. Such indulgence too was less likely to be shewn to a work which was announced with something of confidence and parade, which so far from deprecating criticism seemed to challenge no slight or vulgar praise. An unusually long approach prepared us for the beginnings, at least, of a magnificent building. We were unavoidably led to expect something of power and effect. It was ushered into public notice, as if it were destined '*labenti succurrere sæclo*,' to begin a reformation in politics and literature—to recal our style and our principles to the ancient standard of purity. Expectations such as these once imprudently excited, it is not easy to satisfy, and not safe to disappoint; and when lofty pretensions have been once advanced and rejected, it is too late to take the benefit of that tone of apology and extenuation which, if earlier employed, might have obtained for the work a more favourable reception.

We think too, that Mr. Fox's friends would have done well to recollect, that the lapse of years naturally tends to regulate the public judgment of his talents more by his writings, and less by every other criterion. As a statesman he was never long enough in power to accomplish any measures that could carry his name with glory down to posterity. His talents as an orator form his great and undisputed title to fame. But of his speeches no full authentic record remains. The generation that witnessed his astonishing genius for debate, will soon have passed away; and the warmth of their enthusiasm will be but feebly reflected upon the minds of their posterity. 'How much more then would you have been affected if you had heard him?' said *Æschines*. But *Demosthenes* had lost nothing except the advantage of his own delivery; Mr. Fox will have lost every thing, and his reputation for eloquence will stand upon the mutilated fragments in the newspaper reports, and the suffrage of his contemporaries. It is no doubt true, that in a free and powerful country, at an enlightened period, to have remained for five-and-thirty years in a great popular assembly without a superior, and with only one equal, is a proof of talent, such as no reasonable man in any age will feel inclined to contest. But after all, 'distinction,' 'superiority,' 'excellence,' are only relative terms, and are applied at different times with equal confidence and enthusiasm to express very different degrees of real positive merit. The value of contemporary admiration must depend on the character of the age; and, even on the most-favourable supposition,

something

something may be allowed for fashion, accident, prejudice, and the peculiar taste of the times. How much ought in justice to be ascribed to these causes it is never very easy, and becomes every day more difficult to ascertain. Where, if we may so express ourselves, an opinion is to be pronounced upon an opinion, in order to get at the ultimate object of judgment, the whole subject is involved in considerable obscurity. Men are naturally disposed to fly from these uncertainties—from traditionary veneration, and the eulogies bestowed by their progenitors upon the heroes of their own day, to some surer and more authentic measure of positive excellence. And if such a criterion actually exists, a *monumentum literis mandatum*, in which the man speaks for himself, something that they can see with their own eyes, and not through the magnifying halo of contemporary prejudices, it will have a great, perhaps an undue influence upon their opinions. Its proximity, and distinctness, render its effect equal to that of weightier, but more distant objects. Now this is just the evil we apprehend from the ill-advised publication of Mr. Fox's History. When posterity observe both from the part he played, and from the unanimous suffrages, so far as they can be collected, of all those that flourished along with him, how high was that station which he held among the great men of his own time; and when, on the other hand, they read this work, and form upon it that judgment which is, we believe, already, with but little variation, the judgment of all tolerably impartial persons, we are not without apprehension that they will transfer, in some degree, their opinion of the writer, to the orator and politician, and conclude, however erroneously, that Mr. Fox, though an able, was an over-rated man. And this is a conclusion from which they cannot possibly escape, except by a fair re-consideration of the various and weighty testimony in his favour, both external and internal, and by a more just and philosophical allowance than is generally made, for the mortifying inequalities of human genius. We are sure that any attempt to uphold the work, (besides its probable insincerity,) is only calculated to do harm to the memory of Mr. Fox. Our approbation of it could only serve to persuade future generations of our utter want of impartiality, and by that means shake their confidence in all our other judgments upon him. We must give up his History, if it is only for the sake of preserving unimpaired his other titles to glory; and the justice of our general admiration of him may be vindicated, by calling to mind, that all his fame as a statesman could not save him from entire failure as a writer. *

We have been led to these remarks by the appearance of the Correspondence betwixt Mr. Fox and Mr. Gilbert Wakefield. It is certainly not liable to the objections we have just been stating to the

the publication of his History. Mr. Fox is not presented to the world in the light of a professed author. The only question that those who sanctioned the publication had to determine was, whether or not these letters, written hastily, and without the remotest thought of their ever being submitted to the eye of the world, are such as do honour to the memory of an illustrious statesman? and we are clearly of opinion, that they were right to decide it in the affirmative. Some letters upon the same subjects printed at the end of Mr. Trotter's Life, and which indeed formed the only valuable part of that publication, had inspired us with a wish to see more, and we are happy to find that the materials existed for gratifying it.

The letters now before us are chiefly employed upon some of the nice points of Greek criticism, but they derive their interest, not from the light they throw upon the questions relative to the 'digamma,' and the 'final *v*,' but from the portraits they give, in some features most amusingly contrasted, of Mr. Wakefield and of his illustrious correspondent.

Gilbert Wakefield, as most of our readers are probably aware, was known to the world partly as editor of several classical works, partly as an author of several ill-tempered, ill-written, and injudicious pamphlets on political subjects. He was a commentator of the old school, learned, laborious, peevish, insolent, presumptuous, and never meddling with matters of taste but to shew how completely nature had denied him that faculty. In religion he was bred a sectarian of the Hackney school, but we understand, that, for the latter part of his life, he belonged to no congregation whatever, and the form of Christianity he professed was peculiar to himself. He had early imbibed the principles of the French Revolution in all their ferociousness, extravagance and absurdity, and he adhered to them with primitive zeal, long after the horrors to which they had given birth had frightened half their original converts back into reason. In short he was a '*vir clarissimus*,' grafted upon the crab-stock of a Jacobin dissenter—a sort of septembrizing Gronovius—better fitted indeed for grammar than for politics, but carrying into both a spirit of insolent dogmatism and precipitate innovation.

The bond of connection betwixt this singular personage and Mr. Fox was natural enough. Mr. Fox's thirst after classical learning made him desirous to engage in correspondence with so eminent a scholar, and Gilbert Wakefield was no less eager to cultivate an acquaintance with Mr. Fox under the pleasing idea of his being a Jacobin—an error of which it must be owned Mr. Fox did not take much pains to cure him. The correspondence once begun
continued

continued at intervals for about five years, and until near Mr. Wakefield's death, though it does not appear that there was ever any personal acquaintance between them. In point of learning the advantage was (as may be easily imagined) on the side of Mr. Wakefield. The study of the classical writers had been the great business of his life, and as his memory was tenacious, and his industry unremitting, he had gained a very extensive acquaintance with ancient literature. Mr. Fox, when a boy, had been remarkable for his classical attainments, and he preserved through life a strong relish for the Greek and Roman writers. His more active employments, however, had left him but little leisure for such pursuits, and till about the time at which his correspondence with Mr. Wakefield commenced, he had done little more than keep up his Eton stock by occasional and desultory reading. He was an elegant, but time had not allowed him to become a profound scholar, and he writes to Mr. Wakefield with the unaffected modesty of a person who seeks to be instructed, and who is not at all desirous to conceal from his instructor the extent of his own deficiencies. He speaks of himself as unacquainted with several authors that are commonly enough read, even by those that are not considered as deeply learned. Of Apollonius Rhodius he had seen nothing but the extracts in the Eton selection; and we find him inquiring after an edition of Aristophanes in a way which shews that he had but recently begun to cultivate an acquaintance with the Greek theatre. But whatever Mr. Fox wants in learning, as compared with his correspondent, he makes up in taste, and in the power of reasoning; two qualities, particularly that of reasoning, in which Mr. Wakefield was as much below, as the other was above the common run of mankind. In this way the balance is more than restored, and it is curious to observe, how his acute and accurate understanding, operating upon comparatively scanty materials, enables him, upon points where they differed, to contend with advantage against an adversary whose mind was stored with facts he was incapable of arranging, and premises from which he knew not how to elicit the proper conclusions.

Mr. Wakefield was an honest and strictly moral man, but he had the misfortune to be peevish, scurrilous, and dogmatical, even beyond what is permitted to a verbal critic. His ill temper is indeed somewhat subdued by his respect for Mr. Fox. But still there are quite sufficient indications of what he could be, and what from his other writings we know that he was. The harshness of the critic only serves to render the tone of Mr. Fox's correspondence more pleasing. It was reasonable to expect that in point of grace and courtesy the statesman should be superior to the dissenting minister.

nister. But Mr. Fox owed his advantages to nature as much as to habit. His letters are written in a delightful strain of frank unaffected politeness—reflected immediately from that benevolence, of which all politeness, however diversified by conventional forms, is designed to be the image. We are greatly mistaken if mere acuteness and knowledge of the world could produce a similar result. Good breeding, in the sense in which Mr. Fox was well bred, implies a warm heart and nice feelings. All the letters of which the public are yet in possession are to persons inferior to him, as well in station as in talents; and we think them models of that species of correspondence. Nothing can be more kind or more delicate. His manner has nothing in it of what is called condescension—that thin veil which insolence throws over superiority only to make it more conspicuous. His kindness is plain, manly, unstudied. He takes a tone of equality without doing any thing to shew that he has come down to it. His advantages were too great for him to be ignorant of them himself, but his modesty and good nature were always on the watch to prevent the display of them in any way that could be painful to others. We doubt whether, in the whole of this correspondence, a single expression could be pointed out from which it could be fairly inferred that Mr. Fox thought himself a wiser or a greater man than Mr. Wakefield.

We have a good specimen of them both in Letters 23 and 24. At the beginning of the shooting season in 1799, Mr. Fox had the misfortune to hurt his hand, by the bursting of his gun. Mr. Wakefield, impelled (as he expresses it) ‘by an ardent desire for Mr. Fox’s approximation, as nearly as possible,’ to his own notions of perfection, takes this opportunity to lecture him upon the cruelty of shooting; and, in the hope of inducing him to renounce that barbarous amusement, quotes him a long sentence from Cicero about the ‘*indignæ homine docto voluptates*.’ Here was some temptation to sneer; but this strange burst of fanaticism produces from Mr. Fox a good humoured and perfectly serious answer. As it is short we insert it.

‘Sir,

I ASSURE you I take very kindly your letter, and the quotation in it. I think the question of “How far field sports are innocent amusements,” is nearly connected with another, upon which, from the title of one of your intended works, I suspect you entertain opinions rather singular; for if it is lawful to kill tame animals with whom one has a sort of acquaintance, such as *fowls, oxen, &c.* it is still less repugnant to one’s feelings to kill wild animals; but then to make a *pastime* of it—I am aware there is something to be said upon this point. On the other hand, if example is allowed to be anything, there is nothing in which
all

all mankind, civilized or savage, have more agreed, than in making some sort of chace (for fishing is of the same nature) part of their business or amusement. However, I admit it to be a very questionable subject: at all events, it is a very pleasant and healthful exercise. My wound goes on, I believe, very well; and no material injury is apprehended to the hand, but the cure will be tedious, and I shall be confined in this town for more weeks, than I had hoped ever to spend days here. I am much obliged to you for your inquiries, and am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. J. FOX.

This however did not satisfy Mr. Wakefield—he returns to the charge, and not content with having proscribed shooting, involves hunting in a still severer sentence. That he pronounces to be ‘the most irrational and degrading spectacle in the world, and’ (rising by an unexpected climax) ‘an admirable proluision to those delectable operations which are transacting in Holland and elsewhere.’ It may perhaps be necessary to acquaint our readers that ‘the delectable operations in Holland,’ for which men’s minds had been steeled by the cruelties of a fox-chase, were certain efforts which the British ministry of that day was wicked enough to make, in order to assist the misguided inhabitants of that country in throwing off the mild and rightful dominion of the Executive Directory of France. Luckily however he goes off to Ovid’s Tristia, and in the next letter Mr. Fox contrives to glide gently out of the controversy.

It is but justice to Mr. Fox to observe, that he is evidently desirous of confining the correspondence to literary topics. That however was rendered impossible by his learned friend’s horror of English despotism, and zeal for French happiness and freedom. Mr. Wakefield insists upon mixing a little politics with his Greek. And a more deplorable example of rancour and folly than is exhibited in the few remarks upon public questions that are scattered up and down these letters, it would be difficult to find. In the year 1797, after all the massacres and proscriptions which for five years had desolated and disgraced France, we find him expressing a decided preference of the French to the English political character. He is quite charmed with the ‘gipsey jargon’ of the revolutionists, even when it was already beginning to grow obsolete. One of his letters ends thus—‘Excuse me, if in the French style, which appears to me most manly and becoming, even for the sake of variety itself, I conclude myself, “ever yours, with health and respect.”’ He thinks the practice of tying up malefactors at Newgate execrable—is thrown into utter consternation by the sentence upon Lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguson—considers the nation as sunk into the lowest state of degradation—

gradation—and on one occasion, when he is pressed rather hard by Mr. Fox in an argument about the digamma, he apologizes for his own inability to furnish a more satisfactory reply, by intimating that there had not yet been revolutions enough in the world to dispel the obscurity that hangs over such topics. ‘But these studies,’ he says, ‘are really in their infancy, and will continue so till better forms of government leave the human race more at leisure to cultivate their intellects.’ The present state of Greek literature in France might have inclined even Mr. Wakefield to doubt the efficacy of a revolution in settling questions as to the ‘digamma.’ It is not to be supposed that we blame Mr. Fox for not entering into a refutation of such doctrines as those of Mr. Wakefield; but we cannot help saying that he is far too complaisant in his way of assenting to them. It could not escape a person of Mr. Fox’s sagacity that Mr. Wakefield was a pure unadulterated Jacobin, a deadly fanatical enemy to the whole established order of this country, civil and ecclesiastical. Yet we find him (p. 18) talking of the opinions *we* profess, as if he had been a politician of exactly the same school. But these were the unhappy years of Mr. Fox’s life, when long disappointment had ended in despair, and when, unmindful of all that was due to himself and to his country, he was content to purchase a short-lived hollow popularity among miscreants whom he must have abhorred, and fanatics whom he must have despised, by sacrificing for ever the confidence of the sound, the judicious, and the governing part of the community. Hence that strange *anti-patriotic* feeling by which, in the discussion of all questions betwixt England and any other power, he seemed to be actuated. He had come at last to feel a prejudice against the nation which had preferred his rival, and he had learnt to look, with indifference at least, to the subversion of that order of things in which he found no place proportioned to his talents. Yet if there ever was a man far removed by nature from that sect with which he now formed a preposterous union, it was Mr. Fox. He was unfitted from playing the part of a Jacobin, by the absolute want of all the necessary qualifications. He had neither the coarseness, the ferocity, nor the ignorant insolent contempt of all that is ancient and established. He was in every thing a gentleman of the highest class. His education—the connections he had formed in life—his habits and feelings, all purely liberal and aristocratic. He was the creature of polished society, such as it existed under the ancient monarchies of Europe. He belonged originally to the good old school of Walpolian Whigs—prudent practical persons—a little too fond of jobbing—quite contented with the constitution as they found it, and disposed to hold high the honour of the country

in its intercourse with foreign nations. He had not a single point of contact with the philosophizing assassins who, about twenty years ago, first appeared as candidates for the government of the world. He was neither bold nor hasty in his application of general principles, and no man was ever less inclined by his own nature to sweep away present liberty, present comfort, and present security, in order to lay a foundation for ideal perfection at a distant period. His eloquence too was of that chaste argumentative sort which can only be addressed with success to an educated and intelligent audience. From the loftiness and simplicity of his mind, the delicacy of his taste, a certain natural shyness which might at first be mistaken for coldness and reserve, he was utterly incapable of condescending to those paltry artifices, and performing those mountebank tricks which are necessary to captivate the multitude. In the act of cajoling a mob, he was infinitely surpassed by persons whom, in point of talents, it would be quite ludicrous to compare with him. He was an awkward unpractised demagogue, and a lukewarm unwilling reformer. From justice and humanity he was anxious for the happiness of the lower orders, that is, of the bulk of mankind, but no minister would have been ever less disposed to admit them to a large share in swaying public measures. When his friends absurdly called him 'the man of the people,' they seemed to have forgot that the great act of his life was a struggle against the people. He made his stand against them upon the forms of our government—upon that constitutional fiction by which the House of Commons is supposed *always* to speak the sense of the nation. An appeal to the country was that which he affected to execrate as a crime, and the man of the people spent ten years in an ineffectual endeavour to persuade them that one half of the aristocracy, with himself at their head, ought to rule, in spite of them and the other half.

Such was Mr. Fox, who, by the power of circumstances, which it required something more of firmness and high political virtue than he possessed, to resist, was led, in the most important crisis of his political life, to play a part directly opposite to the natural bent of his own inclinations and character. Formed to hold with a high hand the reins of government in a tempered monarchy, he became the apologist of an insane and flagitious revolution, an advocate for the public enemies of the state in all its contests with foreign powers, the rallying point of disaffection, the terror of good, the hope and support of bad citizens.

But we have been insensibly led on to say more than we ought or than we intended of Mr. Fox's political character. Our chief concern with him at present is as a scholar and a man of taste. The most interesting

interesting parts of this little publication are those in which Mr. Fox incidentally gives his opinion upon some of the ancient writers. We are sorry that they are not more numerous: for though upon such topics it is not fair to expect much novelty; or that what is new should be right, particularly from a man writing hastily and without the responsibility of publication, yet it is impossible not to feel curious about all the articles of Mr. Fox's literary creed: So great an authority might well induce one to reconsider the most established doctrines, and when they do not differ, we feel our confidence increased by the coincidence.

In the first place, we cannot help again remarking Mr. Fox's strong attachment to classical learning. It was the delight of his early days, and his proficiency in it afforded the first presage of his future glory. He never wholly abandoned it even in the meridian glow of occupation and pleasure; and he reverted to it in his latter days with all his characteristic eagerness. We dwell upon this fact, because we think the authority of so great a man—of a man so little liable to be influenced by vanity or prejudice—may serve in some degree to shelter the lovers of such studies against the censure of those haughty critics who are inclined to treat them as childish, pedantic, or (worst of all) *useless*. We are therefore glad to have it upon record, that, in the full vigour and maturity of his understanding, with the free choice of pursuits before him, Mr. Fox's leisure was employed—not (as we presume it ought to have been) in endeavouring to discover a six hundred and twenty-fifth metal—not in improvements in the art of bleaching and dying—not in examining the mechanism of the steam-engine and the spinning-jenny—not in teaching to a yet unenlightened world the true philosophy of wheel-carriages, but in reading and re-reading the poets, historians, and orators of Greece and Rome.

We proceed to lay before our readers a few extracts. They will be pleased to hear the opinion of one of the greatest orators of modern times, upon Cicero.

P. 85. 'By the way, I know no speech of Cicero more full of beautiful passages than this, (pro M. Cælio,) nor where he is more in his element. Argumentative contention is what he by no means excels in; and he is never, I think, so happy, as when he has an opportunity of exhibiting a mixture of philosophy and pleasantry; and especially when he can interpose anecdotes and references to the authority of the eminent characters in the history of his own country. No man appears indeed to have had such a real respect for authority as he; and therefore when he speaks upon that subject he is always natural and in earnest; and not like those among us who are so often declaiming about the wisdom of our ancestors, without knowing what they mean, and hardly ever citing any particulars of their conduct or of their "dicta."

All that relates to Cicero in this passage appears to us true and striking, and we also subscribe the concluding remark, though not probably with the extensive application of it that Mr. Fox intended.

Ovid was a great favourite with Mr. Fox. In the same letter he says,—

‘I have always been a great reader of him, and thought myself the greatest admirer he had, till you called him the first poet of antiquity, which is going beyond even me. The grand and spirited style of the *Iliad*; the true nature and simplicity of the *Odyssey*; the poetical language (far excelling that of all other poets in the world) of the *Georgics*, and the pathetic strokes in the *Aeneid*, give Homer and Virgil a rank, in my judgment, clearly above all competitors; but not after them I should be very apt to class Ovid, to the great scandal, I believe, of all who pique themselves upon what is called purity of taste. You have somewhere compared him to Euripides, I think, and I can fancy I see a resemblance between them. This resemblance, I suppose, it is, which makes one prefer Euripides to Sophocles; a preference which, if one were writing a dissertation, it would be very difficult to justify.’

In another place (p. 107) he says, ‘I have read over, possibly for the hundredth time, the portion of the *Metamorphoses* about Pythagoras; and I think you cannot praise it too highly. I always considered it as the finest part of the whole poem; and possibly the Death of Hercules as the next to it.’

Mr. Wakefield had advised him (a proof by the bye how very limited he supposed Mr. Fox’s classical knowledge to be) to read the famous chapter in Quintilian containing the comparison between the Greek and Roman writers. Mr. Fox says (p. 108) ‘I have read again (what I had often read before) the chapter you refer to in Quintilian, and a most pleasing one it is; but I think he seems to have an opinion not quite high enough of our favourite Ovid; and in his laboured comparison between Demosthenes and Cicero, he appears to me to have thought them more alike, in their manners and respective excellencies, than they seem to me. It is of them, I think, that he might most justly have said, “*Magis pares quam similes.*”’

We have before noticed how little Mr. Fox had read of Apollonius Rhodius.—He proceeds in the same letter—

‘I have no Apollonius Rhodius, and have never read of him more than there is in our Eton “*Poetæ Græci*,” and the Edinburgh Collectanea: but from what I have read, he seems to be held far too low by Quintilian; nor can I think the “*æqualis mediocritas*” to be his character. The parts extracted in the above collections are as fine as poetry can be; and, I believe, are generally allowed to have been the model of what is certainly not the least admired part of the *Aeneid*. If he is in other parts equal to these, he ought not to be characterized by mediocrity. I wish to read the rest of the poem itself, and partly to ascertain

ascertain how much Virgil has taken from him: but I have not got it, and do not know what edition of it I ought to get. I should be much obliged to you if you will tell me. Shaw is one of the latest, but I think I have heard it ill spoken of. If, at the same time, you would advise me in regard to the Greek poets in general, (of the second and third order I mean,) which are best worth reading, and in what editions, you would do me a great service.

Not long after he reads Apollonius through.—

‘Soon after I wrote to you last I read Apollonius, (in Shaw’s edition, for I have not been able to get Brunck’s,) and upon the whole had great satisfaction from him. His language is sometimes hard, and very often, I think, prosæal; and there is too much narration: but there are passages quite delightful to me, and I think his reputation has been below his merit. Both Ovid and Virgil have taken much from him, but the latter less, as appears to me, than has been commonly said. Dido is, in a very few instances, a copy of Medea; whereas I had been led to suppose that she was almost wholly so: and of Hypsipile, whose situation is most like Dido’s, Apollonius has made little or nothing.’

Again (194) he says—

‘I know it is the fashion to say Virgil has taken a great deal in this book (4th) from Apollonius; and it is true that he has taken some things, but not nearly so much as I had been taught to expect before I read Apollonius. I think Medea’s Speech in the 4th Argonaut. v. 356, is the part he has made most use of. There are some very peculiar *breaks* there which Virgil has imitated certainly, and which, I think, are very beautiful and expressive: I mean particularly v. 382 in Apollonius, and v. 380 in Virgil. To be sure the application is different, but the manner is the same: and that Virgil had the passage before him at the time is evident from what follows.

Μνήσαιο δὲ καὶ ποτ’ ἐμοῖο,
στενυγμῖνος καματοῖσι.

compared with

Supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido
Sæpe vocaturum.

It appears to me upon the whole that Ovid has taken more from Apollonius than Virgil.’

There are more passages of this kind; but what we have given will serve as a specimen.

Mr. Wakefield writes in a stiff, heavy, pedantic way. We suspect he had no true feeling of the beauties of those authors in reading whom he was chiefly employed. Whenever he quits the beaten path and trusts to himself he is sure to go wrong. When his opinions are not trite they are utterly preposterous. Plato and Aristophanes are the two Greek authors he cannot get through. He thinks Ovid the first poet of all antiquity; and among the favourite passages to which he refers in support of this judgment is the *Elegy*
on

on Tibullus. Now if we had to point out an instance of a fine subject unsuccessfully treated, we perhaps could not do better than mention this very elegy. Nothing can be more puerile and jejune. It is altogether worthy of the miserable couplet with which it concludes.

Ossa quieta precor placidè requiescite in urna,
Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo.

But Mr. Wakefield had heard it was good, or guessed from the subject and the author, that it ought to be so, and that was enough.

We shall however trouble our readers with one extract from his letters, because it gives what appears to us a fair and not ill-drawn character of a very extraordinary man—the late Professor Porson.

‘I have been furnished with many opportunities of observing Porson, by a near inspection. He has been at my house several times, and once for an entire summer’s day. Our intercourse would have been frequent, but for *three* reasons. 1. His extreme irregularity and inattention to times and seasons, which did not at all comport with the methodical arrangement of my time and family. 2. His gross addiction to that lowest and least excusable of all sensualities, immoderate drinking; and 3, the uninteresting insipidity of his society; as it is impossible to engage his mind on any topic of mutual enquiry, to procure his opinion on any author or passage of an author, or to elicit any conversation of any kind to compensate for the time and attendance of his company. And as for Homer, Virgil, and Horace, I never could hear of the least critical effort on them in his life. He is in general devoid of all human affections; but such as he has are of a misanthropic quality: *nor do I think that any man exists for whom his propensities rise to the lowest pitch of affection or esteem.* He much resembles Proteus in Lycophron:

ὡ γίλας ἀπὸ χθιναί
καὶ δαυρ.

Though I believe he has satirical verses in his treasury for Dr. Bellen-den as he calls him, (Parr,) and all his most intimate associates. But in his knowledge of the Greek tragedies and Aristophanes; in his judgment of MSS., and in all that relates to the metrical proprieties of dramatic and lyric versification, with whatever is connected with this species of reading; none of his co-temporaries must pretend to equal him. His grammatical knowledge also, and his acquaintance with the ancient lexicographers and etymologists, is most accurate and profound: and his intimacy with Shakespeare, B Jonson, and other dramatic writers is probably unequalled. He is, in short, a most extraordinary person in every point of view, but unamiable; and has been debarred of a comprehensive intercourse with the Greek and Roman authors by his excesses, which have made those acqui rements impossible to him, from the want of that *time* which must necessarily be expended in laborious reading, and for which no reading can be made a substitute. No man has ever paid a more voluntary and respectful homage to his talents, at

all times, both publicly and privately, in writings and conversation, than myself: and I will be content to forfeit the esteem and affection of all mankind whenever the least particle of envy or malignity is found to mix itself with my opinions. My first reverence is to virtue, my second only to talents and erudition—where both unite that man is estimable indeed to me, and shall receive the full tribute of honour and affection.'

The style of Mr. Fox's letters is (as our readers will have already remarked in the extracts we have given) light, easy, natural, and correct. It is the unstudied language of a scholar and a gentleman. In his 'History' he seems to have been encumbered by some theory as to style, and either from the original faultiness of the theory itself, or from his not having practised the art of writing sufficiently to enable him to realize his own notions of excellence, the whole composition has an air of awkwardness and embarrassment. Here he is free from this self-imposed restraint, and consequently, we think, appears to far greater advantage as a writer of familiar letters, than in the dignified character of an historian. On all occasions he shews (what we are always glad to remark and eager to praise) a strong preference of simple idiomatic turns of expression to what is perhaps generally thought more dignified or graceful language. In all highly civilized countries there are two classes of people that are constantly tending to withdraw a language from its true standard. In the first place, half-educated people, who think that the best proof they can give of their taste and knowledge is to depart in all cases as much as possible from those forms of expression that are in use among the vulgar—Secondly those of an over-refined disposition, who are tired of all that is common, and who, for the benefit of readers as fastidious as themselves, exercise a perverse ingenuity in substituting new words and new combinations instead of those that formerly prevailed in correct writing and good company. To these must be added, when we are speaking of our own country, those half-foreign writers of Ireland and Scotland—but particularly of Scotland—whose industry and genius, contending against great advantages, have procured for them so high a place in our literature. The joint influence of all these threatens our language with a change which in no very long course of years will make Swift obsolete and Addison vulgar. Mr. Fox was sensible of this danger, and laboured to avert it. Nothing was more remarkable in the language of his speeches than its simplicity and *anglicism*; and as they unfortunately could not be preserved, we are glad that something at least should remain to record his authority by the most effectual of all means—his example.

- ART. IV. 1. *Letters to Sir W. Drummond.* By Rev. G. D'Oyly.
 2. *Letters to Rev. G. D'Oyly.* By Vindex. 8vo. pp. 113. London; Sherwood and Co. 1812.
 3. *Remarks on Sir W. Drummond's Œdipus Judaicus.* By Rev. George D'Oyly, &c. 8vo. pp. 218. London; Cadell and Davies. 1813.

SOME of our readers may, perhaps, have heard of a new commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures, entitled *Œdipus Judaicus*. With a reserve which does not always attend the consciousness of truth and sincerity, the discoveries contained in the book have been withheld from the general eye, and confined to those initiated persons whose degree of apprehension and habits of thinking were supposed not to disqualify them for an introduction into the greater mysteries, to which it is dangerous to admit over scrupulous and discriminating inquirers. Owing, however, to some negligence in the hierophant, a copy of these ἀπορρήτα has fallen into the hands of Mr. D'Oyly, a person who is not only destitute of the qualities deemed requisite to its perusal, but who also labours under certain positive disabilities, such as sound learning and accurate judgment. This appears in nothing more, than in the use which he has made of his advantages. Instead of complimenting the author, on the acquaintance with the Asiatic alphabets which he displays, he ventures to doubt* the soundness of that knowledge. Instead of acquiescing in the *ipse dixit* of the philosopher, he discusses his arguments, and questions his conclusions. Instead of expressing astonishment at the multiplicity of quotations, he inquires into their accuracy and pertinency; and instead of admiring the originality of the ideas, he detects them in a French writer, who had before been kept behind the scenes. It is, indeed, not a little unfortunate, that the author's intention of keeping the distribution of the book within his own hands should have been thus frustrated; and we cannot be surprised at the warmth of his anonymous apologist, Vindex, on finding that a copy of it had been so unworthily disposed of, in defiance of all his prudence.

Our readers, we are sure, will sympathise with Sir W. Drummond, when they understand what slight respect Mr. D'Oyly has shown for his learning, and perceive that the friendship professed in the *Œdipus* for the Scriptures, has appeared enmity in his eyes,

* Nothing, we observe, excites the indignation of Vindex more than this presumption. 'I shall suggest to you,' he angrily answers, 'that if you mean to dispute Sir W. Drummond's knowledge of the Oriental tongues, I think you might as well consult his published works—for example, his Essay on a Punic Inscription, containing a variety of biblical criticism, royal quarto; his remarks on an inscription in the island of Malta, in the Ninth Number of the Classical Journal, &c.'

owing, perhaps, to his having read the book without first undergoing the necessary process of medicating the intellectual ray with the compound used by the initiated. That they may enter the subject with proper feelings, we will acquaint them with the object of the work.

'The intention of the *Œdipus Judaicus* is principally to convert into allegory portions of the Old Testament, which have been always received as historical. For instance: the Book of Joshua conveys an allegorical representation of the reform of the calendar. The existence of the persons and places mentioned in that book, is not denied; but it is contended that when they occur in it, they are used not to designate persons and places, but to convey an allegorical meaning: viz. the name Joshua, is a type of the sun in the sign of the Ram; Jericho means the moon in her several quarters; Jordan is not the river known by that name, but a serpent, the hieroglyphic for the sun's annual orbit. Thus the author proceeds through the whole book, forcing every proper name into some connexion with astronomy; and then affirming that it is used not as a proper name, but as an allegorical symbol. In support of this system he eagerly takes advantage, as may be supposed, of every *number* occurring through the book, which corresponds with any number frequent in astronomy. The twelve tribes of Israel shadow the twelve signs of the Zodiac, or the twelve months of the year. When Jericho is compassed *seven* times, there is an allegory of the seven days of the week. When *five* kings of the Amorites war against Joshua, the five intercalary days are typically represented.'—*D'Oyly's Remarks*, pp. 4, 5.

Now the method of proof, by deriving the proper names from some astronomical term, is certainly attended with one advantage, which is thus pointed out by Mr. D'Oyly.

'It is in the nature of things impossible to *disprove* any proposed method of deducing the etymology of a word, however absurd, fanciful, and strained it may appear to every considerate mind. We may give reasons for rejecting it as highly improbable, and for receiving another, perhaps, as drawn from a far more obvious source; but this is all that we can do; if any person should persevere in maintaining that his own is the best derivation, the question must be left to the judgment of others: it is impossible to *prove* that he is wrong. In some old Monkish histories, the word Britain is derived from Brutus, a supposed descendant of *Æneas*: now, we may produce reasons without end for disbelieving any connection to have subsisted between Britain, and a person named Brutus; and for either acquiescing in our inability to derive the word at all, or for greatly preferring some other mode of deriving it: but we can do no more; we cannot *confute* the person, who maintains that it certainly is derived from Brutus, and that every other mode of deriving it is comparatively forced and improbable.—Precisely in the same manner, when our author affirms that the word "Amorites" is derived from a Hebrew word signifying a Ram* (the astronomical sign of

Aries); that Balaam comes from a word signifying "to swallow," with allusion to the celestial Dragon;* Deborah, from Aldebaran, the great star in the Bull's eye,† &c.: we cannot possibly *confute* him, or *prove* that he is wrong; we can only hint that these derivations are *very* obvious or probable, and refer the matter to the common sense of mankind.—p. 20. 'But the unfortunate part is, that every one of the intended derivations might be safely granted to the author, and yet not a single step of advance would be made towards the proof of his allegorical system. Let Sir W. D. prove, in the best manner he is able, the derivation of Hebrew proper names from astronomy. If he should succeed, he would only prove what is antecedently extremely probable, on the supposition that astronomy was a science greatly cultivated, and the only science cultivated, in those early times. For, on this supposition, it would be most natural that very many words and names in the language should bear express allusion to this favourite science. But what more would be proved? They would remain proper names still; they would denote, as before, real persons and places; and the books in which they are mentioned would still contain real histories, instead of being immediately converted into allegorical fables.'—p. 17.

We will now enable our readers to judge for themselves of the advantages accruing to the cause of revelation, by the allegorical scheme. They remember the four first verses of the Book of Joshua. In the commentary on that passage, contained in the *Œdipus Judaicus*, it is endeavoured to establish,

'That by the words Joshua the son of Nun, we are to understand instead of a real person, the son of another real person, called Nun—"the sun in the sign of Aries, which rises above Cetus or the whale"—that the word Jordan, in this passage, does not signify the river known by that name, but is used metaphorically to signify the ecliptic; that the word translated wilderness, having for its true signification the boundary of the land, is here conceived to mean the horizon; Lebanon the author supposes to have been a name given to the sun, and probably the rising sun; Euphrates he concludes to mean the light of the Zodiacal constellations; and all he can do for the word Hittites at present, is to observe that it is frequently connected with others which bear a distant reference to astronomy.' 'This is the substance of the commentary: and now the meaning,' he says, 'of the allegory seems pretty clear. The style being changed, the equinoctial sun hailed the Saviour, and identified with the Ram or Lamb, opens the year, and is feigned as leading the twelve Zodiacal signs along' (read across) 'the ecliptic.' 'As our author performs so very imperfectly the important part of pointing out what sense will come out from these four verses, on the supposition that his commentary is well founded, and that he has proved the abovementioned words to bear the symbolical meanings which he proposes; I will perform this part for him. Of course, we must take it for granted, that he intends the other words in the passage

* *Œdip. Jud.* p. 255.† *Ib.* p. 348.

to retain their received meanings; and especially the word "Moses" to remain a proper name, designating a real person, as it always has done; for, assuredly, he would not have omitted to favour the world with his new discoveries respecting this name, if he had made any. On the whole, then, his interpretation of the four first verses of Joshua stands thus:

"Now after the death of Moses, the servant of the Lord, it came to pass that the Lord spake unto the *Sun in the sign of Aries* (which constellation rises above the Whale), Moses's minister, saying, Moses my servant is dead: now, therefore, arise, go over this ecliptic, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give unto them, even unto the children of Israel. Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses; from the horizon and this rising Sun, even unto the flux of light, the light of the zodiacal constellations; all the land of the Chettim, and unto the great sea, towards the going down of the sun, shall be your coast."—p. 32.

We attribute it to the misfortune which we suffer in common with Mr. D'Oyly, of not belonging to the initiated party, that, to our understanding, there appears to be a mistake in calling this allegory. In true allegory the principal and secondary subjects are kept distinct; here they are confounded, and the representative subject, the passage of the Israelites, and the thing represented, the passage of the sun, being mingled together, the result is unintelligible absurdity. Moses's minister might, *possibly*, be the representative of the sun in the sign of Aries, but the sun in the sign of Aries could not be actually addressed as the minister of Moses. This ignorance of the nature of allegory, which was known, no doubt, to exist in the persons for whose use the book was intended, is presumed throughout the whole commentary. In a subsequent narrative, it is pretended that Rahab is a personification of space or latitude, who was worshipped as a deity by the Tsabaists:

"—the two men sent out from Shittim "seem to represent," in the reform of the calendar, "the two degrees added to each sign, or the two days added to each lunar month:" that is, the two days added to the lunar months of 28 days, so as to make the year consist of 360 days.

"Thus his version runs as follows: "The Sun in Aries sent out of the heavens two men (meaning two days added to the lunar months), to spy secretly, saying, go view the land, even the moon (or the lunar months); and they went and came into a harlot's house, named "Space or Latitude," and lodged there: and it was told the king of "the moon," &c.—the allegory continues; Space or Latitude personified, hides the two men (meaning the two days added to the months or the two degrees added to the signs), in the roof of the house, lets them down by a cord through the window, stipulates with them that her house should be spared at the capture of the city.'—p. 36.

Again, in the course of the history, Joshua conducts his army against a place called Ai: he brings with him 30,000 chosen men,
of

of whom he selects 5000 to be placed in ambush; the place is at last taken, and 12,000 of the inhabitants are slain. But Ai, it seems, is the calendar; the 30,000 men represent allegorically the thirty days of the month; the 5000 men placed in ambush, the five intercalary days; and the 12,000 men slain after the capture of Ai, the twelve lunar months. Our readers will still observe the same confusion of the literal and allegorical meaning. 'The Reformer, coming to destroy the calendar of the Tsabaists, brings against it the thirty days of the month; the five intercalary days are placed in ambush; after the calendar is destroyed, the twelve months are put to death by the Reformer, &c.'—p. 39.

There are some hypotheses so prepossessing in themselves, that we willingly go great lengths in order to receive them. Such, for instance, is that of Bishop Horne concerning the Psalms, which inclines us to overlook or pardon many forced conceits and overstrained interpretations. We doubt whether it will be generally thought that this new version of the historical Scriptures is entitled to the same favour. Yet such as it is, we find that it cannot be supported without sundry departures from the Hebrew idiom, and alterations of the words, without a defiance of the common rules of interpretation, and a remarkable abuse of the astronomical terms employed—for instance:—

'The author explains, in his Preface, (p. xxvii.) what he means by the term *Paranatellon*: he says that, by the paranatellons of a sign, he means those extra-zodiacal stars, which rise above the horizon, or sink below it, during the time that the sign takes to rise or set. He derives this explanation from his wonted instructor, Dupuis, (*Orig. de tous les Cultes*, v. 3, p. 191;) and I believe it is perfectly correct; the word seldom occurs with modern writers on astronomy, but ancient astronomers used it in this sense. But in what degree does our author adhere to this explanation, or appear even to understand what it means? We may have some means of judging of this by several of his expressions, which I shall subsequently notice; but we may judge, best of all, by a delineation of the sign of Leo with its paranatellons, which he gives in the 16th plate of his *Edipus Judaicus*. In this delineation, the sphere being projected on the plane of the ecliptic, he has drawn lines (representing secondaries to the ecliptic) from each extremity of the sign of Leo, to the pole of the ecliptic, meeting the ecliptic again on the opposite side: and he describes the constellations included between these, to be the paranatellons of Leo. Thus, such is his radical ignorance of the subject, of which he treats, he evidently supposes that those constellations which have the same longitude with Leo, and those which differ in longitude by 180° , rise and set at the same time with Leo. He discusses the matter, in fact, as if the pole of the ecliptic was placed in the horizon; and he appears to be totally unconscious that the elevation of the pole above the horizon makes the entire difference in the relative risings and settings of the stars. Such is the profound know-

ledge of astronomy which our author brings to the discussion, and such the clearness of ideas which he himself displays, when he assumes the office of enlightening the minds of others.—p. 75.

Again, it suits his purpose to affirm that ‘the ship Argo descends into the horizon when the sun rises, at the time of the year when it is in Capricorn;’ and he therefore affirms it. ‘But,’ says Mr. D'Oyly, ‘I will request the reader to adapt a celestial globe to the latitude of Egypt—30 N. lat.—he will then find that only a part of the constellation Argo ever rises at all above the horizon; and that every part of it has actually sunk entirely under the horizon, before Capricorn begins to rise, and therefore, before the sun, when in Capricorn, can possibly rise.’—p. 94. It also makes a part of his system, that the sacrifice of the Paschal lamb was a memorial of the transit of the equinoctial sun, and copied from an Egyptian festival. To prove this, it is necessary to pervert the sense of several Jewish Rabbins; and after all, we are to suppose that a ram (i. e. the sun in Aries) was worshipped, because he was sacrificed; and that the solemnity was copied from Egypt, because it appears in fact that the lamb was chosen as a victim, for the express purpose of opposing the Egyptian worship.

“But, say the Rabbins, (it is Sir W. Drummond who speaks,) there was nothing in the Egyptian festival, similar to the custom of the Israelites, in marking the doors, &c. with blood. My opinion is, that there was something very like it. St. Epiphanius says that, about the vernal equinox, the Egyptians had been accustomed, from very remote antiquity, to celebrate the festival of the ram or lamb. At this festival, he adds, they used to mark every thing about them with red. I have not a copy of Epiphanius by me; but I am pretty certain that I have read a passage in him to this effect.”

‘Sir W. D. (subjoins Mr. D'Oyly) was singularly unfortunate in not having a copy of Epiphanius by him, at the time when he wrote this passage; but I shrewdly suspect that he was more fortunate in having a copy of Dupuis by him, and that he derived from him his method of quoting Epiphanius's words. Dupuis (vol. 3. p. 56) speaks in this manner, “St. Epiphane parloit également de la fête de l'agneau, ou du belier, établie en Egypte, dès la plus haute antiquité. Dans cette fête on marquoit tout de rouge pour annoncer le fameux embrasement de l'univers, et elle étoit, comme la paques, fixée au commencement du printemps.” Now, what must be the surprise of the reader, when he finds that these writers give a most complete and thorough perversion of Epiphanius's words, and that this author says not a single syllable about an *Egyptian festival of the Ram*, at which every thing was smeared with red, nor speaks at all of any custom subsisting among them from very remote antiquity? I will refresh Sir W. D.'s memory, and produce for him the part of Epiphanius which has given rise to this singular perversion.

‘Epiphanius is speaking of a sect of Jews, called the Nazareans,
who,

who, while they believed in Moses as a lawgiver sent from God, held to be false and spurious the accounts given in the Pentateuch, and, though they conformed to many Jewish ceremonies, rejected every sort of sacrifice. In arguing against these for their disbelief of the Pentateuch, he mentions the following external proof, supplied by an Egyptian custom subsisting in his day, of the truth of the events which are recorded to have taken place at the first institution of the Passover. "But, of the lamb slain in the country of the Egyptians, there is still among the Egyptians celebrated a tradition, even among idolaters: for, at the season when the Passover took place there, (and this is the beginning of spring when is the first equinox) all the Egyptians through ignorance take some red paint, and stain the sheep, stain the trees, the fig-trees, and other things, saying that, as is reported, on that day, fire totally consumed the world; but that the red appearance of blood is a preservative from such disaster."—p. 134.

We must now express our obligation to Mr. D'Oyly for enabling us to judge what sort of interpretation the astronomical allegory gives, and shewing us so skilfully on what foundation it stands. It must be evident to all our readers that it can demand no attention or regard, except what is reflected from the importance of the object it assails. For ourselves, we should certainly have supposed that Sir W. Drummond had printed his lucubrations for the sole amusement of laughing at the zeal which is felt, and the talents which are employed, in defending the cause of religion, were it not for the serious tone of a reply to the first letters of Mr. D'Oyly, published under the title of *Vindex*. There can, we think, be no doubt that *Vindex* is intimately acquainted with the real object and intention of the *Œdipus Judaicus*: indeed he evinces a partiality for the original work which could scarcely be exceeded by the author himself. Now *Vindex* is so far from denying the author of *Œdipus* to be in earnest, that he is angry with Mr. D'Oyly, for apprehending any danger from the allegorical commentary, notwithstanding its author's innocent intentions, who argues, not only that 'the allegorical is often the real sense of the Scriptures, but that if the Old Testament be read with this understanding, it will be found to exalt the character of the Deity as highly as can be imagined by the limited faculties of man.'—*Letters by Vindex*, p. 46. It is no doubt the severest trial to which innocence can be brought, when it is mistaken for guilt; yet it might have mollified *Vindex's* resentment at Mr. D'Oyly's 'misapprehension,' if he had reflected that in spite of the authority of some fallible fathers, and other less sincere friends of revelation, there may be persons so simple and short-sighted as to confound allegory with fable, especially when their connexion is so close, that *Vindex* himself does not always distinguish clearly between them. 'Many have thought, (he says, p. 108.) that Sesostris, Tanut, Hercules, &c.

were real persons; but it is evident, if it were so, that their history has been abundantly mixed with allegory.' Now our readers will agree with us, that in this passage at least we might substitute the word fable for 'allegory,' without any violation either of the sense or the fact, and will not wonder, therefore, at our requiring a strong case of necessity to be made out, before we admit into an historical record an interpretation of so problematical a nature, that it is liable to be mistaken even by those who are more conversant than we pretend to be in the 'typical, allegorical, and figurative style of the ancient Orientalists.'—p. 46. But as this is a matter of general and supreme importance, we will consider it with all the seriousness to which Vindex pretends.

To prove the necessity of his explanation, Sir Wm. Drummond 'has instanced those passages of the Old Testament, from which, if they be taken literally, we might be led to connect ideas of locality and materiality with our notions of the Deity. Thus he doubts whether it be possible to separate such ideas from the literal interpretation of various texts, in which the Deity is described as dwelling in the sanctuary. He contends, however, that these passages bear a figurative sense, and that when thus understood they must tend to elevate our ideas of the greatness and glory of God.'—p. 51.

Now it must be allowed that the evil effects of the erroneous opinions here attributed to Jews and Christians, have had full time to operate; and that we have ample means to judge of their operation. If the Jews were really led by the literal interpretation of their Scriptures to a false or inadequate notion of the Supreme Being, we should find the evidence of this in every page of their religious and moral history: for it is no imaginary alarm to suppose, that mistaken ideas as to the nature of the Deity will lead to corresponding errors in practice. It would be easy, if this were the place for it, to shew that the moral and religious character of every nation, from China to Peru, bears a very close analogy to their actual belief as to the character of the Deity. But it is quite sufficient to refer to the popular religion of the Greeks and Romans, with which we are so familiarly acquainted, and in which the gods of the state and the gods of the poets were much more confounded than might be imagined from Varro's systematic division. The general belief, every one knows, was in deified men: men who, during their lives, had excelled their contemporaries in the temperament of mind or body, and who had not all, as we are told of Hercules, evaporated their mortal particles at the funeral pile, but retained the vices of humanity with the power of gods. Here, certainly, the irrational mythology was not contradicted by a rational worship: no one need be told that the religious festivals of the ancients were absurd and licentious, and that they

they were more or less so, in proportion to the character of the particular deity in whose honour they were celebrated; while the argument as to individual practice was as general as it is natural, *Ego homuncio hæc non faciam?* Sir William Drummond, therefore, who is well acquainted with antiquity, apprehended incalculable mischief, if an interpretation were suffered to continue current which ascribed '*locality, materiality, mutability, or unworthy passions*' to the Creator. We are only surprised that it never occurred to him as a just conclusion, that he must be mistaken in supposing such errors could arise from the plain language of the Jewish scriptures addressed to the understanding of a reasonable being, since the effect had never actually appeared in the general belief of the nation. In this respect, what is the real fact? Is it not, that from the earliest date of history to the christian era, the Jews alone had adequate or consistent notions of the Creator? Is it not, that the abstract conceptions on the subject of the divine essence, which we meet with in the Hebrew writings, are as far superior to the excursions of ancient philosophy, as the public devotional worship which existed among the Hebrew people was superior to the popular festivals of Greece and Rome? Throughout the Hebrew nation the Deity was honoured under the same consistent character: viz. as so entirely and solely the governor of the universe, that he was the only proper object of worship, and at the same time as a Being so spiritual, that he could not be either worshipped or represented under any sensible image. This general impression was conveyed from their history to their devotion; and from their worship to their morality. In the peculiar nature of their literary compositions we trace it in a manner not to be mistaken. Inferior in every other species of literature, the Hebrews abounded with poetical addresses to the Supreme Being which infinitely surpass any similar attempts that can be brought into comparison. Their writings contain ideas of omnipotence and omnipresence disgraced by no sensible images; they concur in representing the same invisible and spiritual Being to be the Creator of the world, and the guardian of mankind; above all, they excel in describing the moral attributes of God, his justice, and goodness, and mercy, as existing together, and not counteracting one another. That union of the natural and moral sublime, which forms the acknowledged and distinguishing beauty of the Hebrew poetry, was inspired by the belief generally residing in that nation, of the unity, power, and majesty of the Creator.

Here then we are presented with a phenomenon, considerable in itself, but still more extraordinary when contemplated with reference to the alleged fact of the tendency of the Jewish scriptures. That the Jews should have possessed a more sublime system of belief,

belief, and practised a purer mode of worship than any other ancient nation, is in itself sufficiently remarkable: but that this should be the case, in spite of scriptures tending to degrade the object of their belief and worship, is absolutely unaccountable. Will it explain this problem, to tell us, 'that the learned Jews (like the learned Egyptians and Chaldeans) had their esoteric doctrines? and to contend, at great length, that the allegorical parts of scripture were fully understood as such by the priests and prophets of Judea?' p. 24. We are glad, by the way, to find that there were learned Jews; they have not always been treated with so much courtesy;—but this compliment must not silence us, or prevent our asking what the esoteric doctrines of the Egyptian or Grecian philosophers contributed towards purifying the general practice of their countrymen? The esoteric doctrine of the Egyptians, whatever it was, did not withdraw the mass of the people from their senseless superstition; that of the Chaldeans did not check the worship of the heavenly bodies. The unity, if we may believe Warburton, was taught in the mysteries; yet the ancient hymns are mere depositories of the popular follies. But with regard to the Jewish people; though it is true, that the belief and language of Plato will no more bear comparison with those of Moses, than the conjectures of Copernicus with the demonstrations of Newton: yet it is notorious that a still more remarkable difference confronts us, as we descend in the scale of learning and cultivation. From the highest to the lowest of the people, all worshipped the same God, according to the same form, in the same temple. This fact, and the strong contrast it marks between the Jews and all other ancient nations, is by no means generally treated with the attention it deserves. The familiarity with their history, which we acquire in early infancy, important as it is on many accounts, yet weakens the force of the impression it is calculated to excite; and which it would infallibly excite in every intelligent mind, if the account of their history and polity were first conveyed to us at a period of maturer judgment, and viewed in sober comparison with the other records of antiquity. From the midst of darkness, error, and dispute; from scenes of licentious worship and degrading superstitions, we turn to an unhesitating faith, and a sublime devotion: all around is a desert, a wilderness, and gloom; from the centre of which the Hebrew religion rises to our view, set up like a bright and shining pillar to record the creation of the world, and the God who demands the homage of his creatures.

We confess that under all these circumstances, which must have occurred, it would seem, to one so conversant with history and philosophy as Sir Wm. Drummond; it requires all the strong assurances which *Vindex* gives us, to make it credible that he had no other

other view than to exalt the character of the Scriptures. Certainly, however, we had rather retain a friend than contend with an enemy : and since Sir William professes to hold out the right hand of amity, we will, if possible, attribute the ridicule which he has rather too freely bestowed on the literal interpretation, to his paternal anxiety about his own hypothesis : a feeling, however unphilosophical, from which philosophers are not always free, and which sometimes leads them to indulge in a warmth of expression not less unwarrantable than otherwise unaccountable. We cannot help fearing indeed, that less candid critics will rather conclude Sir Wm. Drummond to have proposed his objections against the received interpretation of the Old Testament, for the sake of his allegory, than to have resorted to the allegory for the sake of the difficulties. The question, in fact, is not, whether no passages may be culled from the sacred volume, which under the disadvantage of a verbal translation and of the alteration in style and manners, may appear liable to cavil, but whether they ever did, practically, lead to the consequences which the author apprehends. The question is not, whether misemployed ingenuity, coupled with an outrageous defiance of the decent respect with which the common feelings of mankind are wont to invest these high and holy subjects, can succeed in introducing a ludicrous image into writings of a sublime and serious import ; but whether it ever did so, to the practical injury of the people to whom these writings were addressed. To this question their history returns a decided negative. But Sir Wm. Drummond, a scholar and a philosopher, and the author of an allegorical commentary, which he calls *Œdipus Judaicus*, affirms that this is their tendency. *Utri creditis, Quirites?* At any rate, as the measure of allegorising an historical narrative appears at first sight somewhat violent, however qualified by the benevolence of the intention; it seems but common prudence to require, before we submit to so harsh a remedy, some sufficient assurance of the existence of the disease : and the evidence which the case demands is not the assertion of the empiric, armed with his knife, or offering his panacea ; but an actual weakness, and a visible interruption of the ordinary functions of a healthy constitution. As a proof that the Jews did not exhibit these morbid symptoms, we appeal to the religious belief inculcated in their law, declared in their worship, implied in their sacred literature, and acted upon in their code of morals.

The passages of the Old Testament with which the author of the *Œdipus Judaicus* is most inclined to quarrel (as we collect from *Vindex*) are those which record the several divine appearances. These, it seems, convey an idea of materiality. Of materiality! To whom? To the Jews? who while they addressed the Deity as ‘dwelling between the cherubim,’ addressed him also as
‘dwelling

'dwelling with him that is of a contrite and humble spirit.' Isaiah, 57. Or to the Christians? who are expressly warned against any false interpretation by the declaration, 'No man has seen God at any time.' But as every one who is qualified to think at all upon the subject attributes these appearances to the immediate messengers of God, authorised to speak in his name: and as we do not, from our own experience, find it necessary to understand the exact nature of a communication, in order to believe that any communication was made;—we must take the liberty of passing this subject, only remarking, that it seems a little unworthy of a master of many languages, to dispute about the word 'angel,' as if he only understood English.

The principal support, however, of the allegorical system, is sought in the much disputed history of the extermination of the seven nations. The author 'thinks indeed that this history if literally understood, would lead us to form notions derogatory to the character of God, as the wise, just, and merciful governor of the world.' p. 98. Mr. D'Oyly had quoted Bishop Watson.

'You think it repugnant to God's moral justice,' says the learned Prelate to Paine, 'that he should doom to destruction the crying or smiling infants of the Canaanites. Why do you not maintain it to be repugnant to his moral justice that he should suffer crying or smiling infants to be swallowed up by an earthquake, drowned by an inundation, consumed by a fire, starved by a famine, or destroyed by a pestilence? The word of God is in perfect harmony with his works; crying or smiling infants are subjected to death in both.'—'Why do you not spurn, as spurious, the book of Nature, in which such facts (as earthquakes, &c. with all their dreadful consequences) are certainly written, and from the perusal of which, you infer the moral justice of God? You will probably reply that the evils which the Canaanites suffered from the express command of God, were different from those which are brought on mankind by the operation of the laws of nature. Different! in what? Not in the magnitude of the evil, not in the subjects of sufferance, not in the author of it.'—pp. 99, 100.

To this Vindex replies:

'I am induced to think that there was a difference. The evils inflicted on the Canaanites resulted from an extraordinary interposition of the divine authority. Evils brought on mankind by the operation of the laws of nature cannot be said to be produced by any such interposition. If the literal interpretation of the Book of Joshua be followed, it is evident that God specially interfered to destroy the seven nations. In the Book of Nature, from the perusal of which I infer the moral justice of the Deity, I can find no example of his interference with the course of nature's laws for the purpose of destroying his creatures.'—p. 103.

In spite of the distinction which this reply professes to establish,
we

we still adhere to the Bishop's argument; and cannot see that the history concludes any thing more against revelation, than the acknowledged existence of evil disproves natural religion. Whether *Vindex* has considered this knotty question with the accuracy it requires, we have room to doubt, when we find mention made, page 102, of 'a law of nature, permitted indeed by God to operate, but not specially ordained by him, out of the course which nature would otherwise have taken.'

The Deity, it is evident, has allowed great imperfections to exist, both in the natural and moral world. That he could have exempted either, or both, from any evil, is a necessary result of his independence and power. If therefore he could, and did not, the calamities produced by plagues and earthquakes must be attributed to his permissive plan; and that war disturbs the happiness of nations, and cuts short the lives of individuals, must be part of a series of events, present to the divine mind from the foundation of the world. Though his hand is not immediately seen in each particular instance, yet each instance is involved in the general laws established by his will. If, therefore, it was morally wrong that the course of nature should be undistinguishing, or irreparably unjust that the calamitous consequences of war should be universal, the course of nature could not have been so ordained, or the course of human affairs permitted to run into such an evil, either by the God of Deists or Christians. To apply this to the point in hand. That the exterminated nations, considered in a mass, deserved the vengeance of a moral governor by their idolatry and depravity, can no more be disproved on the one hand, than it is denied on the other that there must have been various degrees of demerit, though there was no exemption from the common fate; or that many innocent children, as in every condition and generation of the world, were involved in the punishment of their fathers' guilt. It cannot be pretended by the Deist, that in the usual course of things, uniform regard is paid to the merits of mankind. And what is the conclusion drawn from this inequality? That it will be rectified by retribution in a future state. To the horizon by which our view is bounded, we may justly attribute the perplexing appearance which many of the particular instances of evil convey to our minds: when we see brought within a narrow space what the Creator's comprehensive survey combines with the view of his general dispensations. To us it is an insulated event; to him it is a part of an immense scheme. Our minds are overwhelmed with the present distress, which the Deity sees, not with indifference, but in conjunction with other events, and with the future retribution of which we know nothing. It is not in reality more contrary to justice, that the innocent should share the fate which the guilty have deserved, than that

that virtue should be depressed, whilst vice is triumphant and prosperous. Instances of the former case are of less frequent occurrence; yet either might justly appal us, but for the conviction that the author of the law to which such inequalities are owing holds the recompense in his own hands. In the divine view, to which the eternity awaiting the sufferers under any general calamity, in all its completeness and perfection, is no less present than their immediate misery, that misery is but a point in an interminable line; and appears what it will soon appear, retrospectively, to the sufferers themselves, in comparison with the 'great and unbounded' prospect lying before them.

Vindex adds, p. 103, 'There is also a difference, I humbly think, with respect to the means employed. The unconscious elements, obeying the primordial laws which God gave to nature, sometimes desolate whole cities, and lay waste whole districts. We find that men, that moral agents, were employed to destroy the Canaanites. As moral agents, the Israelites ought not to have been cruel, unjust, rapacious. As moral agents, they ought to have believed that God cannot delight in rapine, bloodshed, and robbery, &c.' At first sight, this is plausible. But what was the situation of the Israelites? It appears on the face of their history, that at the period in question they were living under a theocracy: under the immediate superintendence of the Supreme Being, to whom they owed and paid, not only the worship due to the Creator, but the allegiance due to a temporal sovereign. Their moral duty therefore, in the present case, was simply obedience. It was not their business, though it is thought to be ours, to doubt the justice or canvass the reasons of a judicial determination, of which they were the executive ministers. Where, again, are the Israelites to learn 'that God delights in robbery and bloodshed?' In the judgment which so positively assured them, that he delights *not* in idolatry and wickedness? When they were thus individually employed to wield the sword of divine justice against a guilty nation, and to succeed to the forfeited possessions, they would see in the dispensation the fulfilment, not the violation of moral justice; and the lesson they would imbibe, would be an awful conviction of the severity with which the Moral Governor of the world, who is uniformly represented in their law as just as well as merciful, treats wickedness and punishes idolatry. It was a practical example of the destiny impending over themselves, if they yielded to the guilty actions which they had been specifically enjoined to avenge in others.

There is one, and only one more cavil, of which we cannot be content to leave Vindex in undisturbed possession. Mr. D'Oyly had justly argued, that 'amongst the Jews thus deplorably mistaken,

ken, in supposing that they were reading the history of their ancestors, when they were merely reading astronomical allegories, must be included those who lived immediately subsequent to the date of their supposed histories.' Upon this Vindex takes occasion to inquire, 'Was the Pentateuch certainly written by Moses, and was the book named from Joshua written by him?'

'It cannot be denied,' he continues, 'that there are many interpolations in the books mentioned above, if they be, indeed, the same that were written by Moses and Joshua. I conceive it to be needless to point them out. They are sufficiently known. But it may be doubted by some, whether these be interpolations, or not, because it does not seem necessary to consider them as such, unless it be a matter of previous determination, that we shall ascribe the books to Moses and Joshua. There may be persons, who think it sufficient for the purposes of faith to believe that these books were written by some inspired person, without insisting on their being composed by Moses and Joshua;—especially as there is no scriptural injunction, which makes this a necessary article of belief. In a book of the Scriptures, now indeed excluded from the canon, it was distinctly stated, that the books, which might have been really written by Moses and Joshua, had been lost, and that the deficiency had been supplied by the inspired Ezra. There can be no doubt that several of the most distinguished Fathers of the Church have fallen into this error, if an error it certainly be. For my own part I pretend not to make any decision. I only wish to urge, that I see nothing either absurd, or impious, in considering it as a question, upon which every one may be at liberty to think for himself.'—pp. 27, 28.

We shall not be withheld by the delicacy which is so laudable in Vindex, from reminding our readers that the interpolations which he thinks '*sufficiently known*,' consist in the substitution of the modern for the obsolete name of two or three towns mentioned in the Pentateuch; and in an allusion which we find in Deuteronomy to the kings of Israel, and which evidently implies a writer subsequent to the establishment of the monarchy. The former instance we naturally ascribe to an honest but misjudging copyist, who was more anxious that the sacred text should be immediately understood by his readers, than to preserve it entire; the latter was undoubtedly introduced into the text from a remark originally appended to the margin. The known effect of similar errors, which are found in every ancient writer, is to furnish strong presumption against the authenticity of the passage in which they occur; but who would pardon the critic that should question the reputation of the work in which they are found, on grounds so slight and so easy of solution, even if it had no other evidence in its favour than the general testimony of antiquity?*

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* Whoever wishes to see the principal arguments for the genuineness and antiquity of the Pentateuch brought together within the compass of half an hour's reading, will do well

In what follows, we must observe that the exclusion of what is commonly called, the second book of Esdras, from the canon, is not the consequence of banishment, as Vindex leaves us to suppose, but of illegitimacy; and that the book is said to be '*now indeed excluded from the canon*,' with the same propriety as a man might be spoken of as now dead, who had never been born: inasmuch as it never had an existence in any canon, Jewish, Roman, Catholic, or Protestant. With respect to the alleged loss of the writings of Moses and Joshua, and the supply of their deficiency by the '*inspired Ezra*,' if this account were founded on any credible authority, it must really prove what the writer professes to have received, immediate inspiration; for this alone could transport Ezra from his own natural style, in which the return from Babylon is related, to the authoritative manner and lofty tone which characterize the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. But as it must be totally vain to address internal evidence to a person who can read what is commonly called the second book of Esdras, without perceiving it to be the composition of a writer conversant with the Christian Scriptures, and in particular with the epistles of St. Paul: we will take other ground, and briefly ask of Vindex, how he intends to account for the agreement between the Samaritan and Jewish Pentateuch? The ancestors of the Samaritans, it is well known, seceded from their brethren soon after the death of Solomon. Allowing, therefore, the authority of the uncanonical Esdras, the coincidence between their copy, and the Hebrew, can only be ascribed to one of the three following causes: either he adopted the books from the Samaritans, which had been preserved by them as sacred and authentic during their separation; or he persuaded the bitter enemies and rivals of the tribe of Judah, to credit his imposture, and accept his forgery; or his own account must be believed to the letter, and the agreement of the copies must be referred to miraculous inspiration. Here is unquestionably a phenomenon which can only be explained by one of these solutions, and we readily leave objectors to Moses, and believers in Esdras, to take their choice among them.

It is curious, in a philosophical point of view, to observe the anomalous state of the reasoning powers exhibited by acknowledged sceptics. Their peculiarity seems to consist in a promptitude to receive any thing as true, provided it be not confirmed by revelation. They cannot think it credible, that God should declare to man the purpose of his being. They cannot believe, that in order to prepare the way for a more general promulgation of his coun-

well to consult a pamphlet by Dr. Marsh, entitled '*The Authenticity of the Five Books of Moses vindicated*,' in which the objections here alluded to are refuted with all the acuteness and perspicuity which so eminently characterise the learned professor.

sels,

sels, he preserved among a particular people the records of the creation,—that he testified his existence, and bore witness to his design, by rescuing that people from bondage through miraculous interpositions of power:—that he assigned them a particular country, and prescribed to their observance peculiar ceremonies, as a memorial of the miraculous evidence by which he had proclaimed them the chosen depositaries of the records entrusted to them:—that, finally, he forbade them, under pain of grievous national misfortunes, from adhering or apostatising to the senseless idolatry of the neighbouring nations; but enjoined them to worship one God, as the creator of the world, who had given them sensible evidence of his existence and power. This, it seems, a man cannot reconcile to his ideas of credibility; notwithstanding its apparent agreement with reason, and the general sentiments of mankind; notwithstanding the phenomena which are solved by its truths, and the difficulties which embarrass its rejection; notwithstanding the evidence of a long series of writings by which it is supported, and the historical testimony by which it is confirmed. *Can* the stubbornness of the sceptics' incredulity in some cases, bear no proportion to the avidity of their belief in others. They *can* believe that God created man, and left him ignorant of the circumstances of his origin: that he gave him a mind capable of receiving ideas, yet did not enable him to express those ideas in language. They *can* believe that a nation existed, venerating certain monuments, and sacredly observing certain institutions, in memory of certain events, which events never took place:—a nation annually celebrating a very particular ceremony, and habitually consecrating all their first-born male children, in memory of a deliverance, which never occurred—a nation possessing laws expressly founded on facts of which the records are interwoven with them, and which appeal to the knowledge of the facts professed by the first receivers of the law, when the facts themselves never happened. They *can* believe, that the Jewish people received themselves, and entailed upon their posterity, without any assignable cause, statutes expressly forbidding them to intermix with other nations, though they were anxiously desirous of that seemingly innocent intercourse; statutes binding them to abstain, on certain appointed seasons, from business and amusement; to leave their land uncultivated one year in seven, and to desert their abodes and go up to their capital annually,—and all this on pain of certain imaginary vengeance to be inflicted by they knew not whom. Lastly, they *can* believe, that the people, in gratitude for these burthensome edicts, held their law in such veneration as to read parts of it publicly once in seven days, and the whole of it every seventh year; not allowing the lapse of time, or change of cir-

cumstances to justify the wilful alteration of a single letter of the original; and were so zealous in defence of this voluntary burthen, as to sacrifice their lives in vindication of it—for no stronger reason, or more cogent obligation, than because it had been promulgated by one of their fallible ancestors. Surely, these symptoms of infidel credulity betray strong proofs of a diseased state of the intellectual organs. At all events, they may satisfy us that believers are not alone subject to the charge of undervaluing the laws of evidence; of overlooking difficulties and embracing inconsistencies, or of subscribing to the strong language of the ancient father, *Credo, quia impossibile est.*

ART. V. *Vagaries Vindicated; or, Hypocritic Hypercritics.*
A Poem addressed to the Reviewers. By George Colman the Younger. London. 1813.

THE first virtue of a Reviewer, and that for which, in general, he gets the least credit, is *patience*. To read, to quote, to dissect dulness and absurdity, are tolerable, or perhaps we should say, intolérable trials of temper: but to abstain from answering our answerers, is (and of this we may be permitted to judge) the greatest exertion of critical self-denial. Our angry antagonists are so sure to be in the wrong, and to prove us in the right, to flicker about the light which we hold out to them till they burn their wings, that it is with the utmost difficulty we refrain from saying in a succeeding Number, that our ‘observations on — and — have been enforced and elucidated with laudable accuracy, but rather too much of satiric severity, by — and — themselves, in their admirable “Answers to the unfounded Aspersions, &c. &c.”’

But—‘laud we the Gods!’ here is ‘an answer’ which we may, nay, which we must notice. It professes to be not merely an answer, but, in one sense, an original work, and not an original work only, but *a poem*,—a regular poem, of eight hundred or a thousand heroic lines!—magnificently printed in quarto, with appropriate mottos in Latin and English, an Advertisement abounding with fury and pleasantry, and notes amounting almost to the dignity of a perpetual commentary.

Our senior-junior, ‘George Colman the Younger,’ has printed (we dare not say published) this exquisite poem to prove two things, First, That the dulness and obscenity of his former work are perfectly justifiable, and that our reprehension of these laudable characteristics was perfectly unjustifiable; Secondly, That he despises our reprehensions aforesaid, and treats them with *silent contempt* and *utter indifference*. And we must in candour confess, that

that his poem proves the truth of the first of his positions, just as strongly as it does that of the second.

His leading argument in defence of his obscenity is expressed in the following very cogent lines—

‘ Once more, then, to my first imputed crime,—
Those double meanings that disgrace my rhyme;
Why, all who understand them know no more
Of evil, than they understood before;
And all who do not, are no wiser grown,
Would critics let the simple souls alone.’

By this reasoning our readers will observe, that nothing can be more innocent than the grossest double entendres, the most downright filth, because, according to this excellent dilemma, those who understand the obscenity understood it before, and those who did not understand it before, would still remain in utter ignorance, but for the mischievous zeal of critics, who explain these horrors to uninitiated innocence.

Now, if we had followed this author with a dirty commentary, if we had explained and glossed upon his filthy innuendos, we should have been almost as bad as himself; and he would have had good ground (not indeed of self-exculpation, but) of accusation against us. But certainly our remarks are not liable to this imputation; we were not so wanting in taste and decency as to quote any of his double or his single meanings. Of his dulness and absurdity we gave, to our own annoyance and the disgust of our readers, some specimens; but of his *other* quality, we contented ourselves with saying that he eminently possessed it: and we had too much respect for our office, our readers, and ourselves, to descend into particulars and run the risk of spreading the contagion, by exhibiting the spots and plague-marks of his infected *Vagaries*.

For the same reasons we shall not now pursue him into the other parts of his defence,—*defence* do we say! his *applause*, of

———— ‘ the laugh-exciting equivocate,
The *salt* allusion, and the *broad* joke.’—p. 58.

For all reviewers, but for us in particular, he entertains, as we have already hinted, the most profound, but the most *silent*, contempt, which he expresses somewhat in the Irish mode, by the most violent and obstreperous abuse.—Take a sample—

‘ Come, *hackney’d* critic, shock’d at every speck
In my o’er censured Lady of the Wreck;
Pope of a *prostituted* press; who choose
To thunder bulls against a *trifling* muse;
A half Tenth Leo—*sensual* as he,
But no encourager of poetry :

Come, *canting* Chiron—*Mentor* from a *stew*;
Venal impartialist of a Review; &c.—p. 12.

All this perhaps may have a meaning; probably, if it resembles the rest of this ingenious author's works, it may even have a *double* meaning, but that it can in any case mean indifference and silent contempt of his critics, is what Mr. Colman, or even an abler advocate of absurdity, would find it hard to convince us.

But we must not give up too much time to Mr. Colman and his Answer. If we were malevolent towards him, we should make large extracts from his 'poem;' but we have no enmity to him or to 'his *trifling* muse,' as with great truth and candour he characterizes his intellect; he may *trifle* as long as he will, but he shall not *corrupt*, not at least undetected and unchastised.

Mr. Colman affects a taste for Shakespeare; we hope he will thank us for recalling and recommending to his serious consideration the admonitory observation which Henry the Fifth addresses to one who had a thousand times more gaiety and wit, and not many more years than Mr. George Colman the Younger—

————— 'Fall to thy prayers, old man;
 How ill white hairs become a fool and jester!'

ART. VI. ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΉΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΙ. *Euripidis Heraclidæ.*

Ex recensione Petri Elmsley, A. M. *qui annotationes suas et aliorum selectas adjecit.* Ολονιι, excudebat Samuel. Collingwood. 1813. pp. 141.

IF the comparative merit of the three great tragedians were to be estimated from the quantity of their writings which have been preserved to us, Euripides would undoubtedly bear off the palm: and it seems not unreasonable to conclude, that the critics of antiquity thought most highly of that poet, whose works have been handed down to posterity the least impaired. Certain it is that Euripides was more universally read than either of his brother tragedians; his poems are more frequently cited for the purposes of illustration by writers on ætlics; and we know that Chrysippus made such extensive use of the *Medea* of Euripides in a certain treatise, that the work was called in derision, 'the *Medea* of Chrysippus.' In point of fact, however, these circumstances afford but an uncertain criterion; since other causes may be assigned, sufficient to account for the superior care with which the tragedies of Euripides seem to have been preserved. One is to be found in his moralizing and sentimental turn; and in the vast number of precepts applicable to the ordinary relations of life, interspersed through all his writings. In the perusal of his plays we see no traces of that

'live

'fine frenzy' which bursts out in almost every scene of Aeschylus; our attention is not kept on the stretch by that sustained and majestic tone which is the peculiar characteristic of Sophocles; but there is more which comes home to every man's reason and feelings, less poetry indeed, but more common sense. Euripides was unquestionably a more attentive observer of human nature than either of his predecessors in the drama; he was more versed in the learning of the times, and a better philosopher. In the first and last of these points his superiority was so conspicuous, that his enemies (of whom he seems to have had not a few) insinuated that he was assisted in the composition of his dramas by Socrates. Hence his plays were better adapted for the instruction of youth, and more frequently cited by writers on ethics and physics: the natural consequence of which was, the multiplication of copies of his works. A poet who expressed, in simple and perspicuous language, precepts adapted to the mechanic and the husbandman, no less than to the hero or the king, and who clothed in melodious numbers the most abstruse doctrines of natural as well as moral philosophy, would of course be more generally read than those, whose superior polish or loftier flights of poetry could be justly appreciated only by men of refined feeling and liberal education. And that this was the case with Euripides, is proved in a remarkable manner, by the well-known story of the Athenian captives, who returned after the Sicilian expedition, from which it appears, that even the common people of Athens had the verses of this poet at their fingers' ends.

The peculiar merit of Euripides is thus sensibly and shortly stated by a critic of antiquity. 'Menander's accurate and graceful delineations of character, surpassed all the strength and raciness of the older comic poets; and the sweetness and persuasiveness of Euripides, although it fall short of the dignified elevation of tragedy, render him very useful to a man engaged in active life, and powerful in representing the manners and passions of his characters. Being not unskilled in philosophy, he intermingles with his poetry precepts and axioms serviceable to all conditions of men.'

From these causes it proceeds, that the general estimation in which the plays of Euripides were held, is by no means inconsistent with the fact of his poetical inferiority; a fact, of which we know, from the testimony of Aristophanes and Dio Chrysostom, that the critics both of the same and subsequent ages were sufficiently sensible. Both those excellent judges condemn in him as a defect, the very quality, which probably procured to his works so general a circulation, viz. his sententiousness. Euripides was lamentably given to moralize. In the very midst of some pathetic apostrophe or burst of passion, an impertinent *γῶγυς* foists itself in, and

destroys all the effect. In the *Supplices*, Adrastus, in the greatest distress, makes piteous application to Theseus, prostrating himself on the ground and embracing his knees. Theseus, instead of answering, begins a soliloquy on the sum of human happiness and misery, between which he institutes a comparison extended through fifty lines, the result of which is, that there are three orders of citizens, of which the middle one is best behaved, and in consequence he professes himself unable to give any assistance to Adrastus. Some editors of ancient authors have, with a laudable regard for their readers, taken care to indicate the occurrence of a *gnome*, by planting opposite to it a finger post, or by inclosing it in inverted commas; the obvious purpose of which is, to point out all those parts which may be omitted without detriment to the sense. By means of this device we are enabled to go very expeditiously through Euripides, who is decorated with as many of these direction-posts as any of the cross ways in the neighbourhood of London.

Another gross fault in Euripides is the introduction of low or ridiculous characters, or of ludicrous speeches in the mouth of grave personages. If it has been objected to him that he makes his slaves and heralds talk like philosophers and princes, it is no less true that his kings and heroes sometimes descend from the elevation of the buskin into low and colloquial phraseology. Every reader of taste must be disgusted with the vulgar and absurd scene of the *Orestes*, in which the Phrygian slave is introduced. At v. 729 of the play before us is a remarkable instance in which the judgment of the poet forsook him, or accommodated itself to the humour of the spectators. The low jocularly of the servant, and the energetic feebleness of Iolaus, who hobbles slowly across the stage praising his own celerity and vigour, reminds us of the valour of Sir Andrew Aguecheek. The voraciousness of Hercules, the great *gourmand* of antiquity, is injudiciously displayed in the most interesting and critical part of the *Alcestis*, and it is not in the dignified tone of royalty that Menelaus threatens to give an old man a bloody coxcomb, who refuses to deliver up to him a certain letter. The principal defects of Euripides are well summed up in the following words. Τὸ δὲ πανουργόν, κομμηρεπές τε καὶ γυνωμολογικόν, ἀλλότριον τῆς τραγῳδίας. Of his inconsistency there are many instances; some of which Musgrave has noticed in the present play. It was remarked of him long ago, ἐναντία πολλάκις ἑαυτῷ λέγει.

Of the seventeen tragedies of Euripides which have survived the general wreck of literature, those which stand first in the common arrangement, are unquestionably the first also in merit. And this probably is the reason, why they have experienced the fate of favourite children, who have been caressed and nursed up, while the younger branches of the family lay in piteous plight, crying in vain

vain for assistance. So much has been done for the first seven or eight plays by skilful bonesetters, that we have them now tolerably free from dislocations and flaws, and in so respectable a condition, that they would probably be recognized by Euripides as his legitimate offspring. One or two indeed have fallen under the hands of very violent operators, and have been almost entirely rebuilt upon a new model, ὥστε μηδένα Ἰωνῶναι φίλων ἰδόντ' ἀν' ἄθλιον δέμας, while the remainder have been obliged to rest contented with an occasional visit bestowed upon them ἐν παρόδῳ by some compassionate critic, and to envy the more fortunate lot of their elder brothers and sisters.

The Heraclidæ, who experienced rough treatment during their lifetime, have long remained in a neglected state, without any particular demerit on their part; on the contrary M. Prévost, who made them a present of a French dress, thinks them a very deserving family. It was therefore with great pleasure that we found them introduced to us by Mr. Elmsley, washed and combed, and their clothes neatly mended. They are now fit company for genteel people; and may take their place by the side of the queen of Troy, the prince of Argos, the fifteen Phœnician ladies, and the princess royal of Colchos.

Mr. Elmsley in the volume before us gives a corrected text, a collation of the Aldine edition, select annotations of preceding commentators, and his own very valuable remarks. We are certainly under the full influence of that laudable propensity of critics, which disposes us to find fault; but we are nevertheless compelled to acknowledge, that Mr. Elmsley's annotations are one of the happiest mixtures of critical and illustrative remark that has ever been bestowed upon any portion of the Greek drama. We do not agree with him in all his restorations of the text, nor in all his interpretations, and we shall freely state the grounds of our dissent; but these points of difference are few and unimportant, in comparison of the instances in which we recognize the hand of the skilful critic and the judicious interpreter. We shall now specify the principal features which distinguish the present from preceding editions, and suggest to Mr. Elmsley's consideration a few remarks which may perhaps tend to its further improvement.

V. 1. Πάλαί ποτ' ἰστὶ τοῦτ' ἰμοὶ δεδογμένοι. We prefer τοῦτό μοι δεδογμένοι, the reading of Stobæus. The emphasis should be thrown upon τοῦτο, and not upon the pronoun, which to a certain degree it is, as the verse now stands. The same reasoning does not apply to v. 818. of the *Medea*.

3. Ὁ δ' εἰς τὸ κέρδος λῆμ' ἔχων ἀναιμῆναι. '*Propensum in lucrum plerique interpretes. Malim lucra deditum.*' P. E. We render it, *solutum in lucrum*. Virgil. *Aen.* IV. 530. *Soluitur in somnos*. Georg. IV. 198. *nec cor-*

pora segnes In Venerem solvunt. Herod. II. 173. ἀνίαι ἰωῦτον ἐς παιγνίην. Androm. 723. Ἀνιμείον τι χρῆμα πρεσβυτῶν γένος. i. e. *solutum in iram.* Plato Rep. VIII. p. 447. ἀνανδρος καὶ λίαν ἀνιμείος. i. e. *solutus.*

7. Ἐξὸν κατ' Ἄργος ἡσύχως καίιν—ἡσυχον P. E. We prefer Mr. Elmsley's second correction, ἡσυχῶς, which he rejects. Aesch. Eum. 888. Ἐξίστι γάρ σοι τῆσδε γαμῶρι χθονὸς εἶναι δικαίως εἰς τὸ πᾶν τιμωμένη. [*Vulg. τῆσδε γ' εὐμοίρου. Aldus τῆσδε γ' ἀμοίρου.*] Soph. El. 911. ἦγε μὴδὲ πρὸς θεοὺς Ἐξίστ' ἀκλυόστῃ τῆσδ' ἀποστήναι στήγῃσιν V. 366. οὐν δ', ἐξὸν πατρός Πάντων ἀρίστου παιδὶ κικλῆσθαι. [*Vulg. παῖδα.*]

8. πόνον Πλείστον μετίσχοι εἰς ἀνὴρ Ἡρακλείη.—Πλείστον P. E. a correction which we do not think necessary. Aesch. Pers. 325. Κιλίκων ἱπάρχος, εἰς ἀνὴρ πλείστον πόνον Ἐχθροῖς παρασχών. Soph. Trach. 460. οὐχὶ χάτιρας Πλείστιας ἀνὴρ εἰς Ἡρακλῆς ἔγχευε δῆ; Herodot. VI. 127, δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστοι δὴ χλιδῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἀπικέτο. The phrase εἰς ἀνὴρ occurs also Soph. Oed. T. 1380. Κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἰς ἐν γι ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεῖς. Xenoph. Anab. I. ix. 12. Καὶ γὰρ οὐν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῷ ἐνὶ γι αἰδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἱπιδύμεσαι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἰαντῶν σώματα προῖσθαι. Ibid. 22. Δόρα δὲ πλείστα μιν, οἶμαι, εἰς γι ἀνὴρ ὢν, ἐλάμβανεν διὰ πολλὰ.

19. Πέμπωι ὅπῃ γῆς πυθάνοιθ' ἰδρυμένους. Mr. Elmsley reads ὅποι, and quotes Mr. Porson's authority for taking ὅποι, *quasi esset ὅπου*. Our opinion is this; ὅποι signified *whither*, and ὅπου *where*; and when the sense required ὅπου and the metre admitted it, we do not think it probable that a Grecian would have used ὅποι. The copyists, we know, perpetually interchanged ποῦ, ποῖ, and πῇ, and since we may preserve an uniformity of usage, without injury to the metre, the laws of sound criticism oblige us so to do, rather than retain a word which signifies one thing, and say that it must be taken as if it were quite another. In v. 529. where the construction is precisely similar to that of the verse before us, Mr. E. retains the common reading, ἐγγισθ', ὅπου δὲ σῶμα κατθανεῖν τέδε. In v. 46. for Ζητοῦσ', ὅπῃ γῆς πύργον οἰκούμεθα, he gives ὅποι. One MS. has ὅπου, the true reading. Soph. Oed. 369. Ζητοῦσα τὴν σὴν, ποῦ κατοικεῖν, τροφὴν. In v. 744 of the Helena, ὡς ἔχονθ' οὐρκαῖς, οὗ τ' ἰσμεν τύχης is Tyrwhitt's correction. *Vulg.* οἱ τ' ἰσμεν.

21. Πόλιν προτιμῶν Ἄργος οὐ σμικρὰν φίλων Ἐχθραν γι θέσθαι, χ' αὐτὸν εὐτυχοῦνθ' ἄμα. Mr. Elmsley adopts προτιμῶν, the correction of Canter, and conjectures that φίλοις should be substituted for φίλων, but remarks in the notes, 'Conjecturam meam, προτιμῶν φίλοις, hodie supervacaneam esse suspicor. Genitivum enim in simili locutione adhibet Herodotus IX. 4. Ταῦτα δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἀπέστελλε, προέχων μὲν Ἀθηναίων οὐ φιλίας γνώμας, ἐλπίζων δὲ σφίας ὑπῆσιν τῆς ἀγνωμοσύνης, ὡς δορυαλῶτου ἰούσης πάσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας. Now, that the words προέχων μὲν, &c. cannot mean *holding out to the Athenians no friendly intentions*, is clear, for more reasons than one. In the first place, Mardonius did hold out to the Athenians friendly intentions, and sent both embassies for that very purpose, Μήδων μεγάλα προτεινόντων, ἐφ' οἷσι ὁμολογεῖν ἐθέλουσι. Secondly the sense which Mr. Elmsley gives to προέχειν, belongs solely to the middle voice προέσχεσθαι; See Thom. Magist. p. 740. Duker on Thucyd. I. 140. Valckenaer. Callim. Eleg. p. 224. Aem. Port. Lex. Ion. in v. We suspect that for προέχων Herodotus used some such word as προοίον. The

The passage of Euripides ought, we conceive, to stand thus; Πόλιν προ-
τίων Ἄργος, οὐ σμικρὰν φίλῃν ἔχθραν τ' ἴσθαι. *Holding out to them, that*
Argos would be no contemptible friend, and no contemptible foe. This is
confirmed by v. 156, where the same alternative is held out by Copreus.
At all events φίλων must not be coupled with προτίων, which requires
a dative case, as in Aesch. Prom. 775. Eurip. in Stob. p. 453.*
Lastly we do not think, with Mr. Elmsley, that καὶ is united to αὐτὸν
by *crasis*, but that it suffers elision, and should be written χ' αὐτὸν
rather than χαυτόν. Thus χ' ὥσπερ is for καὶ ὥσπερ, and χῶσπερ or
χῶσπερ for καὶ ὥσπερ. In v. 174, are the words χ' οὖν μίσῳ πολλὸς χρόνος.
Mr. Elmsley remarks, 'Ἐξ ὃ ἐν fit οὖν, ex καὶ οὖν, χρόν, quod reposui.'
We should proceed thus: from καὶ and ὃ is formed χ' ὃ, and from χ' ὃ ἐν
is formed χῶν. Mr. Elmsley prints ὅτ' ἂν for ὅταν. We think that ὅταν,
ὀπίταν and ἐπειδὴν were anciently written as one word, and that their
component particles, as the Grammarians say, *arctissime cohererent*.
Thus ἐὰν is compounded of εἰ ἂν, *if by chance*, ἐπειτα is ἐπει τὰ, *after*
these things, which was shortened into εἴτα. If ὅτ' ἂν were written sepa-
rately, we should probably find some passage, where a word is inter-
posed between the two particles, of which we do not remember an
instance.

38. τήνδ' ἀφικόμεσθ' ἰόν. Other editors have ἰδόν, which is also
adopted by Mr. Elmsley, who observes, 'Ζωδίων pro ζωρίων restituendum
Scholiastæ ad Apoll. Rhod. 1. 1265.' The passage is this, ὃ δὲ οἶστρος,
ἐκ τῶν ποταμοῖς ἐπιπλεόντων ζωρίων, where ζωρίων is a mere blunder of the
Oxford printers; the Edition of H. Stephens has ζωαρίων, as it is cited
by Phavorinus p. 1286, 9.

52. εἴθ' ὅλοιο, χῶ πύμψας ἀνὴρ. — πύμψας σ' ἀνὴρ tacite et præter ne-
cessitatem Barnesius, P. E. Barnes's correction is not indeed necessary,
but we think it highly probable. Alcest. 754. Ἐφρίεις νυν αὐτὸς χ' ἡ
ἐννοικήσασά σοι. In v. 519, of the Supplices of Aeschylus Mr. Porson
restored Οὔτοι πταρπτοῖς ἀρπαγαῖς Σ' ἐκδώσομεν.

53. ὥς πολλά δὴ — ἡγγεῖλας κακά. — ὃς πολλά δὴ P. E. a correction
which we do not conceive to be absolutely necessary. ὥς does not sig-
nify *adeo*, as the Latin version has it; but is used for ἐπεὶ, as in Hecub.
971. Phoen. 1678. Orest. 795. 1603. Hipp. 1115. Alc. 207. 800. Suppl.
394. Cycl. 167. Soph. Ant. 66. Aj. 274. Phil. 118. El. 470. Aesch.
Prom. 517. 1066. Theb. 980. Pers. 563. It is also to be restored
to Oed. Col. 45. for ὥστ'.

64. Οὐτοι βιά γ' ἐμ', οὐδὲ τοῦσδ' ἄξεις λαβών. 'Vim particularum οὐτοι—
γε in hoc versu melius Anglice quam Latine explicare possum, *Surely*
you will not take us away by force. A more accurate translation
would be, *Assuredly you shall not take us away by force.* The particles
οὐ τοι, to the best of our recollection, are never used except in posi-
tive assertions, where no doubt is expressed. See Alc. 718. Phoen.

* Helen. 452. Ἄ μὴ προσέτα χεῖρα, μὴδ' ὤδε βία. We had formerly corrected,
Ἄ μὴ πρότανε χεῖρα. Now, however, we believe the true reading to be, Ἄ μὴ πρόστα
χεῖρα. Hec. Eur. 1218. Τί μοι προσέον χεῖρα, σημαίνει φέρον; Read, Τίν' αὖ, προσέον
χεῖρα, σημαίνει φέρον; or, Τίν' αὖ προσέον, χεῖρ σημαίνει, φέρον; Thucyd. VI. 86.
ἄλλων προσέοντες φέρον. See Ruhken on Timæus, v. 642.

462. Aesch. Theb. 242. Soph. Oed. C. 176. Οὔτοι μήποτί σ' ἐκ τῶνδ' ἰδράνων, Ὡ γέρον, ἄκορτά τις ἄξει. Aristoph. Plut. 64. Οὔτοι, μὰ τὴν Δήμητρα, χαίρησις ἔτι. Eur. Med. 923. Οὔτοι σοῖς ἀπιστήσω λόγοις. We do not remember whether οὔτοι is ever followed by γε except in the formula οὐ τάρω—γε. In the sense which Mr. Elmsley proposes, Euripides would have written Οὐ μὴν βία φ' ἔμ', οὔτε τοῦσδ' ἄξεις λαβών; as in Alc. 618. Οὐ μὴν γυνὴ γ' ὄλωιεν Ἀλκαστις σείθει; Surely your good lady is not dead? We think the verse before us should be read thus, Οὔτοι βία σύ μ', οὔτε τοῦσδ' ἄξεις λαβών.

68. Ἄξω, νομίζω οὐπὲρ εἰς, Εὐρυσθέως.—Κομίζω. P. E.

70. ἀγοραίου Διῶς. Musgrave says that, unless there was ἅ Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος at Marathon as well as at Athens, the poet forgets himself. Mr. Elmsley remarks, 'Si ἀγορά Marathonē fuit, verisimile est Jovis Ἀγοραίου aram ibi fuisse.' We apprehend that every δῆμος had its ἀγορά. Colonus had, which was nearer to Athens than Marathon. See Meurs. Reliq. Attic. p. 23.

77. πιτιῆς.—Mr. Elmsley gives ~~πιτιῆς~~, and explodes the contracted form πιτιῶ, justly, as we think.

92. ἀλλὰ τοῦ ποτι ἔν χειρὶ σφ' κομίζεις κόρους—νεοτρεφεῖς φράσον. These verses should undoubtedly form an iambic senarius. Mr. Seidler, with Barnes and Musgrave, reads Χερὶ σφ' κομίζεις νεοτρεφεῖς κόρους, φράσον. We propose Χερσὶ κομίζεις νεοτρεφεῖς κόρους, φράσον. In the disposition of this chorus Mr. Elmsley follows Hermann, but judiciously restores Εὐβῶδ' ἀκτὰν for Εὐβοῖδ' in v. 84. ὠνόμαζεν λαὸς for ὠνίμαζε λαὸς in v. 88. and πόλειος for πόλειος v. 96. In v. 84, we should prefer Εὐβῶδ' ἄκραν.

106. Ἐκπιμπει νυν γῆς τούσδε τοὺς Εὐρυσθέως—τῆσδε P. E. It appears to us that τούσδε is necessary in the early state of this conference. So v. 124. παῖδες οἶδε. 137. ἄξονται τούσδε. 153. τὰς τῶνδ' ἀβοόλους ξυμποράς. Cf. 159. 169. 172. 267.

119. Καὶ μὴν ὅδ' αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σπουδὴν ἔχων. Mr. Elmsley notices this usage of the particles καὶ μὴ upon the approach of a new personage, as in Hec. 665. Or. 348. 456. We add Or. 1010. Phoen. 453. Alc. 506. 1006. Andr. 494. 543. 880. 913. 1155. Suppl. 980. 1031. Iph. T. 236. Tro. 230. 1207. Ion. 1257. El. 339. Aesch. Theb. 372. Soph. Oed. C. 549. 1249. Ant. 526. 1257. El. 1422. Inc. Rhes. 85. 527. In all of which instances these particles are followed by ὅδε or its cases. See also Antig. 1180. In v. 1115 of the Medea, Καὶ δὴ δίδορκα τόνδε τῶν Ἰάσονος Στείχοντ' ὀπαδῶν, Mr. Porson ought unquestionably to have adopted Valckenaer's correction, Καὶ μὴν δίδορκα. The particles καὶ δὴ are never used in this formula. We remember only one instance of ἀλλὰ μὴν similarly circumstanced, viz. Orest. 1565. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόνδε λίσσω Μειλίτων δόμων πέλας. Read, Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τόνδε λίσσω. Phoen. 1328. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Κρέοντα λίσσω τόνδε διῦρο συνιφεῖ Πρὸς δόμους στείχοντα. Hippol. 51. Ἀλλ' εἰσὼ γὰρ τόνδε παῖδα Θεσίως Στείχοντα. Ion. 393. Ἀλλ', ὦ ξέν', εἰσὼ γὰρ εὐγενὴ πόσιν Εὐῶθον πέλας δὴ τόνδε. Herc. F. 139. Ἀλλ' εἰσὼ γὰρ τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονὸς Λέκον παρόντα τόνδε δωμάτων πέλας. (not τῶνδε δωμάτων, as in the editions.) *ibid.* 442. Ἀλλ' εἰσὼ γὰρ τούσδε. El. 107. Ἀλλ' εἰσὼ γὰρ τήνδε προσπόλων τινα. Aesch. Theb. 861. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔμενος αἰδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος Πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἠδ' Ἰσμήνη. Soph. Ant. 155. Ἀλλ'

ἄλλ' ὅδε γὰρ δὴ βασιλεὺς χώρας Τῆσδε. Once only we have found the simple particle μὴν in a similar situation. Soph. Ant. 626. Ὀδὴ μὴν Αἴμων. Mr. Elmsley observes, that καὶ μὴν in the above formula is not followed by γε in the same sentence, 'quod in diversa significatione plerumque post eas collocatur.' The particles καὶ μὴν occur without γε in Alc. 653. Suppl. 1009. Aesch. Prom. 254. 1080. Theb. 446. Choeph. 172. Soph. Oed. T. 1005. Ant. 558. 1054. In the Alcestis, v. 713, for Καὶ μὴν Διὸς γε μίξον ἂν ζώοις χρόνον, read, μίξονα ζώοις χρόνον.

141. Ἐκ τῆς ἱμαντοῦ δραπέτας τούτους ἔχυν. Mr. Elmsley prints Ἐκ γῆς ἱμαντοῦ, but afterwards properly recalls the old reading. Xenoph. Cyr. I. p. 14. ἔξω τῆς ἱαντων. Anab. IV. viii. 6. ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔρχεσθε. For δραπέτας τούτους, Scaliger and Barnes read τούτῳ δραπέτας, which we prefer, with Mr. Elmsley. Sophocl. ap. Stob. l. ix. p. 227. Grot. Τί τοῦδε χάσμα μίξον ἂν λάβοις ποτι.—For τοῦδε the edition of Trincavellus has τούτου. Plutarch in *Emil. Paul. sub init.* quotes, Φεῦ, Φεῦ τί τοῦτου χάσμα μίξον ἂν λάβοις—which is probably the genuine verse of Sophocles, though it is there cited without the author's name. The whole fragment we would read as follows, Φεῦ, Φεῦ, τί τοῦτου χάσμα μίξον ἂν λάβοις, Ἡ γῆς ἐπιψαῦσαι τε, καὶ ὑπὸ στίγῃ Πυκιῆς ἀκοῦσαι ψευδὸς εὐδόσῃ φρενί; We cannot forbear enlivening the dulness of our minute criticisms by comparing the above fragment with the following lines of Tibullus I. i. 45. *Quam juxta immites ventos audire cubantem, Et dominam tenero continuisse sinu! Aut gelidas hybernus aquas cum fuderit Auster, Securus somnos, imbre juvante, sequi.*

O, when the growling winds contend, and all
The sounding forest fluctuates in the storm,
To sink in warm repose, and hear the din
Howl over the steady battlements, delights
Above the luxury of vulgar sleep.

ARMSTRONG, *Art of Health*, I. 288.

To return to our Greek, Aesch. Pers. 733. Ναί, λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνής· τοῦτό γ' οὐκ ἐν στάσις. Read, τῷδ' γ' οὐκ ἐν στάσις, which was first changed into τούτῳ γ' and then into τοῦτό γ'. Compare with the old editions Soph. Phil. 1203. El. 230. and see Eurip. Hecub. 310. as cited by Aspasius in Aristot. fol. I. b. Phacathon Fragm. III.

144. Αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτῶν. Nos in nosmet. κατ' αὐτῶν P. E. who says, 'Persuasum habeo, Sophoclem et Euripidem nunquam αὐτὸν et similia de prima aut secunda persona usurpasse.'

145. Πολλῶν δὲ καλῶν. 'Notæ sunt locutiones πολλοὶ καὶ ἄλλοι, πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ, πολλὰ καὶ κακὰ, et similes, in quibus καὶ nihil sententiæ addit. Noster Suppl. 573. Πολλοὺς ἔτλην δὴ χατέρευσ ἄλλους πόρους.' P. E. This mode of expression was familiar to all the best writers. Homer Il. X. 44. Ὅς μ' υἱῶν πολλῶν τε καὶ ἰσθλῶν εὖνιν ἔθηκε. Theognis. 426. Πολλοὺς ἂν μισθοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ἔφειρον. Hecataeus ap. Demetr. de Eloc. 12. οἱ γὰρ Ἕλληνας λόγῳ πολλοὶ τε καὶ γιγῶσι. Aesch. Pers. 244. Ὅστι Δαρίῳ πολὺν τε καὶ καλὸν φθειραὶ στρεπτόν. Agam. 63. Πολλὰ παλαιόματα καὶ γυιοβαρῆ. Soph. Trach. fin. Πολλὰ δὲ πύματα, καὶ καινοπάθῃ. Eurip. Alc.

Alc. 708. ἀκούσεις πολλά καὶ ψευδῆ κακά. Andr. 942. πολλά καὶ κακά. Chionides ap. Polluc. X. 43. πολλοὺς ἐγῶδα καὶ κατὰ σὺ μαρίας. Plato Lys. p. 106. πολλοὶ καὶ καλοί. Xenoph. Symp. p. 152. ed. Schneider. πολλά καὶ σοφὰ λίγαι. Demosth. Ol. III. 9. πολλά δὲ καὶ καλὰ.

153. ξυμφορὰς κατοικτίσιν—κατοικτιῖν P. E. Alcest. 700. Εἰ τὴν παροῦσαν κατθανεῖν πείσεις αἰὶ Γυναῖχ' ὑπὲρ σου, κατ' ὀνειδίζεις φίλος. Read ὀνειδιῖς.

154. Φίρ' ἀνιθίς γὰρ, τοῦσδε τ' εἰς γαῖαν παρής, Ἡμᾶς τ' ἰάσας ἐξάγειν, τί κερδανεῖς; The Latin version has, *hos dimittens in nostram terram*. It should be, *his admissis in tuam terram*. Suppl. 468. ἀπαυδῶ—“Ἀδραστον εἰς γῆν τῆνδε μὴ παρίναμι. In the verse before us τοῦσδε τ' is Reiske's correction for τοῦσδε γ'. Androm. 809. Ἡ κατθανῇ, κτείνουσα τοὺς οὐ χρεῖν κτανεῖν. Read κτείνουσα γ' οὐς.

164. ποῖα πεδὶ' ἀφαιριθεὶς Τυρυνθίους ἦς πόλιμον Ἀργείοις ἔχουσιν; Mr. Elmsley very happily restores Τυρυνθίας γῆς.

169. Mr. Elmsley quotes a fragment of Alcæus, of which the concluding words are, Τὸδ' εὖ γε κύμα τῷ προτέρῳ νικῶν Στείχει, παρῖξαι δ' ἄμμι πόνοι πολλὴν Ἀντλῆν. He corrects πόνοι πολὺν Ἀντλῆν. Mr. Gaisford in his notes on Haphæstion p. 336. had previously restored πολὺν, and reads the preceding words thus, τὸδ' εὖτε κύμα τῷ προτέρῳ νικῶν. We think the following correction more plausible Τὸδ' αὖ τὸ κύμα τῷ προτέρῳ ὅμοι Στείχει. This second wave comes on like the former. A description probably followed of the third wave, or τρικυμία.

173. Μάχονται ἀνηβῆσαντες. Cum verbum ἀνηβᾶν semper significet repubescere, literis sejunctis emendandum Μάχονται αἰ ἡβήσαντες. Pierson Verisim. p. 176 quoted by Mr. Elmsley. The correction is right, but not the reason. ἀνηβᾶν sometimes means simply to grow up. Callim. H. Jov. 56. Ὄξυ δ' ἀνῆβησας, ταχίνοι δὲ τοι ἦλθοι ἰουλοί, where see Ernesti's note. Hesiod. Op. Di. 116. Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡβήσῃσι, καὶ ἡβης μέτρον ἴκοιτο. Read, Ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀνῆβήσῃσι. A contrary fault in Aesch. Suppl. 601. was corrected by Mr. Tyrwhitt, as mentioned by Mr. Elmsley.

188. We have here an excellent note upon the promiscuous use of the names Ἄργος and Μύκηναι for the same city. Something similar occurs in the Latin poets, who confound the neighbouring towns of Pharsalia and Philippi. (See Heyne on the first Georg. 489.) And in the Evangelists Matthew and Luke, who identify the Gergesenes and Gadarenes.

198. Εἰ γὰρ τὸδ' ἔσται, καὶ λόγους κρίνουσι σούς.—κράινουσι. Barnes. κρανῶσι. P. E.

201. ἢ γὰρ αἰσχύνῃ πάρος τοῦ ζῆν. —αἰσχύνῃ in bonam partem accipi potest, pro dedecoris vitandi studio. P. E. We are surprized that none of the commentators should have quoted Juvenal's *animam præferre pudori*.

204. 5. λῖαν γ' ἱπανεῖν—ἄγαν γ' αἰνούμενος. Mr. Elmsley with justice rejects γ' in both verses. The last syllables of ἄγαν and λῖαν are long. Menander fr. 228. Τὰ λῖαν ἀγαθὰ δυσκολαίνουσιν πέλει. Read, Ἀγαθὰ τὰ λῖαν, as in another fragment preserved by the Scholiast on Plato p. 14. Ἀγαθὰ τὰ λῖαν ἀγαθὰ. The intrusive particle γε is to be exiled from v. 608. of the Rhesus, τοὺς ἄγαν γ' ἐξωμένους.

224. Σοὶ γὰρ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν χωρὶς. ἔν τε πόλει κακόν. — ἔν τε τῇ πόλει Erfurdt. Σοὶ γὰρ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν, ἔν τε σῇ πόλει κακόν P. E. We think the following conjecture is a nearer approximation to the genuine reading, Σοὶ γὰρ τόδ' αἰσχρὸν, καὶ πρὸς, ἔν πόλει κακόν. Helen. 962. Ἀπόδος τι, καὶ πρὸς, σῶσον, or perhaps χάμα, τῇ πόλει κακόν. Plato Crit. 5. p. 75. ὅρα, μὴ ἅμα τῷ κακῷ καὶ αἰσχροῦ ἢ σοὶ τὸ καὶ ἡμῖν.

228. Μηδάρῳς ἀτιμάσας τοὺς Ἡρακλείους παῖδας εἰς χίρας λαβών. — λαβεῖν P. E. A similar error infects the Supplices of Aeschylus v. 58. οἶκτον οἰκτρὸν αἶων Δοξάσει τις ἀκού=εν ὅπα τὰς Τηρείας Μήτηδος οἰκτρὰς ἀλόχου. Read, οἶκτον οἰκτρὸν αἶων Δοξάσει τις ἀκού=εν ὅπα τὰς Τηρείδας.

233. Οἵκτιρ' ἀκούσας τ' ἄσπερ συμφορὰς. — τῶνδε P. E. Aesch. Suppl. 654. Μήποτε λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε πόλιν κινῶσαι. Read τάνδε.

238. Τοὺς σοὺς μὴ παρώσασθαι ξίνους. — τοῦσδε μὴ π. ξ. P. E. v. 252, however, is not exactly in point, as Demophōn is there addressing Coepreus.

259. τοῦ θεοῦ πλείον φρονῶν. — πλείον P. E. with two MSS. Soph. Ant. 768. Δράτῳ φρονέτω μίζον ἢ κατ' ἀνδρ' ἴστω. Read μίζον, as in v. 933 of this play, μίζω τῆς τύχης φρονῶν πολὺ. It may not be amiss to observe, that πλείον φρονεῖν means to be, or to think one's self more wise, in which sense also μάλλον and ἄμεινον φρονεῖν are used; but μίζον φρονεῖν is, to have higher notions of one's self.

323. Ὑψηλὸν αἶρω — αἶρῳ Porson. αἶρῳ P. E. for αἶρῳ, the future of αἶρω.

372. This Epode we would arrange as follows, adopting Mr. Elmsley's excellent emendation of εὐ χαρίτων ἔχουσαν in v. 380, for εὐχαρίστων ἔχουσαι.

εἰράνα μὲν ἔμοιγ' ἀρί-
σκει, σὺ δ', ἢ κακοφρων ἀναξ,
λίξω, εἰ πόλῳ ἤξις,
εὐχ' οὕτως ἂ' δοκεῖς κυρή-
σεις· οὐ σοὶ μόνῳ ἔγχος. οὐδ'

ἰτία κατάχαλκος.
ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν πολέμων ἐρα-
στάς μὴ μοι δορὶ συνταρά-
ξης τὰν εὐ χαρίτων ἔχου-
σαι πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἀνάσχου.

In v. 377, we have omitted ἴστιν after κατάχαλκος, inserting τῶν in the following verse. The system is thus reduced to regular choriambics.

385. Οὐ γάρ τι μὴ ψεύση γε κήρυκος λόγος. ψεύση γ' ὁ κ. λ. Heath. — ψεύση σε P. E. We would combine both emendations, and read ψεύση σ' ὁ κήρυκος λόγος.

386. Ὁ γὰρ στρατηγὸς εὐτυχὴς τὰ πρὸς θεῶν, ἔστιν, σάφ' οἶδα, καὶ μάλα οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

Vitiosum esse ἴστιν ex eo apparet, quod rarissime ἴστ' in initio verbus legitur, nisi initio sententiae, vel saltem post aliquam pausam sive distinctionem. Dedi igitur ἴσιν, teniet, quod miror Musgravio in mentem non venisse. P. E.

387. Καὶ μάλα οὐ σμικρὸν φρονῶν. 'In his verbis nonnihil haereo.' P. E. Read καὶ μάλα σμικρὸν φρονῶν. Aesch. Pers. 325. Κεῖται θανὼν διλαῖος, οὐ μάλα εὐτυχῶς. Ibid. 387. Καὶ νῦν ἱππῆι, καὶ μάλα Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς Κρυφαῖον ἐκπλῶν, οὐδ' αὖ μὴ καθίστατο. Suppl. 466. Ἀτρεῖς ἀβυσσοῦ πύλαγος, οὐ μάλα εὐπορον. 922. Κλαῖεις ἄν, εἰ ψεύσειας, οὐ μάλα εἰς μακρὰν.

430. Εἰς χεῖρα γὰρ ἐνέψαν. Valckenacr reads 'Ὡς χεῖρα, which we approve. The common phrase εἰς χεῖρας ἵκειν τινί, which Mr. Elmsley adduces, is surely quite inapplicable to the verse before us.

448. 'Ὡς δυστάλαινα τοῦ μακροῦ βίου στίβει. Mr. Elmsley compares Hec. 661. Med. 1028. We add Helen. 1038. Ὡς τάλαινα' ἰγὼ κακῶν. El. 1143. Οἱ μοι, τάλαινα τῆς ἡμῆς πάλαι τροφῆς. Read, Οἱ ἰγὼ τάλαινα. Aesch. Pers. 495. Οἱ ἰγὼ τάλαινα ξυμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι. 517. Οἱ ἰγὼ τάλαινα διαπιπραγμένου στρατοῦ. A similar construction occurs Hec. 215. 449. Or. 219. 829. 1027. Iph. T. 1490. Helen. 1243. Aesch. Theb. 921. See Porson on v. 384. of the Phoenissae.

467. Τί γὰρ γέγοντοσ' ἀνδρὸς Εὐρυσθεῖ πλῖον Θανάτοσ; The Latin version is *Quid enim Eurystheo plus accederet, te homine sene mortuo?* It should be, *Quid enim Eurystheo proderit.* Helen. 329. Πρὶν δ' οὐδὲν ὀρθῶς εἰδέναι, τί σοι πλῖον Λυκούμειν γένεσθαι; Theocr. Ep. VI. 1. 'Α δὲ λαίε' τυ Θύρσι, τί τὸ πλῖον, εἰ καταταξίῃς Δάκρυσι δηλῆνοὺς ὅσας ὀδυρόμενος; Leonidas Analect. l. p. 234. Φεύξομαι, ἔρως, ὑπὸ γὰρ σὶ, τί δὲ πλῖον;

481. Ἄλλ', εἰμὶ γὰρ — Mr. Elmsley properly omits the comma before εἰμὶ. To his instances of ἄλλα γὰρ, besides the seven which we have enumerated at v. 119. may be added the following; Phoen. 1775. Ἄλλα γὰρ τί ταῦτα θρηῶν καὶ μάτην ὀδυρόμαι; Helen. 1401. Ἄλλ' ἐκπερὰ γὰρ δαμάτων ὁ τοὺς ἐμοὺς Γάμονας ἐπύμους ἐν χερσὶν ἔχειν δοκῶν. Herod. VI. 124. Ἄλλα γὰρ ἴσως τι ἐπιμαρφόμενοι. Xenoph. Anab. III. ii. 52. Ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ σιναίνου ἦδη ὤρα. Lex. Sangerm. MS. ap. Ruhnken. ad Homer. H. Cer. p. 36. Ἄλλα γὰρ, ἀπὶ τοῦ δι: Εὐπτολὺς Βάπτταις — ἀναρίστητος ὢν, Κοῦδιν βεβρωκὺς; ἄλλα γὰρ στίβονται ἔχον.

499. Ἐν τῷδε καυχόμεσθα σωθῆναι λόγῳ. Mr. Elmsley conjectures καυχόμεσθα are we hindered?

505. Κίνδυνοι ἡμῶν οὐκ αἰεῖσθαι. Mr. Elmsley gives οὐκ αἰεῖσθαι, and illustrates the phrase, κίνδυνοι αἰεῖσθαι, with his usual learning and accuracy. Of v. 957. of the Supplices of Æschylus, Mr. Elmsley says, 'neque αἰρήση cum Aldo, neque αἰρεῖσθαι cum Robortello, sed αἰρεῖσθαι legendum videtur.' We remember to have seen this correction proposed about three years ago, in the pages of a contemporary Journal, as Mr. Porson's. The verse in question should be read thus: 'Ἔσται τὰδ' ἤδη πόλεμον αἰρεῖ σοι νίος. Pelasgus orders the herald to take himself off; to which he answers Ἔσται τὰδ'. I will. So in Homer when Scamander says, Ἄλλ' αἶγι δὴ καὶ ἔασον, Achilles replies, Ἔσται ταῦτα, Σκάμανδρ' εἰσπραφίς. See Porson on v. 1033a of the Iph. in Aul.

544. ἰνδικότερος. — ἰνδικώτερον P. E. who observes that comparative adverbs most commonly end in ὄν superlative in A. He reads κατάξικα for καταξίως in Soph. Oed. C. 911. V. 69 of the Helen should, we think, be read thus, Πλουτεῖ γὰρ οἶκος ἄξι', ὡς προσικάσαι. Vulg. ἄξιος προσικάσαι. In v. 290. of the same play, αἰανδρὸς πολὺ παρβινύται, the commentators have not perceived that πολὺ is used adverbially. Soph. El. 962. Ἀλκτρεα γηράσκουσιν, ἀνυμνίαί τι.

554. ἄλλ' ὑπερφέρεις Τόλμῃ τε τόλμῃ, καὶ λόγῳ χρηστοῦ λόγον. 'An legendum, ἄλλ' ὑπερφέρεις Τόλμῃς τε τόλμῃ καὶ λόγου χρηστοῦ λόγος? Aesch. Prom. 921. 'Ὅς δὴ κεραυτοῦ κρείσσει' εὐρῆδι φλόγα, Βροτῆς θ' ὑπερβάλλοντα καρετρεῖν κτυπῶν. P. E. If we mistake not, ὑπερβάλλων always governs an accusative

accusative case, as in Orest. 437. 1660. Aesch. Ag. 308. In v. 1321 of the Ion, for θριγκοῦ τοῦδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδὶ, should unquestionably be read, for more reasons than one, θριγκοὺς τούσδ'. Secondly, ὑπερβάλλειν, without a case, signifies, *to be pre-eminent*, as in Arist. Plut. 109. Ἀτίχως ὑπερβάλλουσι τῇ μοχθηρίᾳ. With a case, it signifies, *to pass over*, as in the instances above specified; or *to exceed*, as in Xenoph. Hier. IV. 8. τὰ ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἴκανα, πολλά ἴσσι; but the genitive case is subjoined only to the middle voice; see Dawes M. C. p. 248. Herodot. I. 124. VI. 9. VII. 165. IX. 71. We therefore correct the verses of Aeschylus thus, Ὅς δὲ κεραυνὸς κρείσσον' εὐρέσει φλόγα, βροντὰς θ' ὑπερβάλλοντα καρτερόν κτυπὸν, *excelling the thunderbolts*.

573. Χάρει, προσείπουσ' ὕστατον πρόσφθιγμά μοι. — πρόσφθιγμα δὲ P. E. We suspect that Euripides wrote ὕστατοις πρόσφθιγμασι. Unless we are deceived by Beck's admirable Index (to which we beg leave to express our obligations) πρόσφθιγμα is not elsewhere used by Euripides in the singular number. In v. 777. of the Troades Mr. Burges has restored πρόσπτυγμα.

593. Εἴη γε μέντοι μηδέν. — So 637. Ἦκω γε μέντοι χάρεμά σοι φέρω μέγα. γε μέντοι is to be read for γε μὴν δὲ in Soph. Electr. 1243. Aesch. Suppl. 240. 272.

597. Ἀλλ' ὃ μέγιστον ἐκπείπουσ' εὐφυχίας* — εὐφυχία Scaliger, which Mr. Elmsley confirms from Alc. 645. Suppl. 841. We add Aesch. Pers. 184. Κάλλιε τι τῶν ὧν ἐκπρεπιστέρα πολὺ. But in v. 442. of the same play, the accusative is used, Ψυχὴν τ' ἄριστον πένυγίνειαν ἐκπρεπείς.

612. παρὰ δ' ἄλλον ἄλλα Μοῖρα δῶκει. To the parallel instances, which Mr. Elmsley cites, may be added Solon. Eleg. V. 75. Ἀτὴ δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναφαίνεται, ἦν, ὅπῃ Ζεὺς Πέμψῃ τισομένην, ἄλλοτ' κ' ἄλλος ἔχει. XIII. 4. Χρήματα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄλλοτε ἄλλος ἔχει. Read, ἄλλοτ' κ' ἄλλος ἔχει.

618. Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ προσπιτύνῃς τὰ θεῶν ὕπερ. — προσπιτύνῃς τὰ θεῶν φέρε. P. E.

634. Φροντίς τις ἄλλ' οἰκείος, ἣ ξυνεσχόμην. — ξυνεσχόμην. P. E.

639. Ὑλλου πινέστης. The reader should be referred to Ruhnken's illustration of the word πινέστης in his notes on Timæus, p. 212.

644. In his note on this line, Mr. Elmsley notices a mistake of Ambrose Philips, who, in the Ode of Sappho to Venus, translates the words αἶψα δ' ἐξίκοντο, *The birds dismiss, (while you remain,) Bore back their empty car again*; which interpretation, although completely opposite to the real meaning of the words, was suggested by Mlle. Le Fèvre, and commended by Addison as a pretty conceit. The same mistake had been made by M. Longuepierre, or, in classical Latin, Longopetracus, who translates thus, *Vous élevez descendue à pcine, et promptement Ils réprirent la route*.

646. Τί χρῆμα' αὐτῆς πᾶν τόδ' ἐπλήσθη στίγος; 'Nota interrogationis vel post τί χρῆμα, vel in fine versus collocari posse monet Reiskius, qui citat Cycl. 99. Τί χρῆμα; Βρομίου πόλιν ἵοιγμαι εἰσβαλεῖν.' P. E. The exact state of the case is this; τί χρῆμα; with the mark of interrogation immediately following, signifies, *what is the matter? how now?* Hippol. 919. Ἐα, τί χρῆμα; σὺν δάμαρβ' ὀρέω, πάτερ, Νεκρύν. Suppl. 103. Ἐα. Τί χρῆμα; καινὰς εἰσβολὰς ὀρώ λόγων. Aesch. Prom. 298. Ἐα, τί χρῆμα; καὶ σὺ δὲ πόνων ἱμῶν Ἦκεις ἐπέπτης; Theocr. XXI. 25. Μὴ λαθόμεαι; τί

τὸ χρῆμα; The same sense is to be given to τί χρίος; v. 96. of this play, and Aesch. Ag. 85. Τί χρίος; τί ἰόν; But τί χρῆμα, when used as in the verse before us, according to its present punctuation, is for διὰ τί χρῆμα, as in v. 633. Τί χρῆμα κῆσαι, καὶ κατηφές ἡμ' ἔχεις; 709. Τί χρῆμα μέλλεις, τὴν φρονῶν οὐκ ἴδον ὦν, Λήπτει μ' ἔρημον ξὺν τέκνοις τοῖς ἰμοῖς;

657. Σὶ, πρόσθε ἰαοῦ τοῦδ' ὅπως βαίης πύλας. i. e. Σὶ καλῶν. Some editions have Σὸ. Mr. Elmsley confirms the old reading from Helen. 553. Soph. Ant. 441. Σὶ δὲ, σὶ τὴν νύουσας δις πύδον κέρα, Φῆς, ἢ καταρνεῖ μὴ διδρακίνας τόδαι; where we would read Σὲ τοι, σὶ τὴν ν. Oed. C. 1578. Σὶ τοι κηλήσκω, τὸν αἰὲν αὔπιον. Aj. 1228. Σὶ τοι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωτίδος, λίγω. El. 1445. Σὶ τοι, σὶ κρίνω. καὶ σὶ, τὴν ἐν τῷ πάρος Χρόνῳ θρασύτην. Eurip. Ion. 219. Σὶ τοι, τὸν παρὰ πατρὶ, αὐδῶ.

961. Ἄταρ τί, χώρα τῇδε προσβαλὼν πόδα, Πῶ νῦν ἄπιστι; τίς νῦν εἰργε συμφορὰ εἴναι σοὶ φανέντα διδῶ ἱμῶν τίς ται φρίνα; Mr. Elmsley conjectures, Παῖς νῦν ἄπιστι. We think the true reading to be Σοῦ νῦν ἄπιστι.

688. Ἄλλ' οὐν μαχοῦμαι ἐσθλὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσοσι — μαχοῦμαι γ' ἀριμῶν P. E.

693. Ὡς μὴ μανύοντα, τὰλλα σὺ λέγῃν πάρα. Mr. Elmsley illustrates the construction ὡς μὴ μανύοντα, and observes in the Addenda, that the tragedians never cut off *i* in the dative singular. One instance he has overlooked, viz. Aesch. Pers. 852. Ἰππαντιάειν παῖδ' ἱμῶν πιεράσσομαι, where παῖδ' is for παιδί. v. 836. Ἰππαντιάει παῖδι.

706. Χρῆ γυναιμαχιῶν σὴν ἡλικίαν. — Χρῆν P. E. We prefer the present tense.

742. ξύμμαχος γίνομαι μοι. Τοιοῦτος, οἷος ἂν τροπὴν Εὐρυσθέως θείην. Mr. Elmsley explains the concluding words to mean, ὥστε ἱμὶ τροπὴν Εὐρυσθέως θείναι. We think that the true reading is θείης. For assuredly τοιοῦτος and οἷος must refer to the same object, as in that memorable declaration of Socrates, ὡς ἰγὼ οὐ μόνον νῦν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τοιοῦτος, οἷος τῶν ἱμῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλω πείθισθαι, ἢ τῷ λόγῳ. ὅς ἂν μοι λογιζομένη βέλτιστος φαίηται. Herod. l. 71. Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἀνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκηλεύεται, οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας — φορεύουσι. Cf. Suppl. 746. Cresphont. ap. Stob. p. 381.

752. Ἰαχίσσατε. — 'Dixi ad Soph. Oed. T. 1222. secundum in *ιαχῇ* et *ιαχιῶν* communem esse, neque quidquam causæ esse cur scriberetur *ιαχῇ* et *ιαχιῶν*. Postea vero suspicio mihi oborta est, *ιαχῶ* et *ιαχιῶν* media correpta e Doricis *ἀχα* et *ἀχιῶν*, interdum etiam ex Atticis *ἡχῇ* et *ἡχιῶν*, librariorum errore nata.' P. E. Mr. Elmsley proceeds to correct those passages which seem to oppose his observation, in a very probable manner. For our parts, we still think that the verb should be written *ιαχίω*, where the second syllable is long. From *ἱαχέω* or *ἱαχῇ* a religious exclamation, are formed *ιαχίω* and *ιαχαῶ*, the latter of which verbs is used by Herodotus in the sense of *exclaiming*, and its compound *ἱπιεῖαχαῶ* by Aeschylus. We consider therefore *ιαχίω* to be quite distinct from *ιαχῶ*, the second syllable of which is always short in Homer. In Aristoph. Ran. 215. for Διόνυσον ἐν Διωνυσίῳ *ιαχῆσamen*, read Διόνυσον ἐν Διωνυσίῳ *ιαχίσamen*. In Iph. A. 1039. *ιαχῶν*, a sacred song, seems better than *ιαχῶν*. and in Herc. F. 349. *ιαχῶν* rather than *ιαχιῶν*. In v. 1502. of the Helen, for ἱπιετόμενος *ιαχιῶν*, should probably be written ἱπιετόμενος *ἀχιῶν*. and in Troad. 515. εἰς Τροίαν *ἀχίω*. Musgrave quotes a fragment of the Palamedes,

Palamedes, *τυμπάνων ἰάκχοις*. Aesch. Pers. 940. Πάμφω πολὺδακρυα ἰαχάν. Read ἰαχοι. In v. 1150. of the *Electra* ἰάχῃσι is a *ditrochaeus*, the *iota* being made long by the argument, as in *Troad.* 328. Heracl. 844. Helen. 805. 1924.

753. Καὶ παρὰ θρόνον ἀρχέταν. This rare word ἀρχέτης, which occurs also in *Electr.* 1149. is to be restored to Aeschylus Pers. 1003. Βεῖξαι γὰρ ἀρχέται στρατοῦ, which we conceive to be far better than ἀγρόται, the common reading, ἀκρόται of Robortellus, or ἀγρέται, the conjecture of Toup.

779. Φθινὰς ἀμέρα. By these words Brodaeus understands the last day of the month, Musgrave the first; to whose opinion Mr. Elmsley accedes: 'Nullus enim dies majori jure φθινὰς ἡμέρα appellari potest, quam is, in quo sit solis et lunæ coitus (conjunctio).' This reason is not quite correct: for supposing the first day of the month to be really what its name imports, *νομηνία*, since the time of a synodic revolution of the moon is only 29d. 12h. 44'. 2'', it is evident that the conjunction of the two luminaries would take place on the 30th day, or *ἐν καὶ νία*, which name, as Plutarch tells us, was given it by Solon on this very account, because during part of that day the moon was old, and for the remaining part new. On no account therefore can φθινὰς ἀμέρα be referred to the first day of the month. It signifies, probably, either the last, or the 21st, on which day they began to reckon the days μηνὸς φθίνοντος.

778. 'Retinendum κεύθει, quod pro κεύθεται ponitur.' Musgrav. 'Κεύθεται non est Graecum. Hujus enim vocis sola activa forma usurpatur.' P. E. i. e. *apud Atticos*. *Iliad* 9. 244. Θέτομεν εἰς ὃ κεν αὐτὸς ἱγὼν αἰδῆ κεύθωμαι. Apollon. Rhod. IV. 535. Τούνεκεν εἰσέβη νῦν κείνη ὅδε κεύθεται αἶψα.

782. Ὀλολύγματα παννυχίοις ὑπὸ παρθένων ἰαχεῖ ποδῶν κρότοισι. 'Ordo est, Ὀλολύγματα ἰαχεῖ ὑπὸ παννυχίοις κρότοισι παρθένων ποδῶν. Resonant ululatus ad nocturnos plausus virginum pedum.' P. E. The order is rather, Ὀλολύγματα ὑπὸ ἰαχεῖ πανν. κ. π. or Ὀλολύγματα ἰαχεῖ ὑπὸ παρθένων ποδῶν παννυχίοις κρότοισι. — for ὑπὸ, in the sense of *ad*, requires a genitive case; Bacch. 155. Μέλπεται τὸν Διόνυσον βαρυβρόμων ὑπὸ τυμπάνων. Soph. El. 710. Καλλιῆς ὑπαὶ σάλπιγγος ἦξαν. (Cf. v. 630.) Homer. Il. 2. 492. Νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὑπο λαμπόμενάων Ἠγήνοιο ἄνα ἄστρῳ. Hesiod Scut. 280. Αἱ δ' ὑπὸ φορμύγων ἀναγον χέρον ἡμερόσιν α. Archilochus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1426. ὑπ' αὐλητῆρος αἰδῶν. Pindar. Ol. IV. 4. ὑπὸ ποικιλοφρέμιγγος αἰοιδᾶς. Herodot. I. 17. ἰστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ σφύγγων τι καὶ πηκτίδων. (where see Wesseling.) VII. 21. ἄρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων. *Sub* is used by Horace in the same sense, *Sub cantu querulae despicere tibiae*.

784. Δέσποινα, μύθους σοί τε συντομωτάτους Κλύειν, ἰμοὶ τι τῶδε καλλίστους φέρω. — τούσδε καλλίστους. P. E. i. e. *λίγους*.

793. Ὁ μὲν γέρον οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰολέως ὄν; Mr. Elmsley's conjecture, Ὁ μὲν γέρον οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰολέως ἔτι; gives better sense. We might read, Ὁ μὲν γέρον οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰολέως, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ; Orest. 1074. Σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πάσις, ἰμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἔστι δὲ. 1079. κῆδος δὲ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἔστι ἔτι ἰσὶ δὲ.

801. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀλλήλοισιν ὀπλίτην στρατὸν Κατὰ στόμ' ἐκτίνοντες ἀκτινάζαμεν — ἐκτίνοντες, P. E. The correction of Aesch. Pers. 831. proposed

posed by Mr. Elmsley in the Addenda, has been anticipated by the flower of critics, Mr. Schütz.

802. Ἐκβαλς—πόδα. Mr. Elmsley refers to Mr. Porson's excellent note on the Orestes, v. 1427. to whose instances of βαίνω, used transitively, we may add two; Helen. 35. τὰ δ' αὖ Διὸς Βουλεύματ' ἄλλα τοῖσδε συμβαίνει κακοῖς. Pancrates in Athenaeus, XI. p. 478. Α. Αὐτὰρ ὅγε σπείσας ἐκ κορυφῆς ἀργυρέοιο Νίκταρ, ἐπ' ἄλλοδαπὴν οἶμον ἵβαινε πόδα.

828. Ὁ δ' αὖ, τὸ τ' Ἄργος μὴ καταισχύνας θέλων,

Καὶ τὰς Μυκῆνας, ξυμμάχους ἰλίσσεται.—

θέλων is an indubitable correction adopted by Mr. Elmsley, who justly observes, that the word ἰλίσσεται supplicabat is purposely used, to express the timidity of Eurystheus. It reminds us forcibly of the illustrious Transatlantic General Hopkins, who, when his army (which breathed nothing but vengeance against the Kickapoos) was disordered by a gust of wind, requested that he might be allowed to dictate the course to be pursued for one day: ἴτα, τοιοῦτος γιγνώσκει, τοῦς Ἡρακλείους ἤλθε δουλώσων γένους.

830. Ὀρθιον. *Magno sonitu*. P. E. The correct English is, *a rousing strain*. Homer Iliad. A. 11. Ἐνθα στᾶσ' ἥϊος θεὰ μέγα τι δεινὸν τι, Ὀρθι' Ἀχαιοῖσιν. The ὄρθιος νόμος of the musicians was an inspiring strain, with which Timotheus* roused Alexander. See the notes on Proclus p. 436. ed. Gaisford. *Suputer Stobæi* XLIV. p. 311. τὸν ὄρθιον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄδειν νόμον. Cf. Harpocrat. v. Αἰσθησιαζόν.

836. πούς ἐπαλλαχθὲς ποδί. The following words of Tyrtæus are more in point than the passages adduced by Brodaeus. Καὶ πόδα παρ ποδὶ θεῖς, καὶ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος ἀσπίδ' ἐρείσας. (ap. Stob. I. p. 189.) And the following passage of Thucydides is more fully illustrative of the phrase ἐκαρτερεῖ μάχῃ. Mr. Elmsley's correction, than those in the note, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον καρτερεῖ μάχῃ καὶ ὠθισμῷ ἀσπίδων συνιστήκει. IV. 96.

840. To Mr. Elmsley's instance of ἀρήγω in the sense of *repelling*, add Aesch. Theb. 121. ἀρῆξον δαίμων ἄλωσιν.

845. ἵππειον δίφρον. 'Nostro loco non refragabor quo minus ἵππειον δίφρον legatur. Quamquam multo libentius retinerem ἵππειον δίφρον quam ἵππειον θιόν, ἵππειον Ἄργος, ἵππειον Ποσειδά, et similia.' P. E. Mr. Elmsley seems tacitly to allude to an opinion which we threw out in this Journal, Vol. VIII. p. 225. that the form ἵππειος is never used by the Tragedians, there being only one passage where the metre requires it, viz. Hippol. 1352. of which we proposed a simple correction. In the verse before us we conceive the true reading to be ἵππειον δίφρον. v. 854. Δίσσω γὰρ ἀστέρες ἵππειοῖς ἐπὶ ζυγοῖς. Beck's Index will furnish six other instances in which ἵππειον is coupled with ἄρμα or similar words, and only one where ἵππειον is similarly circumstanced, viz. Helen. 1511. where, no doubt, should be read ἵππειον ἄρμα. In the same way we find παλικῶν ζυγῶν, παλικῶς ἄρμα, &c. βοῦκα ζεύγη, Pollux, X. 53. ζεύγη οἰκαῖ, καὶ ζεύγη ἡμιονικῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἵππων. It appears to us that ἵππειος means

* It is worth while to compare the description given by Dryden of the effects wrought by the music of Timotheus, with that of Himerius the Sophist in the Bibliotheca of Photius, p. 2028.

equinus, and ἵππιος *ab equo dictus*, as ἵππιος Κόλωνος, ἵππιος Προιδῶν, and the like.

847. τὰπὸ τοῦδ' ἤδη κλύων Ἀγροὶ μὲν ἄλλος. *Λίγοι μ' αἶν ἄλλων*, Valckenaer. as it is quoted by Mr. Porson. ad. *Orest.* 1679. *Λίγοι μ' αἶν ἄλλων* P. E. which we prefer. To Mr. Elmsley's instances add *Med.* 652. *Εἶδομεν οὐκ ἐξ ἱστῶν Μόβαν ἔχομεν φεάσασθαι.*

849. Παλλήνιδος. 'Quæ in vico Atticae colitur, cui Pallene nomen.' *MUSGR.* 'Nomen non Παλλήνη, sed Παλλήνην fuisse suspicor, ex adverbio Παλλήναδε, cujus loco Παλλήναδε per jocum dixit Aristoph. *Ach.* 234.' P. E.

893. εἰ λίγωμα λότῳ χάρις ἐν δαντί. We approve of Mr. Elmsley's conjecture, ἐπὶ δαντί. *Med.* 195. Οὔτινις ὕμους ἐπὶ μὲν θαλάιαις, Ἐπὶ δ' ἐλαπίναις καὶ παρὰ δίστοις Εὐρότο. *Helen.* 175. ἐπὶ δάκρυσι, *interlacrymas.*

899. τελισσιδῶτιρα. 'Analogiae repugnare videtur haec vox per scripta. ἐλθοδῶτιρα legitur in *Bacch.* 419. ἐπιδῶτιρα in *Or.* 175.' P. E. Add βαρυδῶτιρα, *Aesch.* *Theb.* 977.

900. Αἰὼν τι Κρόνου παῖς. We do not remember to have met with this *Aeon* in any of the more ancient poets, and we cannot help suspecting that he was inserted here by some copyist versed in the writings of Proclus and the Platonists. The line of Pseudo-Orpheus, quoted by Musgrave, we conceive to be the offspring of some Gnostic Christian. We would write the concluding verses of the strophe and antistrophe as follows.

Σ.
πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτι
Μοῖρα τελισσιδῶτιρ,
αἰὶ ὦν τι Κρόνου παῖς.

Α.
θεὸς παραγγέλλει,
τῶν ἀδίκων γὰρ παρὰ
ἐν φρονήματος αἰή.

Iliad. A. 209. θεοὶ αἰὲν ἰόντες. *Callim. Jov. 9.* σὺ δ' οὐ θάνεις, ἔσσι γὰρ αἰεῖ.

926. ἢ θυμὸς ἦν περὶ δίκας βίαιος. 'Hanc locutionem non alibi reperi. Passim occurrit *πέρα δικῆς*.' P. E. 'We understand the words to mean. 'to whom the gratification of his anger was of more account than justice.' *Plato Crit.* 16. μήτε παῖδας περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦ, μήτε τὸ ζῆν, μήτε ἄλλο μὴδὲν περὶ τοῦ δικαίου.

961. Οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνιστὸν τόνδε σοι κατακταῖν. Οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις is the excellent correction of Mr. Elmsley, who quotes *Iph. T.* 1044. It is strongly confirmed by v. 1011. Οὐχ ἄγνός εἰμι τῷ κτανόντι κατθανόν.

968. 'Eo sensu quo nostro loco legitur ἀπιστῆσαι, utrumque ἀπιθῆσαι et ἀπιθῆσαι usurpant tragici. *Soph. Phil.* 1447. Οὐκ ἀπιθῆσω τοῖς αἰς μύθοις. *Eurip. Or.* 31. Ὅμως δ' ἀπείκτιν, οὐκ ἀπιθῆσας θεῶν.' P. E. We have little doubt but that in the second of these instances should be read ἀπιστήσας. *Ion.* 557. Τῷ θεῷ γὰρ (not γοῦν) οὐκ ἀπιστῶν εἰδός. *Aesch. Agam.* 1059. Πῖθον' ἄν, εἰ πῖθον, ἀπιθῶν δ' ἴσως, which verse, as it stands, is bad Greek, and of which we are unable to propose a plausible correction. We are of opinion that the Attic poets never used the word ἀπιθῶν, because, if we mistake not, they had no such adjective as ἀπιθῶν, but formed compounds of this sort from the aorist πῖθον. The metre requires ἐπιθῶν, with the penultima short, in *Aesch. Prometh.* 333. *Agam.* 984. In *Eurip. Androm.* 849. for ἐπιθῶνιστοι at the end of a senarius, nobody will hesitate to replace ἐπιθῶνιστοι. *Hesych.* 'Απιθῶν ἀνυπότακτος'

αὐνωτάκτος· Σοφοκλῆς Αἰχμαλωτίσιν. We do not consider this authority of any weight. Homer always uses ἀνωθεῖν with the second syllable short.

969. Χρῆν τόδε μὴ ζῆν, — μὴδ' ὄρᾱν φάος τόδε. 'Φάος τόδε senarium claudunt in Hippol. 907. 993. Alc. 1142.' P. E. Alc. 80. 'Ὅστις ἂν ἐνέσσοι πότερον φθιμῆνιν τὴν βασιλείαν χρὴ πειθεῖν ἢ Ζῶσ' ἔτι λείψσει φῶς Πηλίου παῖς. We read, πότερον φθιμῆνιν χρὴ βασιλείαν πειθεῖν, ἢ Ζῶσ' ἔτι παῖς Πηλίου λείψσει τόδε φῶς. Helen. 60. 'Ἐως μὲν οὖν φῶς ἡλίου τόδ' ἱβλίπται Πρωτεύς. 845. θανόντος σοῦ, τόδ' ἐκλείψει φάος.

978. πρὸς ταῦτα, τὴν θρασεῖαν, ὅστις ἂν θέλοι, — Λέξει. ὅστις ἂν θέλῃ P. E. Where ὅστις has the force of *whosoever may*, it requires a subjunctive, as here and in Helen. 154. Κτείνει γὰρ Ἑλληγ', ὅτιν' ἂν λάβῃ, ξέρον. Where it is used for the relative ὅς, it requires either an indicative, as in Helen. 9. Θεοκλύμενον ἄρσει', ὅστις εἰς θεοὺς σέβαν βίαν διήνεγκ', or an optative with ἂν, as Alc. 80. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ φίλων τις πείλας οὐδεὶς, Ὅστις ἂν ἐνέσσοι. Helen. 442. τίς ἂν πυλωρὸς ἐκ δόμων μόλοι, Ὅστις διαγγεῖλαι τὰ μ' εἶσω κακὰ. Read Ὅς ἂν διαγγεῖλαι. We are not satisfied with the future tense Λέξει after πρὸς ταῦτα, which words, when used as in this passage, are commonly followed by an imperative mood. Med. 1355. Πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ λείαναι, εἰ βούλει, κάλει, Καὶ Σκύλλαν.

985. δειλίαν ὀφλεῖν τινά.—ὀφλεῖν τινα is given by Mr. Elmsley, who observed in his valuable edition of the Acharnians of Aristophanes that ὀφλον is an aorist.

986. Ἐγὼ δὲ νεῖκος οὐχ ἐκὼν τόδ' ἠράμην
ἤδη γε σοὶ μὲν αὐτανήπιος γεγώς.

οὐ δῆτα· σοὶ μὲν ἂ. γ. P. E. which is no doubt the genuine reading.

1002. πάντα κινήσαι πέτρον. Diogenian. VII. 42. πάντα κινήσω πέτρον. Two accounts of the origin of this proverbial expression, *to leave not a stone unturned*, are given by Photius, of which Mr. Elmsley prefers the second, which says that it took its rise from those who hunted for crabs. We think it more likely to have been originally said of those, who carefully turned up the loose stones in the pavement of their houses, to see if any scorpions were concealed under them. A drinking song in Athenæus XV. p. 695. D. runs thus, Ὑπὸ παντὶ λίθῳ σκόρπιος, ὃ τᾶν, ὑποδύεται. Φράζου μὴ σε βάλλῃ, (*vulg.* ὃ ταιῖ) which is clearly addressed to some person employed in turning up the stones to search for scorpions. Sophocles Αἰχμαλωτίσιν. — Ἐν παντὶ γὰρ τοι σκόρπιος φρουρεῖ λίθῳ.

1014. Πρὸς ἄγ' εἴπας, ἀνήκουσας — Προσεῖπας, ἀντήκουσας. P. E. We prefer Mr. Elmsley's second conjecture, Ἀγ' εἴπας ἀντήκουσας. Alc. 701. εἰ δ' ἡμᾶς κακῶς ἔρεις, ἀκούσει πολλὰ καὶ ψευδῆ κακὰ. Homer II. 7. 250. Ὅσσοιοι ἐπὶ σθαῖς ἴπας, τοῖν κ' ἴπαικούσαις. Hesiod. Op. Di. 719. εἰ δὲ κακὸν εἴπωις, τάχα κ' αὐτὸς μῆζον ἀκούσαις. Alcæus (*ap. Procl. in Hesiod.* p. 153.) εἴπ' εἴπωις τὰ θέλεις, ἀκούσαις τὰ κ' οὐ θέλεις. Read, Αἴπ' εἴπας τὰ θέλεις, ἀκούσαις τὰ κ' οὐ θέλεις. Terent. Andr. V. iv. 17. *Si mi pergit quæ vult dicere, ea quæ non vult audiet.*

1026. Κτεῖν', οὐ πάρα τοῦμαί σε· τήνδ' δὲ πόλιν — Χρησµῶ παλαιῷ Λοξίῳ Λαῖσσομαι — τήνδ' δὲ πόλιν. P. E. We apprehend that the true reading is, τὴν δὲ δὴ πόλιν. Orest. 52. Ἦκει γὰρ εἰς γῆν Μινίαις Τροίας ἄσπε, δολαίσις πωλαγχεῖς· τὴν δὲ δὴ πολύστονον Ἑλένην — προῦπιµψιν.

1040. ἀλλὰ

1040. ἀλλὰ μήτε μοι χόας, Μῆθ' αἶμ' ἰάσης εἰς ἱμὸν στάξαι τόπον. For τόπον Mr. Elmsley receives τάφον, the correction of Heath. Not one of the commentators has understood the passage. Eurystheus means to say, 'Do not suffer them (the Heraclidæ) to pour out libations (στάξαι χόας) upon my tomb, nor let them avert the evils I threaten, by performing these offices of friendship to me;' (as Clytemnestra strove to avert the anger of Agamemnon by sending libations to his tomb. Soph. Electr. 446.) This interpretation in some measure explains v. 1050. where Alcmena says, that after his death he may be given to the dogs for any thing she cares. We cannot imagine why Eurystheus should suppose that blood would be sprinkled on his tomb. The only libations to the dead mentioned by Greek authors, consisted of wine, milk, honey and water. See Iliad v. 220. Aesch. Pers. 610. Soph. El. 434. 894. Eurip. Or. 114. Iph. T. 633. Alcæus in Brunck's Analecta I. p. 490. Antipater *ibid.* II. p. 26. except in the case of magical incantations, as in Heliodorus Aeth. VI. p. 301. ed. 1611. We think therefore that for μῆθ' αἶμ' ἰάσης should be read μὴ ρεύμ' ἰάσης. In an Epigram of Hegemon are the words Σπάρτας χίλιοι ἄνδρες ἔπαισχον αἶμα τὸ Περσῶν. Mr. Huschke judiciously restores ρεύμα τὸ Περσῶν. Then for ΤΟΠΟΝ we read ΠΟΤΟΝ. Posidippus in Athenæus I. p. 32. B. Διψήρδης, ἄτοσος, ὁ μυρίνης, ὁ τίμιος, read, Διψήρδης, ΑΠΟΤΟΣ. The whole verse we would read thus, Μὴ ρεύμ' ἰάσης εἰς ἱμὸν στάξαι ποτόν. Finally we observe, that vv. 1037. 8. 9. and part of 1040. should be included in a parenthesis.

1054. τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν. 'Sic τὰπὸ σοῦ apud Soph. Oed. C. 1628. P.E. Soph. El. 1464. Καὶ δὴ τελεῖται τὰπ' ἱμοῦ. Eurip. Iph. A. 1214. οὐ, δι, τὰπ' ἱμοῦ σοφὰ, Δάκρυα παρίζω. Heracl. 23. ἀσθινὴ μὲν τὰπ' ἱμοῦ δεδοκότες In v. 1272. for ἀλλὰ τὰπὸ σοῦ σκόπτει should be written ἀλλὰ τὰπὸ σοῦ σκόπτει.

In perusing the present volume we have observed the following typographical errors, besides those which are noticed in the *errata*. V. 782. ὕπο for ὑπὸ. 986. οὐκ ἐκῶν for οὐχ ἐκῶν. p. 56, 1. 'Αθήνησι for 'Αθήγησι. l. 2. 'Αγόραιοις for 'Αγοραῖος. p. 119, 18. Agam. 1468. for 1648.

The number of pages which we have devoted to the consideration of this small volume, will be sufficient to shew the estimation in which we hold Mr. Elmsley's critical labours. In fact we take some shame to ourselves, for not having assigned a portion of our former numbers to an analysis of his editions of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles and the Acharneans of Aristophanes. The appearance of a third portion of the Greek drama under the same auspices reminded us of our neglect, for which we have now endeavoured to make amends by giving a tolerably accurate account of the alterations which Mr. Elmsley has made in the received text of Euripides. We should, in all likelihood, have made our article more acceptable to our critical readers, had we quoted more of Mr. Elmsley's observations and fewer of our own. But we recommend

them to read his notes entire; and if they fail to derive from them a great deal of information which is both valuable and new, they will either be better scholars or greater dunces than we give them credit for being. An attentive perusal of Mr. Elmsley's publications has convinced us, that he has studied the remains of the Greek theatre with greater accuracy and attention than almost any scholar of his own or former times; and we cannot help expressing a wish, in which every lover of classical literature will join, that he may finish the web which he so ably began on a former occasion, and give to the world a correct and useful edition of the most dignified and polished of the Greek tragedians.

ART. VII. 1. *Des Progrès de la Puissance Russe depuis son Origine jusqu'au Commencement du 19ème Siècle.* Par Mr. L——. Paris, 1812. 8vo. pp. 514.

2. *Seconde Guerre de Pologne, ou Considérations sur la Paix publique du Continent, et sur l'Indépendance Maritime de l'Europe.* Par M. M. de Montgalliard. Paris, 1812. 8vo. pp. 330.

'THE grand object in travelling,' said Dr. Johnson, 'is to see the coasts of the Mediterranean. On those shores were situated the four great empires of the world—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman: all our religion, almost all our law, almost all our arts, almost all that sets us above savages has come to us from the shores of the Mediterranean.' There are few, we imagine, who have not felt the justice of this observation; and it may perhaps be considered as one of the many disadvantages attendant upon the evil days on which we are fallen, that all access to the most interesting parts of Europe has been for some time denied to our countrymen. But though the grand tour, that indispensable part of the education of the fashionable men of former days, be no longer practicable, a more anxious desire for that species of information, which is alone to be gained by foreign travel, has at no time prevailed than at present; and, as in the commercial world, we find, when one channel of communication is stopped, another is speedily opened, the spirit of inquiry has lately led our countrymen into regions which formerly were but rarely visited. The islands of Greece have been explored in every direction, and no traveller can now return home, with any degree of self-satisfaction, unless he have traversed the Crimea, peeped into the Grand Signior's harem, or selected some favored spot in the Archipelago, as a retreat from the tedium of his native country.

The events too of the last campaign, have rendered Russia more than ever an object of curiosity, and the great part which she has

has to perform in the present momentous struggle, for the freedom of Europe, has imparted new interest to every thing that bears relation to that gigantic power.

In modern France, and indeed throughout the greater part of the continent, the art of war is the only one that appears to flourish; and though we hear much of the ostentatious protection shewn by Buonaparte to men of science, and the encouragement afforded to their works, the productions of the French press too clearly evince that the minds of the writers on political subjects in France are as much enslaved by the jealousy of the tyrant, as their persons are by the code of conscription. The same tone which pervades the bulletins of the *Grand Army*, is discoverable in all their writings on public matters, and no one can doubt that the severe control which Buonaparte has exercised over the press, has been throughout of incalculable advantage to his cause. We require, indeed, no farther proof of the importance which he attaches to this powerful instrument, than the order which was issued by Davoust on regaining possession of Hamburg, by which the inhabitants were required to give up all the publications that had appeared against the French during the short lived freedom of that city.

Impressed as we are with this idea, our readers will believe that we did not enter on the perusal of the works before us with any sanguine expectation of meeting with much valuable or impartial information on the subject of Russia. She has proved herself lately the most formidable opponent that Buonaparte ever had to contend with on the continent; and, excepting in some instances, where she has been led into a mistaken policy by the folly of her rulers, or by the pressure of the times, she has always sided with England in her wars against France. The alliance between the two countries is one which mutual interest will naturally point out, and their relations of amity are not liable to be broken by too close proximity, or by too great an equality in point of naval or military force.

The anonymous publication which we have selected for our purpose, is pronounced by those who are enabled to judge from the appearance of the types, to be the production of the Imperial Press, and we believe that it has undergone the revision which all works are subject to published in a similar manner. The author does not profess to enter very deeply into the history or geography of the Russian empire, but to confine himself to a detail of the progress of its political power from its origin to the commencement of the 19th century, and with this view he appears to have consulted almost every modern work which has been published on the subject of Russia, or in any degree touched upon the

politics of the country, from the caustic accounts of Olearius down to the Edinburgh Review and the Travels of Sir T. M'Gill.

It was not to be expected that a French author, in preparing a compilation of this kind, should not turn with avidity to a work so congenial to his feelings, and so adapted to his purpose, as the first volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels in the North of Europe, and he accordingly has not neglected to quote from it, and to dwell, on every occasion, with peculiar delight, upon the exaggerated statements which it contains.

As we understand that the events of the last campaign in Russia have failed to produce that change in the Doctor's sentiments, which we are inclined to believe they have done in those of many who had been misled by him, we doubt not he will be much flattered by this notice of his book; but we must be allowed to express our regret that it should have furnished such ample materials for the work before us. We must do the French author the justice to state, that he fairly confesses his inability to give entire credit to all the extraordinary facts which Dr. Clarke and other English travellers have related to the disparagement of Russia, and that he seems as much surprized as we ourselves could be, that such exaggerated, and in many instances, unfounded, censures of the characters, manners, and institutions of the Russians should be to be found principally in the writings of a nation connected with them by every tie of interest and friendship. The author thus expresses himself on the subject.

‘ Nous nous sommes attachés à citer des auteurs dont le caractère, le rang, ou la connaissance qu'ils avaient du pays, rendent le témoignage plus respectable; et s'il en est qui paraissent *moins dignes de foi*, on sera surpris de les trouver chez une nation dont les Russes devaient attendre le plus de ménagemens: nos lecteurs nous sauront peut-être gré d'être plus modérés envers nos ennemis actuels, que les Anglais ne le sont envers leurs plus intimes alliés.’

Our author informs us in his preface, that when he enters at all into detail on the nature of the country upon which he is writing, or on the manners of the inhabitants, he merely does so with the view of explaining the grand events in the political history of Russia, which have produced that progressive rise in her power and importance which it is his intention to describe. He has, in this respect, followed the example of many others who have written for political purposes, and we look in vain to the compilation before us for any fresh information on several most interesting subjects relative to the internal state of Russia.

As we shall touch upon the chief points which are worth adverting to, in our remarks upon M. Montgalliard, we shall only observe

observe that the anonymous work is interlarded with such reflections as the actual position of Russia would naturally suggest, and with the usual strain of abuse against this country; and we shall confine ourselves to a few remarks chiefly on the errors into which the author has fallen from a want of judgment in the selection of the authorities he has consulted.

He has been led astray, in some instances, by Dr. Clarke, though certainly not in the same degree that many others have been. That gentleman is kind enough to warn us against giving credit to Puffendorf, who observes, (for this is the passage, we presume, to which the Doctor alludes,)—‘*Qu’on se tromperoit beaucoup si, pour connoître les Russes d’aujourd’hui, on s’arrêtoit aux portraits qui ont été faits de cette nation, avant le commencement de ce siècle.*’ We should be disposed to extend this caution to writings of a later period: had the author himself, for instance, attended to it, he might have escaped many inaccuracies. Thus, he estimates the population of the Crimea at nearly one half less than it was previously to the occupation of that peninsula by the Russians. We have always understood, on the contrary, and from authority which we are less inclined to dispute than that of Dr. Clarke, that the Tartars at first did emigrate by thousands, from apprehension of their new masters, but that on finding they were allowed to enjoy their former privileges and possessions, they almost all returned. The general air of comfort visible throughout that part of the Crimea which they inhabit, affords reason to believe that they by no means repent of having done so.

The filthy employment in which Dr. Clarke asserts, that ‘*beauteous princesses of Mosco*’ are occupied, as well as every other Russian, let his rank be what it may, is glanced at by the Frenchman as a proof of the indelicacy of the English taste, presuming somewhat unfairly from the particular to the general, that the Doctor would not have inserted such disgusting details unless agreeable to the bulk of his readers: and he amusingly enough attributes the exaggerations of which he conceives the Doctor is guilty in his accounts of the superstition of the Russian people, to his being a member of the reformed religion.

A long quotation is given by our author descriptive of the eternal flagellation which Dr. Clarke asserts is exercised in Russia, from one quarter of the empire to the other. Even in the time of Paul this was far from being a true statement. That Emperor’s delight was rather to punish by some ridiculous device, than by any severity of discipline. Had cruelty been his characteristic, the Doctor himself might not, perhaps, have escaped a journey to Siberia; but even in this land of liberty we have been called a
‘flogged

'flogged nation,' and we ought not therefore to be surprized that Russia has not escaped a similar imputation.

Tuberville, who was secretary of embassy in the reign of Ivan IV. amused the world by a poetical account of what he had seen in Russia, and our author observes as a *national trait*, that, after abusing the Russians in return for all the kindness he had experienced at their hands, to such a degree as to render him liable to the charge of ingratitude, he declares that he had suppressed much offensive matter from apprehension of endangering our commercial interests in that country. In those days we see that authors were sometimes induced by a sense of propriety to compress their observations, and we wish Dr. Clarke had profited by Tuberville's example.

We cannot give our readers a better specimen of the author's stile, and of his talents for accurate comparisons, than by calling their attention to the following passage, wherein he traces some points of resemblance between this country and Russia.

'Il y a encore entre l'Angleterre et la Russie des points de rapprochement que la disparité si apparente de leur constitution politique et morale ne peut empêcher d'apercevoir. La première tient assujettis sous son sceptre des peuples aussi opposés de mœurs, de religion, et même de langage, que ceux qui composent le vaste empire des Russes. Le fier montagnard Ecossais, le robuste Irlandais, l'Indien efféminé, ne sont pas plus façonnés au joug Britannique que l'habitant du Caucase, le brave Tartare ou le guerrier Polonais à l'oppression Moscovite. Le gouvernement Russe, tout despotique qu'il paraît, doit peut être encore aujourd'hui toute sa vigueur à l'esprit orgueilleux de ses anciens boyards, tour à tour les maîtres et les esclaves du trône; cet esprit se courbe et se relève comme par un ressort mystérieux dont le développement imprévu a souvent produit de soudaines et terribles catastrophes. On pourrait lui comparer l'oligarchie ténébreuse qui régit en secret les affaires de la Grande Bretagne. Que quelques lords s'assemblent à Londres dans une taverne, avec les chefs du parti populaire, le ministre tombe, et l'axe du monde politique est ébranlé: qu'une faction se forme au sein de la cour de Russie, qu'un Orloff soulève quelques compagnies des gardes, et l'empire change de maître. Il y a donc, dans deux gouvernements si différents par leur forme, un principe égal d'inquiétude, de discorde, et d'activité, qui les pousse incessamment à troubler l'harmonie du système général, et sur cette simple donnée, il serait encore possible de prouver que la Russie et l'Angleterre ont occasioné presque toutes les guerres du dernier siècle.'

The conclusion of this work, which affects the prophetic character, calls for no particular observation, except it be that we do not recollect a more decided instance of an unfortunate prediction than the following.

On ne verra plus les farouches enfans du nord menacer nos campagnes.

pagnes, nos cités et nos arts; déjà ils ont fui la terre fertile qu'ils avaient desolée. Bientôt ils maudiront l'alliance d'Albion, elle n'empêchera point qu'ils ne reconnaissent enfin des barrières, que leur orgueil n'osera plus franchir.'

We now turn to M. Montgalliard. We scarcely expected that any French author would have been found hardy enough to touch upon so delicate a subject as the second Polish war, at a moment so replete with disaster to the French arms as the close of the year 1812; and we considered such a publication at such a time as an additional proof of French assurance; but as the work was written at the commencement of the war it should rather be called an exposé of the causes which produced the rupture between the two powers, or the prospectus of a campaign intended to be fought; for it is unnecessary for us to observe, that the triumphal result which was foretold as destined to attend the arms of Buonaparte has happily been only in anticipation.

It appears that the French army in taking the field last year was accompanied by the usual train of men of science in different departments, whose productions were intended to perpetuate the triumphs of their master; and M. Montgalliard, we suppose, was employed on this service. He was well known in this country some few years ago, and at that time was chiefly distinguished for the inveterate hatred which he expressed to the present ruler of the French government. He is now a count of the empire, and we do not recollect ever to have seen a more nauseous dose of flattery than he has administered to the author of his fortunes in the work before us. It is in fact only a more enlarged view of that position which we have seen laid down in every state-paper that has of late years proceeded from the pen of Buonaparte:—that Russia and England are the sole causes of the desolating war which has for so long a period extended its ravages to every quarter of the globe; and that nothing short of the total expulsion of the Russians from Europe, and the dismemberment of their overgrown empire can secure the civilized countries of the south from being a second time overrun by the barbarians of the north, or preserve the whole world from becoming subject to the tyranny which England has so long exercised over the seas.

The means which our author conceives adequate to avert these dreadful calamities are the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland, and the restoration of the Ottoman empire to its pristine splendor; and these objects he considers as sufficient to justify 'cette foule de victoires que les armées Françaises sont maintenant obligées de remporter sur le Volga et sur le Neva.' and, though the Poles may be pardoned for doubting the propriety of the

the selection, the instrument to be employed in this great work is, as may naturally be expected, his patron Buonaparte.

Since the days of Sully no politician has been hardy enough to entertain so gigantic a project as M. Montgalliard has broached in what he call his '*grande vérité politique; c'est que le salut de l'Europe veut que l'empire Russe soit relegué en Sibérie.*' The French statesman, however, might be excused for proposing to compel the Grand Duke of Muscovy to retire into Asia, should he, after a formal invitation, refuse to enter into Henry's grand political scheme, for at that time the czar was rather considered as an eastern despot than a European potentate, and was a widely different person in political importance from the present Emperor of Russia. At all events, experience has proved that, in modern times, this project is easier in theory than in practice; and the rival of Hannibal, who took the field last year with the confident expectation of compelling the Russian court to retire to Tobolsky, is now obliged to confine his views to the driving back of these '*barbarian hordes*' (as he affects to call them) to their '*frightful climate.*' So much for the general scope of Montgalliard's book. He has divided it into three chapters, which are entitled Considerations on the following Subjects:

1st. The resources of Russia and her general system of politics.

2dly. On Poland and the intrigues of Russia in regard to that power, and

3dly. On Turkey, and the conduct of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg with respect to the Porte, and more especially to the Treaty of Tilsit which guaranteed its integrity.

We shall not adhere to this arrangement in the observations which we have to offer; and in fact the author might have spared himself the trouble of dividing his work into separate chapters which treat indiscriminately of all the subjects before him. Though sufficiently puffed up with national vanity, and jealous of the reputation of his countrymen, he is not disposed to allow to M. de Voltaire the rank which has generally been assigned to him in the scale of French writers. His eulogium on Peter the First, and his courtly panegyrics on the Empress Catherine offend the pure and uncontaminated ears of the historian who writes under the auspices of the Great Napoleon, in whose favour an advantageous comparison is drawn at the expense of the czar.

The early part of the Russian history, like the first annals of every other country, contains little that is interesting. The people seem to have been engaged in a constant state of warfare, either with the Poles on one frontier, or the Turks and Tartars on the other; and for near 200 years we find them subject to Genghis Khan

Khan and his descendants. The House of Ruric, however, in 1475 regained the ascendancy, and Russia owes her deliverance from the Tartar yoke to the bravery and skill of Ivan III. On the extinction of the dynasty of Ruric, the family of Romanof ascended the throne, from which sprung Peter the First. The comprehensive and ambitious mind of this great prince appears early to have discovered the vast importance of obtaining an outlet for the commerce of his country on the Euxine as well as the Baltic Sea, and in consequence it became the object of his constant solicitude, whilst employed in establishing the seat of empire on the gulph of Finland, to secure at the same time a naval station towards Turkey which might open a way for his fleets to the Mediterranean.

The czar has been blamed for not carrying his arms in the first instance against the Turks, and his conduct in this point has been defended by Volney in his *Considerations on the Turkish War of 1788*. He there contends that Peter, by measuring his strength in the first instance with European powers, acquired an experience in the art of war which gave him great advantages afterwards against his southern neighbours; and he appears at one time to have been so bent upon confining his views of conquest to his western frontier, that the King of Prussia states in his memoirs, that the czar had it once in contemplation to allow the country to the south of the fertile districts around Mosco, to remain an uncultivated steppe as a natural barrier to the incursions of the restless Tartars.

The projects, however, of Peter were not crowned with uniform success. By the unfortunate reverse which his arms sustained on the Pruth, in 1711, he was compelled to restore to the Turks Asoph, and all the possessions which had been formally ceded to him by the peace of Carlowitz in 1699. The vast schemes which were originally planned by the founder of the Russian greatness, have been in some degree followed up by all his successors, but by no one with such signal success as by Catherine II. who at one time did not scruple to avow her sanguine expectation of establishing her grandson at Constantinople, on the ruins of the Turkish empire.

The peace of Kaimardgi, in 1774, secured to Russia a passage through the Dardanelles for her merchant ships, and the free navigation of the Black Sea: the nominal independence which it provided for the Krimca, was soon after violated by a manifesto from the empress, which announced her intention of uniting it to her empire. By the Treaty of Jassy, in 1791, she was confirmed in the possession of all these valuable acquisitions, and the Turks were compelled to cede all the territory between the Bog and the Dniester, and to retire behind the latter river. Though the danger

to which the Turkish empire was at that time exposed by the success of the Russian arms in this direction did not pass unobserved by foreign powers, no effectual measures were taken to arrest their progress, and the determined resolution shewn by Catherine, not to give up Oczakow, though threatened with an armament from this country, sufficiently evinces the importance she attached to that commanding fortress.

It is curious to observe, that France, who was antiently the foremost in sending forth her chivalrous knights to rescue the holy sepulchre from the hands of the infidels, should now proclaim herself as the only ally in whom the sultan can with propriety confide, and that the intrigues of her ambassadors, and the tardy arrival of the diplomatic agents from this country, at moments when their presence was most required, should appear to have persuaded the Turks of the truth of this assertion; and it is no less remarkable that an empire whose dissolution has been so long predicted, should have survived the downfall of its most formidable enemies—the knights of Malta, the Genoese and Venetians. So early as the days of Sully, the Turkish crescent was supposed to be in its wane; and he appears to have imagined that by the Franks, into whose power, according to received tradition, Constantinople was ultimately to fall, were exclusively designated his own countrymen, the French. But in spite of various predictions, and the popular belief among the Turks that their country is to be overrun by a red-haired people from the north, the Grand Signior has quietly continued to divide his time between the placid occupation of chewing opium, and the pleasures of his harem, and has seldom been awakened from the dull uniformity of Ottoman ceremony, excepting by the occasional conflagration of a part of his capital, an unequivocal symptom of discontent among the people.

The feeble condition of the Turkish empire did not escape the notice of Montesquieu, though with his usual acuteness he did not draw the same conclusions from its imbecility that others have already done. His words are worth insertion. ‘L’empire des Turcs est à présent dans le même degré de foiblesse où étoit autrefois celui des Grecs, mais il subsistera long temps; car, si quelque prince que ce fût, mettroit cet empire en péril, en poursuivant ses conquêtes, les trois puissances commerçantes de l’Europe connoissent trop leurs affaires pour n’en pas prendre la défense sur le champ.’

To the clear and comprehensive writings of such an author as this, has succeeded a class of speculators on political subjects, who may with some degree of propriety be termed political empirics. Such men, having no fixed principles to direct their inquiries, are unequal to the task of pointing out the probable course of events by
comparing

comparing them with what is past; and with an utter contempt of all interposing difficulties, we find them carried away by some darling project which they prescribe as a panacea to heal all the disorders that may afflict the commonwealth of Europe. Of this school is an author who is frequently quoted by M. Montgalliard under the name of Sir Williams Eton, or in other words, Mr. W. Eton, who, after having been employed for some years as a commercial agent at Constantinople, published, in 1798, a work upon Turkey, remarkable for nothing but the enthusiasm with which he maintains the necessity of carrying into effect his favourite project, the restoration of the Greeks, after proving that they are a people by no means deserving a state of more freedom than that which they possess; and for the extreme generosity with which he would give up Constantinople to the Russians, as a mode of preserving it from falling into worse hands. That it must become a prey to one of the great contending powers of the present day is his fixed opinion, and he therefore conceives it to be our interest to favour the designs of Russia in that quarter, as the least likely to be prejudicial to the welfare of this country, and most conducive to the accomplishment of his grand design, the re-establishment of the Grecian empire.

There is another work of a similar stamp which we are surprised to observe has escaped the notice of the French author before us; we allude to the political treatises of Mr. F. G. Leckie, to whom we are indebted for the first outline of a project which has since been enlarged upon by others, and which is that of maintaining an insular empire by taking possession of the islands around the coast of Europe. On the adoption of this measure, according to Mr. Leckie, the whole safety of the civilized world must depend; and the danger which he sees hanging over Turkey from the arms of Buonaparte affords him an additional reason for urging the necessity of it. Our first efforts, he conceives, ought to be directed against the islands in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, and for the reasons which he details in the following passage.

‘ It may be shewn, that the fall of Constantinople will be a new epoch in naval history; in the hands of the French, the ancient Byzantium will become one of the most formidable arsenals in the world. The marine stores of Russia will descend from the Black Sea by the Borysthenes, the forests of Asia Minor, the iron of Caucasus, the copper of Chalcedon, the hemp of Sinope and Trebisond, celebrated for its long staple and strength, all will flow to Constantinople; the mariners of Greece, Ionia, and the islands will flock thither for employment; and the foundation of a naval power will be laid which our statesmen are determined not to foresee. France will not only then be enabled to build ships at a cheaper rate than elsewhere, from the abundance

dance of naval stores with which she will be furnished, but her fleets will always be able to force a passage into the Mediterranean after having acquired, in the Black Sea, in perfect security, a skill in manœuvring, and every other naval operation, which they cannot now arrive at whilst cooped up in the harbours of France.'

This is an alarming prospect, but fortunately later events have rendered such a state of things less than ever to be apprehended. It may be worth while, however, to examine cursorily what is the real political importance belonging to the Black Sea, and the resources of the countries which are situated on its shores; as it will enable us to form some judgment of the justice of M. Montgalliard's assertion, that Constantinople is the only bulwark against the designs of universal dominion which Russia has in view, and that a state of universal barbarism must ensue should she succeed in her designs upon Turkey.

From the account which is given by Herodotus, of the imprudent expedition undertaken by Darius against Scythia, we derive the earliest information respecting the tribes which occupied the country to the north and north-west of the Euxine. The Persian king is supposed not to have entered the Crimea, but to have advanced along the banks of the Palus Mæotis to the Volga, and thence to have made his way back to the Danube by a different route. The tribes through which he passed are described by the historian as having occasioned no small molestation to his army: they appear to have been very much the same people as are still to be found in that tract of country; and it is impossible not to be struck with the little change a lapse of 2000 years has effected in their habits and condition, on meeting with the wandering Nagais with their tents upon wheels, which so exactly answer to the Hamaxobii of Herodotus. The origin of the Cossacks is still a controverted point, or we should be inclined to look for their ancestors among those warlike tribes who made the most formidable resistance to the progress of Darius.

The Crimea is said to have been inhabited by a more savage race of people, to whose cruel treatment of shipwrecked mariners has been attributed the epithet of 'inhospitable,' by which the Black Sea was formerly distinguished; and Gibbon has observed how beautiful a use Euripides has made, in one of his most affecting tragedies, of the received opinion, that strangers were on this shore sacrificed to Diana by the natives. We hear little of the Taurica Chersonesus, (the ancient name by which this peninsula was known,) till the time of Mithridates. It formed in his reign a considerable part of the kingdom of Bosphorus, and it was to this quarter of his dominions that he fled, when pressed by the Roman armies in Pontus, and there ended his days by a voluntary death.

Until

Until about the 14th century the Crimea does not appear to have been much visited by foreigners for mercantile purposes: amidst the disorders which agitated the Greek empire at that period, the Genoese were fortunate enough to secure the important privilege of a free navigation on the Black Sea, to the exclusion of all competitors, and an unrestrained commerce with the ports of the Crimea. Their establishments on this coast were of a magnitude and importance unusual in those days, as the remains of their fortifications at Caffa and Sudak sufficiently prove; and they by degrees acquired such an ascendancy in the affairs of the peninsula, that the descendant of Genghis Khan in his palace at Bachtiserai was kept in complete subjection by these spirited adventurers; and by monopolizing the traffic of the interior, and exchanging the produce of the salt lakes for the corn and fish which were brought down the great rivers from the more northern parts of Russia, Constantinople itself became in some measure dependent upon supplies from this quarter for the subsistence of its immense population.

The Genoese, on the overthrow of the Greek empire, were at last expelled by the Turks, and the Crimea remained subject to the Ottoman power, till it was annexed by Catherine to her dominions in the way that we have stated. It cannot be doubted that this is the most important acquisition made by that great princess in prosecution of her designs upon Turkey; and though we are not disposed with Mr. Eton, to consider 'the mouth unholy that dares to arraign her right to this conquest,' its importance to her as securing the command of the Black Sea will not admit of any dispute.

Hitherto, however, Russia has reaped but little benefit from her new possession, and has neglected to avail herself of the numerous advantages which it holds out for naval as well as commercial purposes. Such is the genial nature of the climate, that there are few productions which might not be brought to perfection in the southern parts of the Crimea. In the delicious vallies found in the mountainous tract which extends along the coast, the vine is cultivated with considerable success; and Pallas conceives that the culture of the cotton plant, and the raising of the silkworm might be introduced there with equal advantage.

Though they were formerly well clothed with timber, few trees of any size are now to be met with on the mountains; which is chiefly to be attributed to the havoc incessantly made among the young plants for domestic purposes by the Tartar inhabitants. As the soil, however, is peculiarly favourable to the growth of wood, a valuable supply might no doubt in process of time be hence obtained, were proper measures taken to prevent its destruction; and it is of more importance that some attention should be paid to this subject than may be at first imagined; for though no country

possesses such natural facility for internal communication by water as Russia, she has not been enabled to provide her dock-yards on the Black Sea with timber in such abundance as to allow her to build ships of war there as cheaply as in her northern arsenals.

The Baltic and Caspian seas are connected by means of the Volga, and the communication between the Baltic and Black seas is only interrupted by the cataracts on the Dnieper; but the project of uniting the Don and the Volga, which was originally designed by Selim the Second, and afterwards taken up by Peter the Great, has never been carried into complete execution, on account of local difficulties; and therefore the timber of Woronetz, which is supposed to be the finest in Russia, cannot be transported to the sea of Asoph without considerable expense.

Those countries bordering on the Black sea which have not fallen under the dominion of Russia, are described as producing an abundance of timber well calculated for all the purposes of ship-building; and such is the profuse waste of this valuable article in the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, that much of the unhealthiness of Jassy and Bucharest is supposed to arise from the stagnant water collected under the planks with which the streets of these towns are laid.

The north coast of Anatolia is covered with wood, but Russia cannot of course depend upon a regular supply from that quarter, nor is she likely to be more successful than ourselves in her applications to the Porte on this subject. More than one attempt has been made by our ministers at Constantinople, to procure timber for the repairs of our fleet at Malta, by an arrangement with the Turkish government. Our object was to obtain it from the forest that covers the tract of country, between the Gulph of Isnikmid, and the river Sakaria, which possesses great facilities of water carriage: but the uniform answer to our proposals has been, that 'the Grand Signior does not condescend to traffic in any thing.'

The successors of Peter the Great are blamed by Mr. Eton (and in our opinion unjustly) for a degree of vacillation as to whether it was the true interest of Russia to become a maritime power in the northern or southern parts of Europe. It has certainly been their constant object to establish a marine in both quarters, and though some of the towns which were founded by Catherine in the southern parts of her dominions may appear to have been rather capriciously abandoned to make way for new favourites, this may be sufficiently accounted for, by the gradual manner in which she conducted her approaches against her neighbours the Turks, so that places which were originally of material importance ceased to continue so, when a more valuable possession was secured by the progress of her arms. Thus Oczakow, which was founded by the
Turks.

Turks to repress the incursions of the Cossacks, though most advantageously situated as the emporium for Russian produce in this quarter, has been abandoned for Odessa; and Sebastopol, it is probable, will in the same way become, in course of time, the chief naval arsenal in the Black Sea at the expense of Kherson and Nicolaief. The name of Sinus Portuosus, by which the bay on which it is situated was known, sufficiently points out what peculiar advantages for naval purposes the harbour of Aktiar or Sebastopol was supposed by the ancients to possess; like that of Malta, it abounds with small inlets which are admirably calculated for the careening and repairing of ships. The depth of water is such, that vessels of the largest burthen may lie with perfect safety quite close to the shore, and the whole navy of Russia might ride here sheltered from every wind that blows. A fleet stationed here in its progress to the southward is not exposed to those dangers to which ships on their departure from Kherson or Nicolaief are subject. The harbour too of Sebastopol is never blocked up by ice, and the water, being strongly impregnated with salt, is not so pernicious to ship-ping as that of the Dnieper.

Nothing but the certain prospect of the immense advantages to be derived from the corn trade with Poland could have led to the foundation of a city, in a spot exposed to so many serious inconveniences as Odessa. The country around is a dreary steppe, without a tree in any direction to diversify the scene. The water with which the town is supplied, is of the worst description; and as the original plan for the harbour has never been carried into execution, the greater part of the vessels which frequent this port must lie in a very exposed roadstead. Yet, as the emporium of the valuable productions of Poland, Odessa will, no doubt, in spite of these disadvantages, rise to considerable importance, and Taganrog, from a similar cause, being the entrepot of all the Siberian commodities, will probably prove its most successful rival, though the difficulties of the navigation in that quarter are daily increasing from the rapid diminution of water in the sea of Asoph.

With all these advantages, however, it does not appear that there is much cause for apprehension or jealousy at the growth of the Russian naval power in the Black sea. It will be some time before her fleet in that quarter can assume a formidable shape, unless her progress in naval science and skill should be far more rapid than it has been hitherto. At such a distance from the seat of government, it is not surprising that there should be much mismanagement and neglect in the proper administration of the naval concerns. We doubt too the durability of the vessels there constructed, for it is notorious that, of the fleet under Admiral Siniavin,

which originally sailed from Sebastopol, and which was surrendered to us at Lisbon, only two ships have been found capable of proceeding again to sea, and that after considerable repair. Though great attention has been paid of late to obtaining correct surveys of the Caspian and Black seas, the charts of both are still extremely defective.* The Russian ships of war are so seldom exercised in the requisite manœuvres, that it would be matter of wonder, if they had obtained more nautical skill than they are known to possess.

We have heard much of the dangers of the Euxinè, and of the difficulties attending the entrance of the Bosphorus, but we are rather disposed to attribute the bad name which this sea has acquired to the ignorance and want of seamanship of the mariners who frequent it. A stronger proof cannot be given of this deficiency than a fact which we know to be true; it is, that during the late war against the Turks, when an expedition against Trebisonde was in agitation, the only person that could be found capable of piloting the Russian ships of war into that harbour, was an English merchant resident at Caffa; and he actually did lead the fleet into the bay of Trebisonde, and conducted the operations till the design was abandoned. We mention these circumstances with the persuasion, that a more vigilant attention to the concerns of her navy in this quarter will enable Russia to correct the abuses which have crept into her service; and to improve the discipline and skill of her seamen.

The cry of danger to be apprehended from the introduction of a new naval power in the Mediterranean, has always proceeded from the French; and Volney is the only author of that nation who has ventured to assert his opinion that the destruction of the Turkish empire would not prove prejudicial to France, and that Russia ought to be considered as a more valuable ally than the Sultan and his janissaries.

We confess, for our parts, that we are not disposed to preach with him and Mr. Eton a crusade against the Turks, and to insist upon the necessity of expelling them from Europe. The Dardanelles cannot perhaps be in safer hands, though unfortunately the ascendancy which France has at all times maintained in the Divan has been, in more than one instance, extremely prejudicial to this country. Still less can we bring ourselves to view with that apprehension which has been expressed by more sensible

* We hope the example lately shewn by this country in dispatching an intelligent naval officer to complete a survey of the south coast of Asia Minor, which we doubt not will afford much useful information, will stimulate our allies to acquire more accurate information of the state of their own shores.

writers than those we have already quoted, the rise of a rival navy in the Mediterranean, whose fleets would be manned with seamen from the coasts of Albania and Greece. The degraded state to which the greater part of the continent has for many years been reduced, has led us, and not unnaturally, to trust almost entirely to our own resources for the accomplishment of any object that we may happen to have in view; but it is vain and presumptuous to suppose that all our plans can be carried into execution by ourselves alone,* and the economising system of wrapping ourselves up in our nut-shell, and leaving the continent to take care of itself, is daily losing many of its advocates.

We have always considered the jealousy shewn by this country of any improvement in the navy of those states which are our natural allies, as a mean and selfish feeling, unworthy of the spirit of ancient times; and we are not surprised that it should have given some colour to the accusation so often brought against us by France, as it is in the work before us, of aiming at the exclusive dominion of the seas, as well as the whole commerce of the world. This system, if carried beyond its due length, must, we conceive, prove extremely prejudicial to ourselves. If never brought into action, our fleets will lose much of their skill in manœuvring, as well as our sailors their knowledge in the use of the guns. They were never more formidable than when constantly engaged with a skilful and intrepid enemy, as in the wars with the Dutch; and the want of opportunities of distinction, which has, until of late years, operated against our army, would undoubtedly have its effect upon our fleet.

England, according to our idea, should encourage, as far as she can, the growth of a naval power in the Mediterranean, who may one day be able to cope with the fleets of France in that sea. We therefore deprecate all jealousy of the Russian progress in the attainment of naval knowledge, and we rejoice to find that the part of the Russian fleet which is now under the orders of one of our most intelligent officers, is as anxious to improve in naval tactics as we, on our parts, are willing to communicate the skill which we possess. It may perhaps startle some of our readers, but we confess that it would give us much satisfaction to see a Russian fleet in the Adriatic, and their troops in possession of some of those points on the coast which it has so long been their object to obtain. We allude to Corfu, or Cattaro, where the Montenegrin inhabitants, who are known to be inclined to Russia, might at all times be employed as a most formidable diversion in any operation against France. Had we possessed allies in that quarter at the commencement of the last campaign, it is easy to perceive of what incalculable advantage they might have proved to the common

cause at so important a moment. Whilst the French armies were occupied in the north of Europe, had a combined force of 20 or 30,000 men been transported across the Adriatic to the coasts of Italy, the whole country would have been in arms; and with the support which we could have afforded from Sicily, the French corps in the Tyrol which was employed to watch Austria, and which has formed the ground-work of Buonaparte's present army, might have been overpowered, and as signal a blow given to the French influence in the south of Europe, as it has suffered by the disastrous result of the campaign in the north.

Italy, though she has been long silent under the severe and grinding oppression of the French, is not destitute of true patriots, who are prepared to sacrifice every thing for the welfare of their country, but who are wise enough to perceive that no permanent advantages can be gained except by a strict union of states which are now under different governors; and they have therefore prudently abstained from premature efforts which might have been crushed, before England (the only power in whom they are inclined to confide) could come to their assistance.

Such are a few of the ideas which we would suggest as calculated to quiet the alarms of those who dread the appearance of a power in the Mediterranean to whom nature seems to have denied all access to its shores: it may, perhaps, also have its use to notice the different reasons assigned by some of the writers we have already alluded to, for carrying into effect their schemes upon the Greek islands. 'What!' says Mr. Leckie, 'shall we allow Russia to acquire the means of attacking us on our own element by neglecting to secure possession of the valuable islands of Greece?' Whilst Mr. Eton, on the other hand, appears to consider it advantageous that Russia should appropriate them to herself, as the more her fleets shall be brought in contact with our own, the more completely, in his opinion, will they be at our mercy.

We have not time to follow Mr. Leckie through all the details of his scheme of insular empire, though, as the scene is principally laid in the Mediterranean, it is very much to our present purpose. It is sufficient perhaps to observe, that as the islands which he proposes to occupy, could not be maintained on the establishment of a third rate man of war, (like the rock of Anholt,) and as troops therefore must be forthcoming to garrison these new acquisitions at a time when every disposable man is employed on services of greater moment elsewhere; we may well rest contented, for the present at least, with that undisputed superiority in the Mediterranean which is enjoyed by our fleets; and which they will long continue to enjoy, if perseverance, enterprize, and unwearied exertion can secure it. We return to the affairs of Russia.

The epithet 'extreme' has been applied, by Horacé to the Tanaïs, (the Don.) It may be doubted whether the Russian sovereigns have been prudent in extending the boundary of their empire beyond the Don. The possession of Astrakhan, it is true, secures the command of the Caspian, and the commerce of that sea, but the projects against India, which have at various times been entertained by Russia, are chimerical; and though the Czar Peter retained possession for some years of the valuable provinces of Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabat, he was at last, though unwillingly, compelled to give them up. So valuable and compact a possession as the Crimea being once added to the empire, any extension of the Russian frontier to the southward on either side of the Black sea can only serve to divert a part of the disposable force of the country from the quarter where a powerful army is most required, and cannot in any way materially contribute to augment her resources.

Every war in which Russia has been engaged has only served to prove her utter inability to maintain a sufficient military force upon more than one frontier at the same time. It has accordingly been the constant policy of France to preserve a close alliance with Turkey and Sweden, which might enable her, when engaged in hostilities with Russia, to menace at the same moment, by means of these allies, both the northern and southern frontiers of that power. She has in all former wars carried this design into execution with more or less effect; and it is quite clear, that if Buonaparte had succeeded in his attempts to create a diversion in his favour on the part of Sweden, and at the same time been able to dissuade the Turks from making peace, the Emperor Alexander would have found it impossible to bring an army into the field in the last campaign equal to cope with the invader. Those who find fault therefore with the treaty lately concluded between this country and Sweden, should recollect this insufficiency of the resources of Russia, this inadequacy to repel the attacks prepared for her from all quarters. This it was which made it an object of the greatest importance to the cause to secure, at whatever price, the alliance of Sweden.

M. Montgalliard has devoted a whole chapter to the politics of Russia in regard to Turkey, and more especially to the alleged infraction on her part of the treaty of Tilsit, which guaranteed the integrity of that empire.

'Le cabinet de St. Petersburg,' says he, 'a fait tous ses efforts pour démembrer les provinces Ottomanes, et s'emparer de Constantinople. Ce cabinet a les yeux fixés sur cette capitale, comme le Mammon du Paradis Perdu sur le parvis des demeures célestes; et c'est par la conquête de la Pologne qu'il s'est flatté de consommer la destruction

de l'empire Ottoman, et, qu'il à marché à ambition decouverte sur Constantinople.'—p. 249.

When we reflect that without the possession of the Dardanelles, all attempts on the part of Russia to become a naval power beyond the limits of the Black sea, must be attended with considerable difficulty, and that she must, at all times, be in some degree dependant on a nation that despises all mercantile adventure, for whatever commerce she may acquire in that quarter, we cannot be surprised that Constantinople should always have been the chief point to which the projects of the greatest of the Russian sovereigns have been directed; nor can we wonder at the tender solicitude for the safety of that capital which is testified by the author before us. We have already noticed the anxiety of Catherine, and the gigantic schemes of conquest which she was inclined to entertain. If we may believe the Prince de Ligne, they were not at all to the taste of that coadjutor in most of her plans, the Emperor Joseph; for her eloquent discourses on the prospect of the revival of the arts and sciences in Greece, with the restoration of freedom in that country, seem only to have produced the pettish observation—'Eh, que diable faire de Constantinople?'

The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia being situated, like the Netherlands, between two powerful states, have always, like them, been the seat of war. The Turks, by the last treaty, were induced to cede Bessarabia to Russia, but they will naturally look with considerable jealousy to the approaches of their neighbours in the direction of these provinces. On the other hand, we cannot wonder that Russia should have been anxious to secure herself from insult on this frontier, when we recollect a note given to the divan, by the French ambassador Sébastiani, in the year 1806, in which he broadly states, that the Turks cannot be permitted to allow Russian ships of war to pass the Bosphorus, '*sans donner à S. M. Napoleon le Grand le droit de traverser les états de l'empire Ottoman pour aller sur le Dniestre combattre l'armée Russe.*'

After all, however it may suit the purposes of M. Montgalliard and his countrymen to testify an excess of sensibility for the fate of Turkey, it does not appear that there is any just cause for apprehension that Russia will make too rapid advances in this direction. The Balkan mountains (the ancient Hæmus) offer a most formidable barrier to an invading army, and the possession of the passes in this range must create an almost insurmountable obstacle. The Turkish armies, it is true, are no longer composed of the same troops, or led by the same generals that once spread terror and dismay to the gates of Vienna, but they are still able to make a formidable opposition to the progress of the Russian arms; and we must recollect, in estimating their power, that in the war of
1788,

1788, they withstood, for four successive campaigns, the united force of Austria and Russia.*

We now come to a subject which we should willingly refrain from touching—we mean the conduct of Russia in regard to the partition of Poland. It is amusing enough to read the abuse lavished upon the Empress Catherine on this occasion, and we should be almost led to imagine that our author, at the time he was writing, had forgotten the system of *arrondissements*, which has been so universally adopted by the hero he celebrates, or that he conceives us to be ignorant of the well known facts, that at the conferences with D'Oubril, the Emperor of Russia was informed by the French negociator that he was at liberty to extend his frontier towards Poland as far as he wished, and that at Tilsit the Vistula was pointed out to him as the natural boundary of his empire.

A certain class of politicians in this country, however they may be disposed to coincide with the author before us in the view which he has taken of the Russian government and people, will not, we imagine, be equally inclined to subscribe to his opinion of the talents of their great leader Mr. Fox; nor (we think it right to premise) do we go along with him in all he has advanced on this subject, though he may be correct as to certain points.

'Lorsque Mr. Fox,' says he, 'sanctionnait le démembrement de ce royaume, demandait une entière adhésion à toutes les vues de la cour de St. Petersbourg, et autorisait d'avance le partage de la Turquie, lorsqu'entraîné par sa haine contre la France, ou peut être corrompu par les largesses de Catherine II. ce membre du parlement approuvait avec une sorte de fureur le traité de 1795 conclu entre l'Angleterre et la Russie, traité par lequel tous les démembrements qu'il plairait à la dernière de ces puissances d'effectuer à l'avenir étaient tacitement reconnus par la première, Mr. Fox donnait la mesure de son caractère moral, et celle de ses talens politiques.'—p. 68.

Until the last campaign we have been in the constant habit of hearing from one quarter in this country, that the disgust excited in Russia at the expedition sent by England against Copenhagen, was the chief cause of the war between the two countries. This assertion, it is true, has since been satisfactorily disproved, but it is curious to observe that our ally is now accused of having connived at the measure, and that it is coupled with other charges of grave accusation, such as the occupation of that part of Finland which belonged to Sweden, the ally of France; and the free commercial intercourse which subsisted between the English and Russian ports, though the countries were in a state of nominal war.

* 'Pouvoit on croire,' says the Prince de Ligne, 'que cet empire Musulman délabré eut pu mettre l'armée Russe dans le plus triste état?'

We have always considered the forbearance shewn by this country towards Russia at that period as highly praiseworthy; and nothing could more effectually counteract the object which Buonaparte had in view, when the Berlin and Milan decrees were carried into execution elsewhere, than the refusal of Russia to enforce them in her sea-ports.

‘*Le cabinet de France a désiré, il a constamment voulu la prospérité de l’empire Ottoman.*’ Every project, on the contrary, which Russia undertakes, we are told, has ultimately its destruction in view, and that England is content to connive at the usurpation of her ally from the understanding that she is to obtain as an equivalent certain commercial advantages.

There is no subject upon which foreigners appear at all times to entertain more mistaken notions, than with regard to the commercial interests of this country: it is not wonderful therefore that a Frenchman of the present day should not be better informed in this particular than his countrymen in general. England, according to our author, reaps all the benefit of the trade which is carried on between this country and Russia, and our manufacturers are said to be enriched by the importation of raw materials which the Russians are obliged to take back, when made up, at exorbitant prices, being unable to make the most of the valuable commodities which their country affords. Now what M. Montgalliard affects to consider as a peculiar hardship under which the Russians labour, takes place in all species of traffic. The raw material is sent to that country which has hands and machinery to apply it to advantage, and manufactured goods are taken in exchange. It is also to be observed, that, in our commercial intercourse with Russia, the balance of trade is very much against us, and that Russia, as we have understood, owes the greater part of the internal commerce which was last year carried on by the Austrian frontier at Brody, to her refusal to exclude English goods from her ports.

We do not deny the importance to this country of maintaining such an intercourse with the north of Europe, as may enable her to procure a large supply of naval stores from the Baltic, but we have found by experience that they may be obtained from other quarters; and we are inclined to believe that the Russian landholder would suffer more from having the produce of his estate thrown upon his hands by the interruption of all trade between the two countries, than our merchants, by being obliged to seek another field for their speculations.

We are accused by M. Montgalliard of a desire to engross all the commerce of the world; and the circumstances of the times certainly give a colour to such an accusation. We are compelled to assert our maritime rights with a high hand, in order to preserve our national

national independence; though we should condemn as impolitic and unjust that monopolizing spirit which would exclude every country but our own from a fair share of the benefits of commerce. It is absurd to flatter ourselves, that the English nation, though it may be admired and dreaded, is not looked upon with eyes of jealousy by the continent in general, and in no other manner can we so powerfully attach allies to our cause as by allowing them to participate in those commercial advantages which we exclusively possess.

The Berlin and Milan decrees are considered by M. Montgalliard as striking monuments of the political sagacity of Buonaparte, and the ministers of the Regent are told, that 'nothing but a pacific system of policy can avert all the evils which must follow from these formidable measures.' The confident tone in which the effects to be expected from the operation of the continental system is announced, will be amusing enough to those who have witnessed its total failure.

'Heureusement pour l'Europe, l'Empereur Napoléon tient entre ses mains le sort de l'Angleterre, la liberté des mers, l'indépendance du commerce des deux hémisphères, la paix du monde; le maintien du décret qui déclare les Isles Britanniques en état de blocus, et l'affaiblissement de la puissance Russe, assurent ces grands et heureux résultats.'

Though it was from the beginning quite apparent that the late unprovoked attack by Buonaparte upon Russia, was chiefly to be attributed to the mortal hatred which he bears to this country, and to the injury which he trusted would result to us from the subjugation of our ally, we have never seen this fact so explicitly avowed as in the work before us.

'Ce sont les continuelles hostilités de l'Angleterre qui forcent l'Empereur Napoléon de porter ses armées aujourd'hui jusque dans le centre de la Moscovie.'—p. 229.

We are not surprized at the spleen which is throughout betrayed by our author at the intimate union which now happily subsists between the two powers; we trust the insidious attempts of France to sow divisions between Great Britain and her allies will all meet with as little success as those of the work before us, and we earnestly pray that two powers, which for the good of the civilized world ought to be united, may cordially continue so for the sake of their own prosperity and renown.

ART. VIII. *Memoirs of William Paley, D.D.* By George Wilson Meadley. Second Edition, with an Appendix. Edinburgh, Constable, and Co. London, Craddock and Joy. 1810. 8vo. pp. 404.

'SEPULCHRUM haud pulchrum pulchrai feminae' is an incongruity not peculiar to Gruter. But departed genius, as well as departed beauty, claims a master's hand; the one in the sculptor, the other, in the biographer. Yet it has too often been the misfortune of both to have their memories consigned to humble friends and unskilful, though flattering, artists.

Paley was among the few gifted men of the present age who have merited an union of talent and affection in the man that should undertake to deliver their lives and characters to posterity. Such, moreover, and so intimate had long been his connexion with one family eminently qualified for the purpose, that, after his decease, the public naturally looked with some degree of hope and expectation to that quarter. But the reserve of high rank, and the engagements of a laborious profession may be supposed to have prevented the exertions of one individual, while another and an earlier friend, broken down by bad health, and expecting soon to follow the subject of this memoir, could only cultivate in private conversation, or in secret recollection, the memory of him whom he most loved while living, and most venerated when dead.

Dr. John Law was one of those accomplished Englishmen who have been transplanted from subordinate stations of competence and usefulness in England,

'To waste their sweetness on the desert air';

to spend their remaining days in the tumult of Hibernian politics; and, in the midst of bigotry and hatred, to exercise spiritual jurisdiction over a clergy without congregations. Such has been the lot, such indeed the reward of ill-judging ambition in more tranquil times: but this unfortunate prelate fell upon evil days as well as evil tongues; and situated as he found himself, at its eruption, in the very focus of the Irish rebellion, by an unhappy determination not to quit a post in which his presence could have little effect, anxiety and alarm laid the foundation of those complicated diseases which hurried him to the grave.

This event, and those which led to it, the public have to deplore on their own account as well as his; since the leisure and tranquillity of Carlisle, from which he was transplanted, would probably not only have prolonged his days, but produced that tribute to the memory of his friend, which (without meaning any disrespect to the present biographer) must be allowed to have fallen into
very

very different hands: for, in addition to a manly and penetrating understanding, a severe integrity, and an erudition able not only to comprehend the attainments of his friend, but to assist and promote his inquiries, there was in the temper and manner of Dr. John Law, though the younger man of the two, something which, without either effort or intention, in the earlier days of their friendship, acquired and long maintained an high ascendant over the mind of Paley. Of the other able and intimate companions of his youth, some were gone before, and the rest did not long survive him: so that the memory of Paley might, in the course of a few years, have been preserved only in his works, had not the diligence and zeal of his present biographer exerted themselves, before it was too late, to collect many scattered anecdotes which, with their present depositaries, would quickly have been no more, and out of these, assisted by his own recollections, to embody such a resemblance, as his skill would permit, of this extraordinary man.

To Mr. Meadley, therefore, we feel and acknowledge some obligation; for, though we could antecedently have wished the task in other hands, yet, before he seized it the undertaking appeared to have become a derelict, and it is no longer matter of censure, or even of surprize, that he undertook it; for it ought to be a rule of criticism, as it is of law, in every case to accept the best evidence which can be procured.

To this second edition of the work before us, (which, on account of the 'enlargement' it has received, gives us an opportunity of completing the sketch which we laid before the reader in a former No.)* we have, as a whole, no very material objections: the style is not exceptionable; the facts and dates are accurate; the writer's apprehension of the character which he has undertaken to delineate, though somewhat faint, is usually right: while, with a becoming interest in the subject, his admiration is never excessive, his panegyric never disgusting. With all these merits, this *Life of Paley* as a man of genius and originality not surpassed in our days, has one radical deficiency, which the writer could not help—an absence of those magic touches of art which constitute the difference between a dead and living resemblance, between the tame though faithful strokes of a moderate artist and the magic touches of a Reynolds, which are able to draw intellect and passion out of canvass, and appear almost to reanimate the dead. The political party, indeed, to which this writer belongs, have never been celebrated for such powers: the faculty, however, of distorting and misrepresenting, of seeing every object through their own coloured medium, of depreciating the most generous acts and darkening the

* No. III, Art. IV.

brightest characters, they have abundantly imparted to their pupil Mr. Meadley. But more of this hereafter.

William Paley, though not actually born in the district of Yorkshire called Craven, was descended of Craven parents, and transplanted thither in his infancy. The inhabitants of this rugged and remote tract have, like other mountaineers, a character more strongly marked than their lowland neighbours, from which Paley derived an early tincture, which no intercourse with the world ever wore off, or produced an inclination to wear off. With clear and shrewd understandings, great humour and naivety in their conversation, fondness for old stories, rusticity often affected, and a dialect which heightens and sets off every other peculiarity, that country has produced many archetypes of this extraordinary man, though none perhaps with equal powers of reasoning, or even invention.

In this congenial soil and climate, therefore, he appeared less original, less of a phenomenon than anywhere else. But here too the unworn asperities of his manner, by exciting the least surprise, gave the least offence, and here perhaps to the last day of his life he most willingly reposed, and found himself most at home. The highest advancement in the church would, in this respect, have had no effect upon him. He was, and ever would have been, what Lipsius called *Vespasian*;—*homo subrusticus et vere Sabinus*.

In his education every thing seemed prepared and disposed in order to demonstrate what some minds can do for themselves. From the school of his own obscure village, where little was taught, and that little far from well, he was sent to Cambridge to contend with the polished sons of Eton and Westminster, and the result was that he bore away one of the most honourable prizes from them all. Here two of the three years allotted to a severe course of academical study were loitered away by Paley in unconnected and desultory reading. A third year of severe application placed him above his competitors.

The Cambridge system of study is a *forcing* system, which, applying itself almost wholly to one subject, and being adapted to minds of a single cast, frequently debilitates the understanding through life, by the effort to produce a single fruitage. Paley was none of these sickly productions of toil and art: his powers once roused became spontaneously and abundantly prolific, and the native fertility of his mind, instead of being exhausted or impaired by a single push, appeared to be invigorated by severe exertion.

We are next to contemplate him as a teacher and a guide, as fellow and tutor of his college. Here he had the fortune to be associated with an admirable coadjutor, Mr. John Law, in concert with whom he planned and executed a laborious and comprehensive

sive system of institution, supported by a vigorous and spirited discipline. This deserves to be remembered as one of the last attempts in that, and perhaps either University, to sustain or to revive the ancient tone of authority, which was at once rough and affectionate, peremptory and parental. 'You do not treat me like a gentleman,' said a young man to one of these faithful reprovers, in the new spirit which was just beginning to appear, 'You do not treat me like a gentleman.' 'I never meant to do so,' was the answer, 'but as a boy under discipline.' We record this as a specimen of the true temper of an old tutor in an English university before the spirit of gentlemanship had eaten out both authority and attachment, which are now succeeded by an intercourse between the governors and the governed, the teachers and the taught, so perfectly elegant and well-bred, and at the same time so cool and mutually indifferent, that it might seem as if the only object in view was for the one party to maintain his popularity, and the other his independence. How far the Universities have given way to the general spirit of the times, or how far, by concession to youthful encroachment, they have contributed to the lamentable diffusion of that spirit through the kingdom, we shall not at present inquire. Thus much, however, is certain, that its effects have been equally pernicious in public and domestic life; and even in the Universities themselves what has been gained (or rather what has not been lost) by the exchange? The tutor was more loved when he was more feared, and the pupil, instead of the liberty which he claims, has, at the most dangerous period of life, become the slave of his own will and passions.

'Di majorum animis tenuem et sine pondere terram,
Spirantesque rosas et in urnâ perpetuum ver,
Qui præceptorem sancto voluere parentis
Esse loco!'

The following anecdote, which reflects the highest honour on these two virtuous and independent young men, shall be told, after a short preface, in Mr. Meadley's words: About the time of a great contest for the High Stewardship of the University, which is in the recollection of many persons yet alive, the members of the Senate had ranged themselves under two noblemen of very opposite characters, though both of great abilities. The partizans very naturally resembled their respective patrons. The leaders of the former party shall be nameless; of the latter, we mention with honour that intrepid spirit the present Bishop of Landaff:

'When,' says our biographer, 'the hall of Christ's College, which had been promised through the interest of Dr. Shepherd, was fitting up for a benefit concert for Ximenes, a Spanish musician, warmly patronised by Lord Sandwich, Mr. Paley and Mr. Law peremptorily insisted that

that the promise should be recalled, unless satisfactory assurance was given that a lady then living with his lordship, and who had been openly distributing tickets, should not be permitted to attend. At first the senior tutor, who was in habits of intimacy with Lord Sandwich, (a very reputable connexion for a divine and an institutor of youth,) 'objected to the idea of excluding any lady from a public concert: but afterwards when they urged that standing in a public situation as the instructors of youth, it was their duty to discountenance every sort of immorality, and threatened to appeal to the Society in case of his refusal, the assurance was given, and the *arrangement* suffered to proceed.'

Be it remembered, that of these two champions of morality and decorum, the older was then no more than twenty-eight!

It was about the same time, and by means of the same early connexion, that Mr. Paley was introduced as chaplain into the family of Dr. Law, then newly appointed to the bishopric of Carlisle, who like other scholarlike men elevated to these high situations in the decline of life, wanted an active and skilful coadjutor. Neither party had reason to repent of this connexion. The chaplain lived in his patron's family as an equal; their confidence was reciprocal; his services merited all which a see richer in patronage than that of Carlisle could bestow, and they received from the limited resources which it did afford more than his disinterested and unambitious temper aspired to. Beside a series of parochial preferment of no great value, he became successively Prebendary of the Cathedral, and Archdeacon and Chancellor of the diocese.

We stop the progress of the narrative for a moment, in order to notice, before they are left too far behind, some particulars in the early character of Paley as a scholar and a writer. It is not a little diverting that the first known composition of a man who never afterwards discovered a glimpse of poetical taste or imagination, should have been *A Poem in the manner of Ossian*. Had we been assured that the first work of Mr. Gray had been a solution of some mathematical problem in the *Lady's Diary*, we should scarcely have been more astonished. His next performance, of which more than one copy appears to be extant, is his Prize dissertation, written when senior Bachelor of Arts, where, in a style somewhat uncouth and rugged but with great vigour of thought, and a promise of all his future excellence as a reasoner, he supports the cause of the Epicurean philosophy, disencumbered by him with great skill from the load of calumny with which it had been oppressed by its enemies, against the impracticable and unnatural dogmata of Zeno. Of this original performance Mr. Meadley has given a short specimen from the conclusion, to which we shall subjoin the exordium.

'Cum e Græcia jamdudum cesserit philosophia atque serò admodum
apud

apud nostros expetita lacertos tandem porrexisse videatur, utile profecto erit atque huic certè loco accommodatum, disjecta philosophorum monumenta respicere eorumque ita conferre utilitates, ut habeamus aliquando quo lare et nos tutemur et civitatem. Quæ quidem utilitatum comparatio et quasi contentio cum ipsa per se sit fructuosa et frugifera, tum maxime nostris eò studiis commendatur quod materiam hancce veteres integram omninò intactamque reliquere. Quamdiu enim vixit Athenis philosophia, quisque suæ sunt astricti disciplinæ, eamque ad augendam totos sese penitusque tradidere; inde propriis delectati studiis, aliena aut omninò contempserunt: aut parum studiose prosecuti sunt. Affectibus planè præpediti ad dogmata *diversarum* scholarum excutienda accessere, magistros interea suos superstitione venerantes.

This composition, in the midst of the drudgery of a school, to which the talents of Paley had then been condemned, is said to have been the work of a fortnight; but the materials, of which there is a copious suppellex in the notes, must have been the result of long and previous research. Paley had not yet begun to disdain a parade of ancient authorities; but from this time, he employed himself much better in drawing from the stores of his own mind than in borrowing the best sense of antiquity on moral subjects, far inferior for the most part to his own.

‘In the pulpit,’ says his biographer of him, at the same period, ‘he was less admired, his early discourses being verbose and florid, a fault by no means rare in men of genius, before they have acquired a purer and more simple style.’ And again—‘It was probably his present experience which led him afterwards to remark, in reference to those who had two sermons to preach every week, that they had better steal one of them; for though a sermon occupied the preacher only about twenty minutes in the delivery, it took, or ought to take him, more than half a week in the composition. And yet few men could compose more rapidly than himself. He seems to have entertained a very low opinion of that kind of vapid declamation which imposes so much upon the multitude.’ And truly so does every man, even of ordinary taste or understanding. But, if Mr. Meadley wishes it to be understood that the earlier discourses of Paley partook of that ‘vapid declamation’ which his better taste condemned, we must be allowed to differ from him. Several of these discourses are known to be extant; and more perhaps are remembered as delivered from the pulpit. They were indeed declamatory: they certainly wanted the closeness and cogency of his later compositions; but they were neither verbose, nor florid, nor vapid: they were the forcible and animated effusions of a young orator, who by a due severity to his own luxuries was shortly to attain to excellence.

It is only minds of great elasticity and vigor, conscious of their

ability to enlighten mankind, and aware of the responsibility attached to great talents, which, after having quitted the great scenes of learning, continue to pursue their studies for the purpose of systematic instruction in the country—Paley was one of these: wherever settled or however employed, it was impossible for him not to observe or reflect; with such internal resources he wanted no library; and, with him, to compose was as easy as to converse. The series of works which a retirement of about twenty years produced is happily well known to the public; with them we have no immediate concern, and Mr. Meadley might have spared himself the trouble of analyzing their contents: but some invidious remarks on those splendid rewards which his author merited for his services in the cause of religion, and the spirit of rancour displayed by him towards the memory of Mr. Pitt, whose disposition towards Dr. Paley he has either misrepresented, or not understood, call for correction and reprehension—And first, with respect to his refusal of the mastership of Jesus College—‘The whole of his motives for this refusal have never yet been clearly ascertained; nor perhaps were they fully communicated even to his most intimate friends’ (here we agree with the biographer)—‘to one gentleman indeed, he stated a conviction that he should be scarcely able to remain a single month in office’ (meaning probably the vice-chancellorship, which would have followed the other) ‘without quarrelling with Mr. Pitt—Mr. Paley, who was no timeserver, seems to have been unwilling to place himself in a situation in which unworthy compliances might be either expected or required.’—This is a foul libel on the dead and the living—on the minister and on the heads of houses—the first as an haughty tyrant; the second as a set of unprincipled and self-interested slaves. It is neither a duty incumbent on ministers nor men to heap rewards on those who thwart and oppose their measures; but independence and hostility are not convertible terms, and in that station we undertake to say, that a man like Paley, with all his independence of spirit, would have held no such course, as to debar him from preferment. Besides, the surmise is negatived by facts; as it is well known that, about the same time, a man of far less merit, and by principle as well as connexion actively hostile to the court, was promoted by the crown to the mastership of another college, with an express reservation of his party and his principles: and the biographers might have known, that when Paley’s first and best friend heard of the refusal, his observation was, that he had ‘missed a mitre.’

Dull and shallow men are not always fit to be trusted with the loose talk of their betters; and these words, if ever uttered at all, were probably spoken in that careless and jocular manner so peculiar

liar to the speaker, and which was sometimes turned to his disadvantage.

Again—'It had long been a reproach to the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage, though certainly with some honourable exceptions, that so comparatively small a portion of preferment in a very opulent establishment had been bestowed on so deserving a divine. The ministers of the crown had neglected the instructive moralist, and the bench of bishops seemed almost equally inattentive to the theologian who had supplied so new and satisfactory a demonstration of the authenticity of the Epistles of St. Paul. After the publication of the *Evidences of Christianity*, however, any farther forbearance on the part of the great episcopal patrons was scarcely possible. Whatever subordinate difference of opinion might be supposed to distinguish the creed of Dr. Paley from that of some of his more dignified brethren, his merit as a defender of the Christian Revelation was indisputable and too prominent to be neglected at so critical a time.'

That exalted order are too much accustomed to obloquy to suffer themselves to be scared into acts of bounty; they are not, and they ought not to be, the slaves of popular opinion: but differing as they all did, from some subordinate tenets which Dr. Paley was known or suspected to hold, they maintained a dignified reserve towards him till his general services to the cause of Revelation had overborne every subordinate scruple, and awed even bigotry into silence. Four of the most illustrious prelates of the English church, to one alone of whom perhaps he was personally known, then spontaneously interposed to gild the later days of such a man with the sunshine of their favour, and to enable him to close an active and useful life in ease and opulence.

And this is the reward to which Mr. Meadley thinks the benefactors of his friend entitled! their bounty, as he would have it believed, was drawn forth by a feeling of self-reproach and a consciousness of having neglected transcendent merit: the time was critical, and any farther inattention to the merits of Paley might have endangered the establishment.—It were better even that a man like Paley were neglected, than that 'the chief dispensers of ecclesiastical patronage' should once give way to such a spirit: let the principle of concession to popular opinion but be carried a little farther, and their studies would be filled with libels in the shape of petitions; their houses would be surrounded by mobs clamouring for factious declaimers, and they would be no longer masters of their patronage or themselves. If judgment in selecting be the first qualification of a great patron, fortitude in refusing is the second. Had Dr. Paley thought on these occasions with his biographer, he would have received the bounty of his patrons in sullen silence: nay perhaps have told them that he owed it not to them

them but to himself, or at least to the general sense of the nation on his behalf. On the contrary, his expressions of gratitude were public, affectionate and sincere.

These testimonies, however, flattering and valuable as they were, came late: but they contributed to sooth the painful decline of an useful life now drawing rapidly to its termination. That final scene Dr. Paley contemplated with cheerful anticipation, and endured with unaffected composure: the period of self-enjoyment on earth he felt was at an end, he had lived to accomplish a great and beneficial system of instruction for mankind, and he saw nothing in the prospect before him to dismay—nothing indeed which did not animate and cheer him under his temporary sufferings. Thus disposed and prepared, died this great and excellent man, May 25, 1805.

His mind was of a very original cast, and of that universal comprehension which is able to adapt itself to every subject. To a consummate knowledge of his own faculty together with its kindred sciences of morality and rational metaphysics, he added two accomplishments never perhaps united before, (certainly not with the third,) physiology and the law of England. It seemed indifferent to what profession he should originally have applied himself. He would have raised himself to the summit of any one. Yet, though indefatigably industrious, he was not a learned man. He disdained the pedantry of quotation, and never wasted on tedious research into antiquity those precious moments which were better occupied in original observation and reflection. Accordingly no English divine or philosopher has ever attained to the same or to any considerable degree of eminence with so small a portion of what may be called erudition. In this respect he most resembled his master, Locke. His classical learning was that of a school-boy just discharged from a country seminary: of the oriental languages he appears to have known nothing. His citations from the Fathers were made to his hand, but it has never been discovered that in applying and reasoning upon them he mistook their meaning. His biographer admits perhaps too readily and too universally that he had no taste—for poetry indeed he had none. Imagination was not his province, and argument and induction he well knew could best be managed in prose. For the supposed inelegance of his style we are not disposed to admit the apologies of his injudicious friends. The imputation ought to have been denied. It was not inelegant. Traces indeed of his provincial dialect may now and then be detected when he did not intend it; but he frequently used a strong and coarse expression purposely and for the sake of impression. In fact his style was formed on the manner of Johnson, with many of his hard words, but with sentences less involved.

Perspicuity

Perspicuity and force were its leading characters. Perhaps he was the clearest writer in the English language. His luminous conceptions were never encumbered by verbosity, never clouded by ill-chosen and unexpressive phrases. In the construction of periods his ear was good; he sometimes rose with his subject into great majesty of expression, though his ordinary tone was easy and graceful familiarity. With these excellencies it stirs our indignation to hear such apologies as this, in the mawkish and sickening language which the condescending and benevolent apologist, as we suppose, mistook for that elegance denied to Paley.

‘To those, indeed, who love the exuberance of native character, there is in the writings of Paley, as connected with his personal naïveté, every thing to interest and to gratify. And for those, if such there be, who desiderate in him a higher temperament of sensibility or a finer delicacy of expression, let them learn to take substantial excellence wherever they are happy enough to find it, though it be not quite rectified up to their own exquisite standard of taste.’

With so much originality in himself, it is remarkable that in the first conception of his works Paley was not strictly original; nor were even the materials laid in by himself. There are some writers of great but disorderly understandings, unable to arrange, to amplify, or to illustrate their own conceptions. Such was Abraham Tucker, the heavy and desultory author of a book, the principles of which, whether true or false, by his own singular powers of style and illustration, Paley has wrought up into his masterly and inimitable work on Moral and Political Philosophy. The hint of the *Horæ Paulinæ*, perhaps the most cogent and convincing specimen of moral argumentation in the world, was, we believe, first suggested by Doddridge; the *Evidences of Christianity* are professedly a compilation, but so condensed and compacted, so illuminated and enforced, that it is impossible not to admire the matchless powers of the compiler's genius in turning the patient drudgery of Lardner to such account.—Let not, however, these humble labourers in the cause of literature be despised; every man has his gift, and if the hands destined to carve the enrichments of a temple or to adjust its symmetries, had been previously condemned to dig the marble from the quarry, the Parthenon and the Pantheon would probably never have existed. The same character belongs to his last and perhaps his most elaborate work, the *Natural Theology*. Here too Paley had his pioneers, as well as his forerunners; but his inimitable skill in arranging and condensing his matter, his peculiar turn for what may be termed ‘animal mechanics,’ the aptness and the wit of his illustrations, and occasionally the warmth and the solemnity of his devotion, which, by an happy and becoming process, became more animated as he

drew nearer to the close of life, stamp on this work a character more valuable than originality itself.

In common life Dr. Paley was probably the most acute observer since Swift, but without a tincture of his malevolence. He was constitutionally and incurably cheerful; for pain itself, of which in his later years he was exercised with an abundant portion, could not shake his persuasion of the truth of his own maxim, that 'the present is an happy life.' He delighted in conversation, but in conversation without effort and without display. No man better knew how to expose what is called fine talking, or to laugh out of countenance a kind of semi-nonsense which shallow understandings, gorged with more knowledge than they can digest, are very apt to produce. If he suspected that a plan was laid to exhibit him, he delighted to disappoint it. Though accustomed from his early years to converse much with his superiors of the highest rank in the church, he never thought it worth while to dissemble or to controul his native humour any more than to correct his native dialect in their presence. Though modest and unambitious, he was perfectly independent. He had no art of rising but that of deserving to rise. All his preferments came unsought. He was 'an economist upon principle,' and could therefore always afford to live without asking. The foundations of his great work on morality were laid in the rectitude of his own heart, as well as the clearness of his own head; for besides the most penetrating intuition into cases of conscience, his moral sense was in the highest degree lively and apprehensive.

'Compositum jus fasque animo sanctosque recessus
Mentis et incoctum generoso pectus honesto.'

This last feeling, never bestowed on ordinary men, sometimes occasioned a certain degree of irritation from which minds and tempers of a coarser texture are exempt, and sometimes exposed him to the imputation of heat and violence, particularly in his opposition to the encroachments of a well known peer, and in his occasional rebukes of petty knavery or even stupidity which exercised him as a magistrate.

It is somewhat amusing to observe the embarrassment of modern reformers, and of Mr. Meadley among the rest, in their anxiety to press the name of Paley into their service. Too sagacious not to discover with them the manifold imperfections which adhere to every mode of human society, and too frank and open not to declare them, he had withall a faculty, which they do not possess, that of counting the cost of change. It was not a view to his own interests, but to those of his country, which taught him caution. He was never *practically* theirs; and at the tremendous crisis of the

the French revolution, his powerful and popular pen was employed in persuading his countrymen, then on the point of a similar explosion, to understand and value the blessings which they already enjoyed.

Still a cloud of suspicion long hung over him, and the prejudices of a great ecclesiastic in particular, are supposed to have obstructed his advancement; but it appears to be unknown to the biographer, (for we do not believe the fact to be injuriously concealed,) that at a later period Dr. Paley was actually proposed for an high station in the church by that great minister who, in this work, has been treated with so much injustice; and that the disappointment proceeded from an higher quarter than before. Homely truths about rulers, uttered in blunt and uncourtly language, are not always, we believe, the first recommendations to high preferment: the peculiarities also of a man of genius render him less *produci-ble*, and the jealousy entertained of overbearing talents, when they have taken a political direction, leaves the way not so open to those against whom nothing can be objected, than those whom much may be urged.

Thus unrewarded by public patronage was the most useful writer of his age. 'Useful,' indeed, in the highest sense is the epithet to be annexed to the name of Paley: for such was his happiness in the choice of subjects, so carefully did he avoid all matters of doubtful disputation, that, with very few exceptions, his works may be read with equal gratification by Christians of all denominations, and with equal advantage by unbelievers of every description.

As a philosopher and a friend (we mean not to exalt his character by the comparison) he had many points of resemblance to Socrates: for, setting aside his physiological knowledge, which the Grecian sage contemned, and the unspeakable advantages of Revelation, of which, in its lowest degree, we can scarcely persuade ourselves that *he* partook, ironical humour, a disposition to instruct by asking questions, a fondness for colloquial pleasures in preference to those of taste, and a keen intuition into common life, equally characterised the English and the Attic moralist. The philosophy of both was common sense, and their study human nature.

In point of utility, however, as living teachers, their spheres of influence were not to be named together;—for who was benefited by the one?—Crito, Simmias, Cebes, and a few other virtuous and sensible men with whom their master's wisdom and his lessons stopped. The mass of the people at least received neither warning nor information. How different from the character of the man who instructed the future instructors of an whole people, and those too both numerous and in succession! Nor, when they are considered as deceased teachers of mankind, can the charms in which the

delightful language of Plato or Xenophon has invested the discourses of Socrates ever conceal the absence of that perfection of good sense, that irresistible cogency of reason, which belongs to the best moderns, and among *them* superlatively to Paley. In one word, whatever may be thought of this comparison by the idolaters of antiquity, and how coldly soever it may be received by strangers or by rivals, the members of his own university, and more especially his surviving friends, will see nothing in it to which their own bosoms do not reverberate—nothing which they will not recognize as a faithful memorial—*ανδρος, ὃς ἡμεῖς φαιμεν αὐν, των τοις ὦν ἐπειραθημεν ἀρίστῃ καὶ ἀλλῶς φρονιμωταίῃ καὶ δικαιοταίῃ.*

ART. IX. *Tracts on Mathematical and Philosophical Subjects; comprising, among numerous important Articles, the Theory of Bridges, with several Plans of recent Improvement, Also, the Result of numerous Experiments on the Force of Gunpowder, with Applications to the modern Practice of Artillery.* By Charles Hutton, LL. D. and F. R. S. &c. late Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. xii. 1254. Lond. Rivingtons, &c. 1812.

DR. Hutton has been long known to the public as a most active and useful writer on mathematical and philosophical topics. He now comes forward at the advanced age of 75, and, by the revision of what he considers as the most valuable of his original pieces, and the addition of some new ones, has formed the present collection, which he seems to regard (though in this we sincerely hope he will be mistaken) as his last legacy to the public.

‘It is,’ he says, with his characteristic simplicity, ‘in all probability, the last original work that I may ever be able to offer to the notice of the public, and I am, therefore, the more anxious that it should be found worthy of their acceptance and regard. To their kind indulgence, indeed, is due whatever success I may have experienced, both as an author and teacher, for more than half a century: and it is no small satisfaction to reflect, that my humble endeavours, during that period, have not been wholly unsuccessful in the diffusion of useful knowledge.’

‘To the same liberal encouragement of the public must likewise be ascribed, in a great measure, the means of the comfortable retirement which I now enjoy, towards the close of a long and laborious life; and for which I have every reason to be truly thankful.’

The tracts before us relate to a great variety of subjects. Some of them have already appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions*, or in detached works, but are now greatly modified and improved: and the volumes contain so much that is valuable, and indeed so much

much that is new, that we are inclined to enter somewhat at large into an analysis of their contents.

The first six tracts relate to the theory of arches and piers, and the construction of bridges. Of these, the first is a treatise which made its appearance at Newcastle, in 1772, and was again published in 1801, on occasion of the project of an iron bridge over the Thames. It is now considerably improved. The theory is extended; the practical maxims enlarged; with the addition of the principles of dome-vaulting: so that, altogether, though we are persuaded that much yet remains to be done, we have no hesitation in terming it far the most complete and useful view of the subject which has yet been exhibited in any language. The three next in succession relate to London bridge, and the 5th contains 'Answers to Questions proposed by the Select Committee of Parliament, relative to a proposal for erecting a new Iron Bridge, of a single arch, over the Thames, at London,' 1801. This is followed by a very amusing and instructive history of iron bridges; with neat wood engravings of those at Colebrook Dale, Buildwas, and Bristol, &c. and interspersed with several valuable remarks on the relative advantages and disadvantages of iron and stone bridges.

The 7th, 8th, and 9th Tracts, are on the subject of infinite series. The first of these is principally explanatory, pointing out the different characters of converging, diverging, and neutral series, and showing what may be indicated by the word *sum* of a series, so that the definition shall be free from the difficulties with which it has usually been encumbered.

The second of these exhibits a new and very ingenious method for the valuation of such numeral infinite series as have their terms alternately plus and minus, by taking continual arithmetical means between the successive terms, and again between those means, and so on. This method is applied to the summation of some very slowly converging series, such as $1 - \frac{1}{3} + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{5} -$, &c. . . . $\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{5} -$, &c. to the values of which it approximates with comparative expedition.

The third develops a method of summing the series $a + bx + cx^2 + dx^3 + ex^4 +$, &c. when it converges very slowly, which it will do whenever x is nearly equal to 1, and the coefficients a, b, c , &c. decrease very slowly. The method is this. Assume

$$\frac{a^2}{D} = \text{the given series } a + bx + cx^2 + dx^3 +, \text{ \&c. then shall}$$

$$D = \frac{a^2}{a + bx + cx^2 +, \text{ \&c.}}; \text{ which, by actual division is, } = a - bx$$

$$- \left(c - \frac{b^2}{a}\right)x^2 - \left(d - \frac{2bc}{a} + \frac{b^3}{a^2}\right)x^3 - \left(e - \frac{2bd + c^2}{a} + \frac{3b^2c}{a^2}\right)x^4 - \dots$$

$-\frac{b^4}{a^3})x^4 -$, &c. Consequently a^2 divided by this series will be equal to the series proposed: and this new series will, as Dr. Hutton remarks, be very easily summed in comparison with the original one, because all the coefficients after the second term are evidently very small. The operation may obviously be repeated till the required degree of accuracy is obtained. The method is exemplified by summing the series $x + \frac{1}{2}x^2 + \frac{1}{2}x^3 +$, &c. when $x = \frac{1}{10}$, that is, by finding the hyperbolic logarithm of $\frac{1}{1-x}$.

Tract 10 contains the investigation of some easy and general rules for extracting any root of a given number. Let N denote the given number whose root is sought, n the index of that root, a its nearest rational root, or a^n the nearest rational power to N , whether greater or less, then, according to the most accurate and com-

modious of these theorems, $N^{\frac{1}{n}} = \frac{(n+1)N + (n-1)a^n}{(n-1)N + (n+1)a^n} a$, which includes *all* the rational formulas investigated separately by Halley and Delagny. This is now a well known form, of easy recollection, and furnishing a most simple and convenient rule for the extraction of roots of any power, and especially of cubes. The only rule which has ever been put in competition with this is that of M. Haros, which is $\sqrt[n]{a^n \pm d} = a \pm \frac{2ad}{2na^n \pm (n-1)d}$, where $N = a^n \pm d$, or d = the difference between the assumed power and the given number. It is not a little extraordinary that the English admirers of M. Haros' formula should not have discovered that it is no other than the rational formula of Halley published in 1694.

The succeeding tract contains a new method of finding in finite and general terms near values of the roots of equations, such as $x^n - px^{n-1} + qx^{n-2} -$, &c. = 0, where the terms are alternately plus and minus. In this method an assumed root being taken $x = a$, we have $x - a = 0$, which being raised to the power whose exponent is n , will give an equation analogous to the one proposed. Then by supposing any two corresponding terms of these equations equal, as the two *second* terms, or the two *third* terms, &c. the sum of the remaining terms of the two equations will be equal; whence by the usual reduction of equations, approximate values of x are obtained. By such means our author deduces some very neat formulæ for the solution of cubics and biquadratics. He also shews, that for an equation of the fifth power, we might compare it either with $(x-a)^4 \times (x-b)$, or with $(x-a)^3 \times (x-b)^2$, or with $(x-a)^3 \times (x-b) \times (x-c)$, or with $(x-a)^2 \times (x-b)^2 \times (x-c)$, &c. and so on for higher powers.

Tract

Tract 12 contains a very complete and satisfactory demonstration of the binomial theorem in the case of fractional exponents. Dr. Hutton undertook it in 1785, at the request of Baron Maseres; who proposed that the doctor should, in his investigation, assume, if he pleased, the truth of the binomial and multinomial theorems for integral powers, as truths which had been previously and perfectly proved. This was by far the most perspicuous and decisive which had hitherto appeared:—

‘It is of this nature, that it proves the law of the whole series in a formula of one single term only: thus P, Q, R, denoting any three successive terms of the series, expanded from the given binomial $(1+x)^{\frac{1}{n}}$, and if $\frac{g}{h}P=Q$, then is $\frac{g-n}{h+n}Q=R$, which denotes the general law of the series, being a new mode of proving the law of the coefficients of this celebrated theorem. But, besides this law of the coefficients, the very form of the series is, for the first time, here demonstrated, viz. that the form of the series for the development of the binomial $(1+x)^{\frac{1}{n}}$, with respect to the exponents, will be $1+ax+bx^2+cx^3+dx^4+$, &c. a form which had heretofore been assumed without proof.’

We have next a tract on the geometrical division of circles and ellipses into any number of parts and in any proposed ratios. The occasion of this paper we shall give in the author's own words, as it furnishes a pleasing specimen of the manner in which he often slides into an eulogium.

‘In the year 1774 was published a pamphlet in octavo, with the title, *A Dissertation on the Geometrical Analysis of the Antients. With a Collection of Theorems and Problems, without Solutions, for the Exercise of Young Students.* This pamphlet was anonymous; it was however well known to myself, and to several other persons, that the author of it was the late Mr. John Lawson, B. D. Rector of Swanscombe in Kent, an ingenious and learned geometrician, and, what is still more estimable, a most worthy and good man; one in whose heart was found no guile, and whose pure integrity, joined to the most amiable simplicity of manners and sweetness of temper, gained him the affection and respect of all who had the happiness to be acquainted with him. His collection of problems in that pamphlet concluded with this singular one, “To divide a circle into any number of parts, which shall be as well equal in area as in circumference. N. B. This may seem a paradox, however it may be effected in a manner strictly geometrical.” The solution of this seeming paradox he reserved to himself, as far as I know; but I fell upon the discovery of it soon after; and my solution was published in an account which I gave, of the pamphlet in the Critical Review for 1775, vol. xi. and which the author afterwards informed me was on the same principle as his own.’

To illustrate the general method explained in this tract, suppose it

it were required to divide a circle into *four* parts, which shall be respectively equal in area and in circumference. Divide the diameter AB into four equal parts, which let be AC , CD , DE , EB (the diagram may easily be conceived, or drawn): above the diameter describe semicircles whose diameters shall be AC , AD , AE , their peripheries being all in contact at the point A ; and below the same diameter AB , describe semicircles, whose diameters shall be BE , BD , BC , respectively, all in contact by their peripheries at B : then the semicircle on the diameter AC , will join that on the diameter BC , so as to make a waving boundary; in like manner the semicircles on diameters AD , BD , will join; as well as those on AE , BE : and by drawing the figure it will at once be seen that the original circle will thus be divided into four parts equal in area, as well as isoperimetrical; for the areas of the several parts will be as $1 + 7$, $3 + 5$, $5 + 3$, and $7 + 1$, that is, in a ratio of equality; and the perimeters will each be equal to the circumference of the whole circle.

A similar method is applied by our author to the division of ellipses.

The last problem in Tract 38 may here be mentioned, being 'allied to this as well in its nature as in its fate and consequences.' It is to divide a given circle into any proposed number of equal parts by means of other circles concentric with the given one. The construction, which is very simple and elegant, is by means of one additional circle; while Hawney, in his construction, required a fresh circle for each division. Dr. Hutton gives us an amusing account of the way in which his attention was drawn to this problem by Ferguson, and the delight experienced by that ingenious man (who was no geometer) in proving, by means of a very large figure on pasteboard, the truth of the doctor's construction.

The 15th tract contains an investigation of an approximate geometrical division of the circle. The problem is, 'To find whether there is any such fixed point E , in the radius BD produced, bisecting the semicircle ABC , so that any line EF G , being drawn from it, this line shall always cut the perpendicular radius AD , and the quadrantal arc AB , proportionally in the two points F and G ; viz. so that DF shall be to BG in a constant ratio.' If this could be effected, the inscription of regular polygons in a given circle would be a matter of great simplicity. Dr. Hutton, however, shows that there is no such fixed point E , as that required by the problem: yet he gives an approximation from which he deduces $\frac{7}{8} BD$, as a convenient medium value of DE . But this, we think it right to remark, is, in all cases, too large: the *true* value of DE , would be, for the trigon 1.73205 , for the pentagon 1.74478 , hexagon 1.73205 , heptagon 1.71903 , octagon 1.70711 , nonagon 1.69654 ,

1.69654, decagon 1.68728, undecagon 1.67916, duodecagon 1.67202. We have not room to explain the mode of computing these numbers; but our mathematical readers may easily verify them by a recurrence to first principles.

Tract 17 is on Machin's quadrature of the circle, published long since in Dr. Hutton's *Mensuration*. Let x denote any arc, then we have for a well known formula $x = \tan. x - \frac{1}{3} \tan.^3 x + \frac{1}{5} \tan.^5 x - \frac{1}{7} \tan.^7 x + \dots$. Let also an arc of a circle whose radius is 1 and tangent $\frac{1}{2}$ be a ; then, by trigonometry, we have

$$\tan. 2a = \frac{2 \tan. a}{1 - \tan.^2 a} = \frac{1}{1}, \text{ and, by a like process, } \tan. 4a = \frac{1}{2}.$$

Let B denote this latter arc, or $\tan. B = \frac{1}{2}$, then will B evidently be greater than 45° , whose tangent is $= 1$; and we shall have for the difference of these arcs,

$$\tan. (B - 45^\circ) = \frac{\tan. B - 1}{1 + \tan. B} = \frac{1}{239} = \tan. A.$$

The arc 45° , or $\frac{1}{2}\pi$, may therefore be regarded as the difference of two arcs B and A , whose tangents are $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{239}$. If we substitute, alternately, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{239}$ for $\tan. x$, in the series above, and quadruple the first result, we shall have the lengths of the arcs $B = 4a$ and A , and consequently their difference, or $\frac{1}{2}\pi$: and thus was obtained Machin's series for the circumference, of the circle, viz.

$$\pi = 16 \left(\frac{1}{3} - \frac{1}{3.5^3} + \frac{1}{5.5^5} - \frac{1}{7.5^7} + \dots \right) - 4 \left(\frac{1}{239} - \frac{1}{3.239^3} + \frac{1}{5.239^5} - \dots \right)$$

In this tract, the doctor points out analogous means of striking out still better series; and in the next tract he gives 'a new and general method of finding simple and quickly converging series; by which the proportion of the diameter of a circle to its circumference may easily be computed to a great many places of figures.' Much, it is evident, from the preceding sketch of Machin's method, depends upon the happy assumption of the numbers which measure the tangents. Dr. Halley employed the arc of 30° , of which the tangent is $\sqrt{\frac{1}{3}}$; and by substituting this in the preceding series for the arc in terms of the tangent, got this series for the semicircumference, viz. $6\sqrt{\frac{1}{3}} \times (1 - \frac{1}{5.3} + \frac{1}{5.3^3} - \frac{1}{7.3^5} + \frac{1}{9.3^7} - \dots)$: by means of which Mr. Abraham Sharp computed the circumference to 72 places, Machin to 100, and Delagny to 128 places. Euler again, in his '*Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum*,' finding that $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{239}$ are the tangents of two arcs whose sum is just 45° , obtained from thence two very convenient series for the determination of the circumference. Other useful series by Dr. R. Simson may be seen in the appendix to the memoirs of his life and writings, lately published

published by Dr. Trail; others by Mr. Hellins in his essays; and by Mr. Wallace, in a late volume of the Edinburgh Transactions. Dr. Hutton's, however, is a *general method*, which, while it is more universal than those of Machin, Euler, and Simson, includes their series, and at the same time furnishes a great variety of other series of rapid convergency.

'The method consists in finding out such small arcs as have for tangents some small and simple vulgar fractions, the radius being denoted by 1, and such also that some multiple of those arcs shall differ from an arc of 45° , the tangent of which is equal to the radius, by other small arcs, which also shall have tangents denoted by other such small and simple vulgar fractions. For it is evident, that if such a small arc can be found, some multiple of which has such a proposed difference from an arc of 45° , then the length of these two small arcs will be easily computed from the general series, because of the smallness and simplicity of their tangents; after which, if the proper multiple of the first arc be increased or diminished by the other arc, the result will be the length of an arc of 45° , or one-eighth of the circumference. And the manner in which I discover such arcs is this:

'Let T, t , denote any two arcs, of which T is the greater, and t the less: then it is known that the tangent of the difference of the corresponding arcs is equal to $\frac{T-t}{1+Tt}$. Hence, if t , the tangent of the smaller arc, be successively denoted by each of the simple fractions, $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}$, &c. the general expression for the tangent of the difference between the arcs will become respectively $\frac{2T-1}{2+T}, \frac{3T-1}{3+T}, \frac{4T-1}{4+T}, \frac{5T-1}{5+T}$, &c.; so that if T be expounded by any given number, then these expressions will give the tangent of the difference of the arcs in known numbers, according to the values of t , severally assumed respectively. And if, in the first place, T be equal to 1, the tangent of 45° , the foregoing expressions will give the tangent of an arc, which is equal to the difference between that of 45° and the first arc; or that of which the tangent is one of the numbers $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}$, &c. Then, if the tangent of this difference, just now found, be taken for T , the same expressions will give the tangent of an arc, equal to the difference between that of 45° and the triple of the first arc. And again, taking this last found tangent for T , the same theorem will produce the tangent of an arc equal to the difference between that of 45° and the quadruple of the first arc; and so on, always taking for T the tangent last found, the same expressions will give the tangent of the difference between the arc of 45° and the next greater multiple of the first arc; or that of which the tangent was at first assumed equal to one of the small numbers $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{5}$, &c. This operation, being continued till some of the expressions give such a fit, small, and simple fraction as is required, is then at an end; for we have then found two such small tangents as were required, viz. the tangent last found, and the tangent first assumed.'

The

The Doctor then proceeds to exemplify this method by a variety of substitutions, and thus obtains a collection of very valuable series, of which, however, we can only extract one or two. Thus, in the case of $t = \frac{1}{4}$, the expression $\frac{4T-1}{4+T}$ gives for the successive tangents $\frac{3}{4}, \frac{7}{12}, \frac{5}{8}, -\frac{7}{10}, \&c.$ of which the third is a convenient number, and gives for Λ the arc of 45° ,

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{3}{4} \times (1 - \frac{1}{3 \cdot 16} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot 16^2} - \frac{1}{7 \cdot 16^3} +, \&c.) \\ + \frac{5}{8} \times (1 - \frac{1}{3 \cdot 99} + \frac{1}{5 \cdot 99^2} - \frac{1}{7 \cdot 99^3} +, \&c.) \end{array} \right.$$

This is obviously a very compendious series for operation, since 99 is resolvable into the two simple factors 9 and 11.

Another excellent series is the following :

$$\Lambda = \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{4}{5} \times (1 + \frac{4}{3 \cdot 10} + \frac{8\alpha}{5 \cdot 10} + \frac{12\beta}{7 \cdot 10} +, \&c.) \\ - \frac{7}{30} \times (1 + \frac{4}{3 \cdot 100} + \frac{8\alpha}{5 \cdot 100} + \frac{12\beta}{7 \cdot 100} +, \&c.) \end{array} \right.$$

Where $\alpha, \beta, \gamma, \delta, \&c.$ denote always the preceding terms in each series. For other series we refer to the paper itself; which is highly ingenious.

Volume the second contains nine tracts, of which the first, the twenty-sixth in the series, is 'An Account of the Calculations made from the Survey and Measures taken at Mount Shichallin, in order to ascertain the mean Density of the Earth: improved from the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 68, for the year 1778.' This is a truly excellent paper, and the calculations, of which it exhibits the results, were more laborious, and, at the same time, called for more ingenuity than has, we believe, been brought into action in any computation undertaken by a single person since the preparation of logarithmic tables. The survey, and the astronomical observations upon which these calculations were founded, were made partly by the direction and partly under the inspection of Dr. Maskelyne, who explained them pretty fully in the Philosophical Transactions for 1775. In that paper, he adverted to some of the advantages which might accrue from these observations; yet, notwithstanding his well known zeal, diligence, and scientific acquirements, he declined the computations as too laborious. Dr. Hutton, on the solicitation of the council of the Royal Society, undertook the task; and, after the constant labour of nearly a year, laid the results before the society in this paper. It will not be expected that we should enter into a detailed account of his processes; yet, that our readers may form some idea of what he effected, we subjoin a sketch.

In the first place, the trigonometrical computations, by which he found the relative altitudes of all the points of the hill, with respect to the assumed stations of the observatories, amounted to several thousands. Then, in order to the determination of the effect of the hill's attraction in the direction of the meridian, the doctor divided the plan, or horizontal section, into a great number of small parts, which he considered as the bases of so many vertical columns, or pillars of matter, as it were basaltine pillars; the attractions of these were computed separately, and the aggregate of the effects taken for the whole attraction of the matter in the hill. In order to simplify the computation, he divided the plan into twenty rings by equidistant concentric circles, described about each observatory as a center; each quadrant was divided into twelve parts, or sectors, by lines forming with the meridian angles whose sines were in arithmetical progression: thus the space in each quadrant was divided into 240 small parts, making 1920 such parts referred to both observatories, that is, 960 to the observatory on each side of the hill. These small parts were quadrilateral figures, of which two sides were similar arcs of concentric circles, and the other two sides right lines converging towards the common center of those circles. The doctor investigated a very simple rule for determining the attraction of each of the pillars that stand upon these quadrilateral bases; and thus, after striking out a variety of ingenious devices, by which columns of the same altitude might be connected, computations might be facilitated by a peculiar kind of sliding rule, results tabulated, &c. he at length arrived at the wished for conclusion. He found that $8811\frac{2}{3}$ is the sum of the opposite attractions of the hill at the two observatories; he also showed that the attraction of a sphere will be expressed by $\frac{2}{3}$ of its circumference, that is, in the case of the earth, by 87522720 or $\frac{2}{3}$ of 131284080 feet.

Consequently (says our investigator) the whole attraction of the earth, is to the sum of the two contrary attractions of the hill, as the number 87522720 to $8811\frac{2}{3}$, that is, as 9933 to 1, very nearly, on supposition that the density of the matter in the hill, is equal to the mean density of that in the whole earth.

But the astronomer royal found, by his observations, that the sum of the deviations of the plumb line produced by the two contrary attractions, was 11.6 seconds. Hence then, it is to be inferred, that the attraction of the earth is actually to the sum of the attractions of the hill, nearly as radius to the tangent of 11.6 seconds, that is, as 1 to .000056239, or as 17781 to 1; or as 17804 to 1 nearly, after allowing for the centrifugal force arising from the rotation of the earth about its axis.

Having now obtained the two results, namely, that which arises from the actual observations, and that belonging to the computation on the

the supposition of an equal density in the two bodies, the two proportions compared must give the ratio of their densities, which accordingly is that of 17804 to 9933, or 1434 to 800 nearly, or almost as 9 to 5. And so much does the mean density of the earth exceed that of the hill.

Hence it appears that the real mean density of the earth will become known as soon as that of the hill has been ascertained. In Dr. Hutton's original papers, the assumed density of the hill appears to have been too low, and he thence deduced $4\frac{1}{2}$ for the mean density of the earth, that of water being unity? Professor Playfair, however, furnished him with more correct data as to the nature of the matter of which Shichallin was composed: from these he inferred that the mean density of the hill was about $2\frac{1}{2}$, which multiplied into $\frac{9}{2}$, gives $\frac{9}{2}$ or almost 5 for the mean density of the earth. This result Dr. Hutton published in the *New Abridgement of the Philosophical Transactions* in 1808, and it has been completely confirmed by Professor Playfair, in an independent investigation given in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1811.

The 28th is a very comprehensive and useful tract on cubic equations and infinite series, first published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1780. In this the author enters fully into the nature and solution of this class of equations, and shews that when the second term of a cubic is taken away, and it is reduced to the form $x^3 \pm px = \pm q$, the sign of p determines the nature of the roots as to real and imaginary, while the sign of q determines the affections of the roots as to positive and negative: he shows farther that Cardan's rule does not always give the *greatest* root, as has been commonly supposed; and he explains in a very satisfactory manner why it should always exhibit the root of a cubic under the form of an imaginary quantity, where it has no imaginary roots, and in no other case. In the second section he develops several methods of assigning the roots of cubic equations by means of series, and thence proceeds to show how the sums of a great variety of curious and useful infinite series may be ascertained by means of their dependance upon certain cubic equations. This paper contains a rich fund of information for all who are interested in this intricate department of algebra.

Of the four succeeding tracts, one contains a project for a new division of the quadrant, adapting the tables of sines, tangents, secants, &c. to equal parts of the radius, instead of to equal parts of the quadrantal arc; and exhibits several useful formulæ to facilitate the computations: the second, on the sections of spheroids and conoids, demonstrates in a much simpler manner than had been previously done by Herman and Pitot, that 'if any solid formed by the rotation of a conic section about its axis, i. e. a spheroid, paraboloid,

paraboloid, or hyperboloid, be cut by a plane in any position, the section will be some conic section, and all the parallel sections will be similar figures of the same name: the third contains some elegant theorems on the comparison of curves; and the fourth exhibits a simple theorem for the cube root of a binomial.

The 33d tract comprizes 'a History of Algebra' much enlarged and improved from the article ALGEBRA in the author's Mathematical Dictionary. The additions relate principally to the algebra of India and Arabia, and to that of the Italians before Lucas de Burgo. In treating of the Indian algebra, our author gives an abridged account of two works called the 'Beej Gunnit' and the 'Leelawuttee' or 'Lilawati,' both written, as it would seem, in the 12th century; and clearly proving that the Indians, from very ancient times, possessed all the knowledge in algebra to be found not only in Diophantus, but in the works of the Italians, &c. previously to the improvements made in the time of Tartalia and Cardan, and that even in a more scientific form. They had also a considerable acquaintance with the theory of series and figurate numbers, a circumstance which is the more remarkable, since it does not appear that the Europeans had made the simplest advances in this branch of analytics before the time of Dr. Wallis, who thought the conversion of the fraction $\frac{1}{1-R}$ into a series by

division, sufficient to give honour to the day on which it was effected. Some of the ancients, it is true, as Archimedes* in his treatises on spheroids and conoids, and in that on the parabola, and Pappus in the fourth book of his Mathematical Collections, investigated many curious theorems respecting series of magnitudes varying by an assigned law; but it is next to impossible that their works should have been known to the Indians; and, indeed, the theorems extracted by Dr. Hutton from the Lilawati bear no resemblance to those of the ancient geometers.

In the Beej Gunnit are many ingenious rules for quadratic equations:

'One of the cases is for the equation $ax^2 + bx = c$, and the method given is this: multiply all by $4a$, this gives $4a^2x^2 + 4abx = 4ac$; next add the square of b , this gives $4a^2x^2 + 4abx + b^2 = b^2 + 4ac$; the roots give $2ax + b = \sqrt{(b^2 + 4ac)}$; then $x = \frac{\sqrt{(b^2 + 4ac)} - b}{2a}$, which process, by avoiding fractions, is much easier than our own method in such cases of quadratics.'

The same work also contains observations respecting the double roots in quadratics.

* See pp. 97, 100, of our 3d volume, where an account of Peyrard's Archimedes is given.

'The unknown quantities are represented and called by so many different characters and names, as is our practice also. We denote them usually by the letters x, y, z , &c. the Hindoos by different colours, or letters, or other marks also. Thus,' says our author, 'suppose the first unknown, and the second black, and the third blue, and the fourth yellow, and the fifth red, and the sixth green, and the seventh parti-coloured, and so on, giving whatever names you please to the unknown quantities which you wish to discover; and if, instead of these colours other names are supposed, such as letters and the like, it may be done. For what is required, is to find out the unknown quantities, and the object in giving names is that you may distinguish the things required.'

Several of the processes here given for solving Diophantine problems are very ingenious. The 18th question of Diophantus's 6th book is: Having two numbers given, if one of these drawn into a certain square, and the other subtracted from the product, make a square, it is required to find another square greater than the former which shall do the same.

'In the Beej Gunnit (says Dr. Hutton) this problem is solved very generally and scientifically, by the assistance of another, which was unknown in Europe till the middle of the 17th century, and first applied to questions of this nature by Euler in the middle of the 18th century. With the affirmative sign, the Beej Gunnit rule for finding new values of $ax^2 + b = y^2$, is this: suppose $ag^2 + b = h^2$, a particular case: find m and n such that $an^2 + 1 = m^2$; then is $x = mg + nh$, and $y = mh + ang$.'

In imitation of the method of completing the square in quadratics where the power has a coefficient, they have one of completing the powers in some peculiar cases of cubics and biquadratics.

'Thus, having the cubic equation $x^3 + 12x = 6x^2 + 35$; first, subtracting $6x^2$, gives $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x = 35$; next, subtracting 8, gives $x^3 - 6x^2 + 12x - 8 = 27$, which completes the binomial cubic, and the roots are $x - 2 = 3$, or $x = 5$. Again, having given the imperfect biquadratic $x^4 - 400x - 2x^2 = 9999$, a case which it is not very obvious how to bring it to a complete power, but which is managed with much address, in this manner. First add $400x + 1$ to both sides, this gives $x^4 - 2x^2 + 1 = 10000 + 400x$, where the first side is a complete square, and the roots are $x^2 - 1 = \sqrt{10000 + 400x}$; but as the latter side is not a complete square, the author goes back again, and tries another course; thus, to the original equation he adds $4x^2 + 400x + 1$, which gives $x^4 + 2x^2 + 1 = 4x^2 + 400x + 10000$, two complete squares, the roots of which are $x^2 + 1 = 2x + 100$: again subtract $2x$ and it becomes $x^2 - 2x + 1 = 100$, which are again two complete squares, the roots of which are $x - 1 = 10$, and hence $x = 11$. And this process has some resemblance to that which was afterwards practised, if not imitated, by Lewis Ferrari. It appears, however, that

the Indians had no general method for all equations of these two powers, but only depended on their own ingenuity for artfully managing some particular cases of them; for at the conclusion of the above process the author emphatically adds, "the solution of such questions as these depends on correct judgment, together with the assistance of God."

The Beej Gunnit contains several curious specimens of problems in the application of algebra to geometry, from the solutions to which it is evident that the Indians were well acquainted with the chief properties relating to plane geometry in Euclid's Elements. The 47th problem of the first book is cited under the designation of '*the figure of the bride's chair*,' in reference to the similarity of the diagram employed in the Indian mode of demonstration to a palanquin; and in one of the solutions the author of the Beej Gunnit observes, that 'the sum of the sides is always greater than the hypotenuse, *by the ass's proposition*,' from which it would seem, that the Indians as well as the Europeans have their *pons asinorum*.

This interesting account of the Indian algebra is followed by a description of the Arabian algebra, abridged principally from Mr. Davis's account of the '*Khulasat-ul-Hisab*,' written by Baha ul-din, who died at Isfahan in the year 1653. We have here some curious particulars respecting the Arabian notation, for which, however, we must refer to the work before us. It is obvious from the whole, that the knowledge of mathematics, and of algebra especially, among the Arabians, was much inferior to that possessed by the Indians: they had no algebraic notation, no abbreviating symbols, no acquaintance with the indeterminate or Diophantine analysis, nor with any thing more than the easiest and elementary parts of the science.

Dr. Hutton next traces the history of algebra among the Italians, beginning with Leonard Bónacci, of Pisa, who about 1223 solved quadratics by completing the square, deriving his rules, and even the *double values* in the possible case of the equation $x^2 + n = ax$, from geometrical considerations. The history is carried on with great research, and so as to furnish an excellent treatise on the science, to the end of the 17th century. As far as it goes it may be characterised as elaborate and satisfactory, and we have only to hope that the same masterly hand will, by selecting and classifying the additions and improvements made by Clairaut, Euler, Landen, Bezout, Waring, Lagrange, Lacroix, &c. bring it down to the termination of the 18th century.

We have now arrived at those tracts which, however interesting and important many of the preceding papers may be, will tend principally to stamp upon this work, in the estimation of the scientific world, its peculiar character of value and excellence; namely, those which relate to the theory and practice of gunnery and

and the resistance of fluids. They occupy about 400 pages in the 2d and 3d volumes, and have in part appeared before in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and in the *Doctor's quarto tracts*, though the greater portion is original. Such of our readers as are at all conversant with the history of mixed mathematics, and especially that branch of it which relates to projectiles, know that the parabolic theory is of no farther use than as it furnishes a set of very elegant constructions and examples for young geometricians; and that, before the time of Robins, no progress, in effect, had been made in the true theory of military projectiles. And even after his valuable work, '*The New Principles of Gunnery*,' had been published, and translated with the addition of a profound and elaborate commentary, by Euler, there still remained much to do in order to bring us acquainted with the real nature of the expansive force of gunpowder, the actual velocities of shot at the commencement of their motion or in different points of their path, the laws of the resistance experienced by balls and shells in their motion, and the true nature of the curve they describe: Borda and others had greatly extended the theory, but principally by means of gratuitous, and as is now known, inaccurate assumptions respecting the resistance of the air. In order, therefore, that this important and intricate department of philosophy might receive some essential improvement, it became desirable that a person possessing an active and ardent mind, with habits of regularity and perseverance, should be so circumstanced as to have both the inclination to enter upon this peculiar investigation, and the means of pursuing it: and this, by a happy coincidence, occurred by the late Duke of Richmond (a man of science and of great public spirit) being master-general of the ordnance just at the period when Dr. Hutton was, with all the zeal and activity of the meridian of life, discharging the duties of the mathematical professorship at the Royal Military Academy.

The mathematical sciences are taught at this institution with a view to their application to military purposes, and particularly to the practice of artillery: and Dr. Hutton was not likely to rest satisfied with affecting to teach, *swlat*, in truth, there were no data for teaching properly. He knew that if the doctrine of projectiles were ever to be so exalted as to become an integral part of mathematical science, it must rest upon the basis of well conducted experiment. He therefore began a series so early as the year 1775; and afterward carried on a far more extensive one, under the auspices of the Duke of Richmond (and officially under the direction of General Sir Thomas Blomfield) during the summers of 1783 and of many succeeding years.

The 34th tract contains a minute account of the experiments of every day, with a register of the weather, wind, thermometer, &c. For this we must refer to the tract itself, as well as for a description of the ballistic pendulum and other machinery employed in these experiments. Our limits will barely allow us to quote a few of the most important deductions.

‘ And first, it is made evident by the experiments in 1775, that powder fires almost *instantaneously*, seeing that nearly the whole of the charge fires, though the time be much diminished.

‘ (2.) The velocities communicated to shot of the same weight, with different quantities of powder, are nearly in the subduplicate ratio of those quantities. A very small variation, in defect, taking place when the quantities of powder become great.

‘ (3.) And when shot of different weights are fired with the same quantity of powder, the velocities communicated to them, are nearly in the reciprocal subduplicate ratio of their weights.

‘ (4.) So that, universally, shot which are of different weights, and impelled by the firing of different quantities of powder, acquire velocities which are directly as the square roots of the quantities of powder, and inversely as the square roots of the weights of the shot, nearly.

‘ (5.) It would therefore be a great improvement in artillery, to make use of shot of a long form, or of heavier matter; for thus the momentum of a shot, when fired with the same weight of powder, would be increased in the ratio of the square root of the weight of the shot.

‘ (6.) It would also be an improvement, to diminish the windage: for, by so doing, one third or more of the quantity of powder might be saved.

‘ (7.) When the improvements mentioned in the last two articles are considered as both taking place, it is evident that about half the quantity of powder might be saved, which is a very considerable object. But, important as this saving may be, it seems to be still exceeded by that of the guns: for thus a small gun may be made to have the effect and execution of one of two or three times the weight of its natural ball, or round shot: and thus a small ship might discharge shot as heavy as those of the greatest now made use of.’

‘Such were the information, and the probable advantages, derivable from the experiments in 1775: they led to the invention of carronades, a species of ordnance which, by means of large balls, and very small windage, produce considerable effects with small charges of powder.

In the description of his second course of experiments, which is carried on after the manner of a journal, occurs one of those touches of goodness and simplicity which we have had frequent occasions to admire in the course of our proceeding.

‘ August 31, 1785. I took out with me, and employed the first class of gentlemen cadets belonging to the Royal Military Academy, namely,

namely, Messrs. Bartlett, Rowley, De Butts, Bryce, W. Fenwick, Pilkington, Edridge, and Watkins, who have gone through the science of fluxions, and have applied it to several important considerations in natural philosophy. Those gentlemen I have voluntarily offered and undertaken to introduce to the practice of these experiments, with the application of the theory of them, which they have before studied under my care. For, though it be not my academy duty, I am desirous of doing this for their benefit, and as much as possible to assist the eager and diligent studies of so learned and amiable a class of young gentlemen; who, as well as the whole body of students now in the upper academy, form the best set of young men I ever knew in my life; nay, I did not think it even possible, in our state of society in this country, for such a number of gentlemen to exist together in the constant daily habits of so much regularity and good manners; their behaviour being indeed perfectly exemplary, such as would do honour to the purest and most perfect state of society that ever existed in the world: and I have no hesitation in predicting the great honour and future services, which will doubtless be rendered to the state by such eminent instances of virtue and abilities.

Many of the results of this extensive series of experiments, are extremely important: but we must content ourselves with a very concise summary. After observing that they confirm the deductions from the former course, Dr. Hutton proceeds—

‘ It farther appears also, that the velocity of the ball increases with the increase of charge only to a certain point, which is peculiar to each gun, where it is greatest; and that by farther increasing the charge, the velocity gradually *diminishes*, till the bore is quite full of powder. That this charge for the greatest velocity is greater as the gun is longer, but yet not greater in so high a proportion as the length of the gun is; so that the part of the bore filled with powder, bears a less proportion to the whole bore in the long guns, than it does in the shorter ones; the part which is filled being indeed nearly in the inverse ratio of the square root of the empty part.

‘ It appears too, that the velocity, with equal charges, always increases as the gun is longer; though the increase in velocity is but very small in comparison with the increase in length; the velocities being in a ratio somewhat less than that of the square roots of the length of the bore, but greater than that of the cube roots of the same, and is indeed nearly in the middle ratio between the two.

‘ It appears, again, from the table of ranges, that the range increases in a much lower ratio than the velocity, the gun and elevation being the same. And when this is compared with the proportion of the velocity and length of the gun in the last paragraph, it is evident that we gain *extremely little* in the range by a *great* increase in the length of the gun, with the same charge of powder. In fact, the range is nearly as the 5th root of the length of the bore; which is so small an increase, as to amount only to about a 7th part more range for a double length of gun.

gun. From the same table it also appears, that the time of the ball's flight is nearly as the range; the gun and elevation being the same.

It has been found, by these experiments, that no difference is caused in the velocity, or the range, by varying the weight of the gun, nor by the use of wads, nor by different degrees of ramming, nor by firing the charge of powder in different parts of it. But that a very great difference in the velocity arises from a small degree in the windage: indeed with the usual established windage only, viz. about $\frac{1}{30}$ th of the calibre, no less than between $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the powder escapes and is lost: and as the balls are often smaller than the regulated size, it frequently happens that half the powder is lost by unnecessary windage.

It appears too, that the resisting force of wood, to balls fired into it, is not constant: and that the depths penetrated by balls, with different velocities or charges, are nearly as the *logarithms* of the charges, instead of being as the charges themselves, or, which is the same thing, as the square of the velocity.—Lastly, these and most other experiments, show, that balls are greatly deflected from the direction in which they are projected: and that frequently as much as 300 or 400 yards in a range of a mile, or almost $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the range.

Tract 36th describes a series of extensive and well-conducted experiments upon Robins's whirling machine, to determine the resistance of the air. These, together with those made by firing balls from artillery, constitute a complete and connected series of resistances to balls, from the slow velocities of 5 or 10 feet per second, to the rapid velocities of 1900 and 2000 feet. It appears from an examination of the results, that though the resistances are nearly as the squares of the velocities in very slow motions, they are never exactly so. The exponent of the velocity indicating the resistance *always* exceeds 2. At 200 feet per second that exponent is 2.028: at 500 feet it is 2.042: at 1000 feet it is 2.115: from thence it keeps gradually increasing up to the velocity of 1500 or 1600 feet per second, where the exponent is 2.153: and from this velocity the exponent gradually diminishes, being 2.156 at the velocity of 2000 feet, the limit of the experiments.

That the resistance should not be accurately as the square of the velocity, must be evident to every one who attentively reflects upon the subject. But Dr. Hutton has gone farther, and at pp. 221, 222 of the third volume, has very satisfactorily developed the causes of the variable exponent in the ratio of the resistance. He has also investigated three or four theorems for the resistance of balls; of which the following appears to be both accurate and convenient in use. Let v be the velocity in feet with which a ball, whose diameter is d feet, moves in air near the earth's surface, then will the resistance in avoirdupois pounds be expressed by the formula ($.000007565 v^3 - .00175 v$) d^2 .

Dr.

Dr. Hutton, having deduced the law of resistances to spherical bodies moving in the air, proceeds in a series of important problems in Tract 37 to apply it to the determination of the most essential particulars in the motion of military projectiles. Here many of the solutions are both elegant and satisfactory. But the grand problem by which the actual trajectory of the projectile may be determined still remains unsolved, and must do until some philosopher possessing an adequate portion of Dr. Hutton's science and zeal, shall be so favourably circumstanced as to carry through another set of experiments with a special regard to that object. We shall terminate our quotations, by transcribing our author's new approximate rule to find the elevation of a gun to hit an object at a given distance.

' Let D denote the given distance of the object in feet; d the diameter of the ball in inches, obtained from the table of weights and diameters in problem 10; b the weight of the ball, and c that of the charge of powder, both in pounds; $V = 1600 \sqrt{\frac{2c}{b}}$ the projectile velocity, as given in problem 13; v , the last velocity with which the ball strikes the object; and t the time of the ball's flight. Then

' Divide D by $1338 d$, considering the quotient $\frac{D}{1338 d}$ as a log.

' Take $N =$ the natural number of the log. $\frac{D}{1338 d}$.

' Take $v = \frac{V-q}{N} + q$ the final velocity; q being $= 231$.

' And $t = \frac{1338 d}{q} + \log. \text{ of } \left(\frac{V-q}{v-q} \cdot \frac{v}{V} \right)$ by problem 11.

' Or $t = \frac{2D}{V+v}$, an approximation near enough.

' Then, $16 t^2 = \frac{64 D^2}{(V+v)^2}$ is the height above the object to be pointed.

' Or $\frac{16 t^2}{D} = \frac{64 D}{(V+v)^2}$ is the tangent of the angle of elevation.

' So that, the height of the mark to be pointed at, above the object, is nearly as the square of the distance, and the angle of elevation simply as the distance, the projectile velocity being the same. But, in the case of different velocities, the height and the angle will be reciprocally as the square of the velocity nearly.'

It will be recollected that our author gives the above merely as an approximation. We have been at the pains to apply it to the results of a great many accurate experiments by Dr. Hutton and others; and find that if the angle of elevation obtained by these theorems be diminished by its *fifteenth* part, it will then agree very nearly with the actual practice of artillery.

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The 38th and last tract in this collection contains 34 miscellaneous practical problems, illustrating many of the principles in the preceding part of the work. But of these we dare not, after looking back on what we have written, say more than that the solutions are ingenious and accurate; with the exception of the second, which relates to the effects of pile engines, and appears to need revision.

Dr. Hutton has long been the most popular of all our mathematical writers, and the perusal of these volumes has convinced us, that there are obvious reasons for this popularity, which promises to be as permanent as it is extensive. He seems to have a constitutional, if not a conscientious, aversion from the pedantry and parade of science. He never, by affecting to be abstruse, becomes obscure: nor does he ever slide into digressions, for the purpose of shewing how much he knows of other things besides the topic of discussion. Hence he is at once concise and perspicuous. He manifestly rather writes to be useful than to obtain celebrity. He is also perpetually aiming at improvements in every thing which he has undertaken. Whoever has occasion to compare the successive editions of his '*Course of Mathematics*,' will find that the work was not abandoned to its fate as soon as its fame was established; but that it has been constantly modified wherever it was susceptible of improvement. Nor was this merely a habit of the prime of life: for, on comparing the solutions now given to some problems on his favourite subject of projectiles, with those which had previously been inserted in the third volume of the *Course* composed by Dr. Hutton in conjunction with Dr. Gregory, it will be seen that his mind has, in this respect, lost nothing of its vigour, energy, and perspicacity.

ART. X. *The Life of John Knox, containing Illustrations of the History of the Reformation in Scotland, with Biographical Notices of the principal Reformers, and Sketches of the Progress of Literature in Scotland, during a great Part of the Sixteenth Century.* By Thomas M'Cric, Minister of the Gospel. Edinburgh.

KNOX was one of those characters, who from their spirit and genius, the impetuosity of their tempers, and the eventful times in which they lived, are rarely spoken of, even at a distant period, without extravagant panegyric or unqualified obloquy. This is peculiarly the lot of those who have signalized themselves as the leaders in religious commotions. The object is momentous, and

and the passions are agitated in proportion. On one side are arranged self-interest, ancient prejudice, possession, prescription, authority; on the other the most animated and animating of human principles, conscience newly awakened, a sense of usurpation newly acquired, disdain of fetters which are beginning to fall off, and the pleasure of defying those whom men have been accustomed to reverence. Hence in every cause and on every scale, from the petty but cannibal feuds of Egyptian fanatics to the mighty contests of the League and of the Crusaders, religious warfare has been conducted with a rancour peculiar to itself. But, as the weapons of this warfare are the tongue and the pen, as well as the sword, as the passions are thoroughly inflamed, and possessed of all the powers of giving vent to them which exasperated eloquence bestows, who can wonder that, during the heat of the contest, and even after it has ceased to be felt, otherwise than in its effects, the characters of the great leaders of either party continue to be distorted by panegyric and detraction;—who can wonder that the cool impartiality of later historians finds no small occupation in removing the varnish or washing away the stains, or that acuteness the most penetrating and inquiry the most impartial sometimes fail in detecting so many misrepresentations? It is strange, however, that, at the distance of no more than two centuries and a half, with abundant materials, and after the elaborate investigations of many ingenious men, it should still be controverted whether the Regent Murray were a tyrant or a patriot, an hypocrite or a saint, or even whether Knox himself were a furious and ambitious demagogue, the enemy of every thing elegant and sacred, or an intrepid and disinterested champion of truth and liberty.

To determine points of so much importance to the church of which Knox was the founder and Murray the 'nursing father,' the present biographer has applied himself with a zeal and devotion, which, if they do not always serve the cause of truth, give a glow and an interest to the whole work, rarely communicated to biography, when it did not breathe the spirit of personal friendship or domestic affection. But in treating this subject, a fatality seems to hang over its Scottish and even its English advocates. Passion and prejudice when applied to the History of the Reformation in Scotland, seem to be immortal, and the respective partizans enter upon their task with all the interest of agents, indeed of principals, in the story which they discuss. Some, and those in other respects of good understandings, seem to have been perfectly demented: all power of examining or comprehending evidence appears to have fled before the vehemence of their feelings, and the little argument which they have been able to produce is suffocated beneath a load of passionate declamation and personal abuse.

The feelings and the prejudices of Dr. M'Crie are more chastized, and always under the command of a clear and strong understanding. A thorough Presbyterian in his religious principles, and a determined Whig in his politics, the colouring of his picture is always aggravated; the lights are heightened and the shades darkened by the prepossessions of his church and of his country: the outline, however, is not distorted. He is a warm, but an honest man. He is a Scotchman, but a friend of truth. With great powers of expression, as well as considerable heat of temper, he never descends to railing. He detests the church of Rome; he loves not the church of England; but he exposes the enormities of the former with fidelity and force, though not with malignity, and he censures what he conceives to be imperfect in the reformation of the latter, with an effect which would have been lessened by indecent invective. A vein of sarcastic wit alone now and then betrays him, as it did his master, into undue asperity as well as levity of expression.

These offences, however prompted by national prepossessions, however restrained by decorum, we scruple not to confess, would have been visited on the head of a dull or a shallow man with greater severity: for we too have our attachments, and even our prejudices; we love the constitution, we love the order and decency of the church of England; we prefer the beauties of our own liturgy to the best extemporaneous effusions of the wisest of the Scottish doctors; we see no connection between sordidness and devotion, nor should we have expected from a man of Dr. M'Crie's enlarged understanding so much of the spirit of old 'Mass John,' such indignation against a surplice or a rochet, things which, with our countrymen, not only have ceased to give offence, but have the great body of popular opinion in their favour. Still, however, to talents like his much will always be forgiven; and such are the merits of the work almost in every other particular, that we feel ourselves disposed, as far as justice will permit, to be blind or dumb to a single fault.

Dr. M'Crie is really a great biographer, such as it has not been the lot of Knox's equals, or even his superiors, always to attain: for, however ably the characters of Luther and Calvin have been treated in the general histories of their times, where has either of them found a biographer like the present? The *Life of Erasmus*, an animating subject and worthy of a man of genius, if any such there be within the compass of modern literature, has been frigidly written by Knight, and confusedly by Jortin; nay even in our present Number we have an instance of a most original and strongly marked contemporary and countryman of our own, consigned to prejudices

prejudices greater than those of Dr. M'Crie, prejudices chilled by mediocrity to which he is a stranger; while they are not redeemed by one of his excellences.

Compact and vigorous, often coarse but never affected, without tumour and without verbosity, we can scarcely forbear to wonder by what effort of taste and discrimination the style of Dr. M'Crie has been preserved so nearly unpolluted by the disgusting and circumlocutory nonsense of his contemporaries. Here is no puling about the 'interesting sufferer,' 'the patient saint,' 'the angelic preacher.' Knox is plain Knox; in acting and in suffering always an hero, and his story is told as an hero would wish that it should be told, with simplicity, precision, and force. Dr. M'Crie's materials are both ample and original: since beside an intimate acquaintance with the best authors who were contemporary with his subject, and the MS. authorities which the records of the church of Scotland afford, he has fortunately possessed himself of an early transcript of the reformer's letters, glowing throughout with the same ardent feeling of devotion, and the same unconquerable spirit of liberty, which animated his discourses from the pulpit. To these materials the author has brought a power of combining and enlivening them peculiar to himself. He has many points of resemblance to his subject: a fortitude of mind which on subjects exploded and derided dares to look modern prejudices in the face; a natural and happy eloquence, with a power of discussion on subjects of casuistry and of politics not inferior to that of the great leader in the reformation of Scotland, though restrained by a decorum of expression to which the reformer's age, as well as himself, were strangers. To these qualifications are to be added the same stern renunciation of all taste and elegant feeling, where they appear to stand in the way of duty, and the same tendency to coarse (or what would now be called illiberal) humour on subjects where it is not altogether becoming. Like Knox himself he has neither a tear nor a sigh for Mary, and we doubt not that like him he would have voted to bring the royal adulteress and murderer, for such they both esteem her, to the block. In Dr. M'Crie the brutal merriment displayed by Knox on the assassination of Beaton excites no indignation, and the old definition of such sanctified and systematic murders, 'the execution of righteous judgment by private hands,' would probably be accepted without reluctance.

In a work so pregnant with original argument and reflection almost every page affords matter for animadversion: but we shall content ourselves with detaching from the text a few of the most prominent passages, and commenting upon them *en passant*.

Writers unfriendly to our reformer have endeavoured to fix an accusation

accusation upon him respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Some have ignorantly asserted that he was one of the conspirators, others better informed have argued that he made himself accessory to their crime by taking shelter among them. With more plausibility others have appealed to his writings as a proof that he vindicated the deed of the conspirators as laudable, or at least innocent. I know that some of Knox's vindicators have denied this charge, and maintained that he justified it only in as far as it was the work of God, or a just retribution in Providence for the crimes of which the Cardinal had been guilty, without approving the conduct of those who were the instruments of punishing him. The just judgment of Heaven is, I confess, the chief thing to which he directs the attention of his reader; at the same time I think no one, who carefully reads what he has written on this subject, can doubt that he justified the action of the conspirators. The truth is, he held the opinion that persons, who by the commission of flagrant crimes had forfeited their lives according to the law of God and the just laws of society, such as notorious tyrants and murderers, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice was rendered impossible in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive rulers. This was an opinion of the same kind with that of tyrannicide held by so many of the ancients and defended by Buchanan in his dialogue *De jure regni apud Scotos*. It is a principle, I confess, dangerous in its application, extremely liable to be abused by factions, fanatical, and desperate men, as a pretext for perpetrating the most nefarious deeds. It would be unjust, however, on this account to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination, a practice too common in that age. I may add, that there have been instances of persons, not invested with public authority, executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, though we cannot approve of their conduct.

Every thing in this passage is according to the ancient spirit of our author's country, as it existed under an ill-regulated and unsettled state of society, when the sovereign scrupled not to remove an obnoxious subject without law, and the subject, with as little formality, retorted the same unlicensed and pernicious vengeance on his sovereign. 'But whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed,' is a dictum of the Great Legislator to which Knox and his biographer bowed and bow with equal reverence, and the application of it has in ordinary cases been confined by all but an inconsiderable and fanatical sect of christians, who have narrowed the restriction still more, to the shedding of blood in defensive war, and to the right of the magistrate to use that sword, which we are assured he beareth not in vain, for the extermination

extermination of incorrigible offenders. We say in *ordinary cases*—for here we willingly lay out of the account, the right in mixed and well balanced governments which resides in one or more branches of the legislature to control, even by force, the enormities and usurpation of the rest. But the question is now, how far private individuals have a right, in any case of injustice or oppression, to inflict upon delinquent and tyrannical governors that vengeance which, from the very nature of the case, is unattainable by course of law. And here, for the good of society, we are compelled to affirm, that the whole argument upon which this supposed right is constructed, vacillates on every side.

With respect to tyrannicide:—not to remark on the indecent and inconsistent eagerness with which Knox and Buchanan could set up the examples of heathen antiquity against the Christian Scriptures, when the former made for their favourite doctrine, and the latter were either silent or prohibitory; the two cases have no analogy to each other. The instance directly in question is the assassination of Beaton. The tyrants of Greece were bold, bad men, who had subverted the ancient legitimate governments of their respective cities, and in maintenance of their usurped power shed the blood of their fellow-citizens, not only without but against all lawful authority. Beaton was indeed a profligate and a brutal man, but it would be hard to prove him a murderer even of Wishart, unless every judge who executes the laws with unrelenting rigour be entitled to that denomination. Let it be remembered that he was an ecclesiastical magistrate, regularly empowered to administer a system of jurisprudence, (a bad and cruel system we admit, but still a system,) by which heretics were consigned to a most painful death. As the law then stood, Wishart came fairly within that definition. He had publicly arraigned the doctrines of the established church, broken her order, despised her discipline, preached in private houses, and administered the communion without authority in places unconsecrated, and after a form of his own. For these offences, the primate of the kingdom apprehended, tried, and burnt him. Now here, if there were any murder, the law was the murderer and not the judge. Beaton, infamous as he was, did what, according to the principles of the age, a good man might have esteemed it his duty to do. Nor does this in any degree lessen the merit of Wishart. He appears to have devoted himself cheerfully to the cause of truth, and he probably had the sagacity to foresee the blessed consequences of so magnanimous a conduct. But admitting the criminality of Beaton, and at the same time allowing his situation to have been inaccessible to the ordinary forms of justice, even on the lax principle of expediency itself,

itself, were it not better for society, that an illustrious and overgrown offender should escape with impunity, than that private individuals, even if not parties, should be permitted to assume to themselves the summary execution of whatever they may please to call justice? For if this principle were once admitted as an exception to the ordinary administration of the law, what judge would be found to execute the office entrusted to him with vigour and decision, when, after carrying into effect a sentence of death pronounced by him, the friends of the deceased would have but to pronounce the execution a murder and the judge a tyrant, after which he would become of course an object of legitimate revenge?

Dr. M'Crie is extremely anxious, though he does not wholly approve the conduct of Beatoun's murderers, to discriminate between such cases and private assassination.* 'It would,' says he, 'be unjust on this account, to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination.' Were then these men, one of whom Knox indeed calls a man of 'nature most gentle and modest,' actuated by pure and disinterested love of religion, liberty, and justice? Were they or were they not the personal friends of Wishart: and had that martyr been less amiable, had his sufferings left a regret less pungent in the hearts of these very men, would the general 'principle' have operated with such instant and decisive effect to the destruction of his destroyer? Is a man then a cooler and more competent judge of the wrongs inflicted on a beloved friend, recently deprived of life by an iniquitous sentence, than of his own? For the honour of human nature, we think otherwise—but for this very reason, he is no more to be entrusted with the execution of vengeance in the one case than in the other. Strange indeed it is that these men who, on every other occasion, had the bible in their hands and its precepts in their mouths, should have forgotten this one confounding text—'Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves!'

But in the next place, admitting what cannot be denied, that the death of Beatoun was a benefit to his country—that it prevented, in all probability, a long course of bloodshed and cruelty, and that by one decisive stroke, it removed the great impediment to reformation—what was the commission these men had to shew for undertaking the work?—their own *opinion*, on this hypothesis, as their

* In a note he glances obliquely at the murder of Sharp, as a case admitting of considerable palliation. He probably classes it with that of Beatoun—and so do we: though we think very differently from our author as to the nature of both cases. But Sharp was an apostate as well as a persecutor, while Beatoun, though more atrocious, was more consistent in his cruelties.

own passions on the other. They were no branch of the legislature—they were not soldiers authorized in open war to kill and slay—they were not magistrates empowered to bring offenders to justice; and had they been the last, which for them perhaps is the most favourable supposition, where was the arraignment, the defence, the sentence? all transacted in a few minutes, with drawn swords, in the chamber of a trembling victim. In short, the only plea was that which is expressly condemned by their own scriptures, 'that of doing evil that good may come.'

The concluding sentence of this paragraph is equally exceptionable with the rest—'There have been instances of persons not invested with public authority executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, although we cannot approve of their conduct.' Dr. M'Crie's conception of this case is in the highest degree inaccurate and perplexed. For the fact being supposed, and also that it was committed with deliberation, the question is no longer, whether it be murder, manslaughter, or justifiable homicide, but whether it be murder or a meritorious act of justice. In other words, the 'actors' must either be loaded with the aggravated charge of murder, or their conduct must be wholly approved. There is no medium. In short, through the whole of this most obnoxious paragraph, there is a tendency, unperceived, we sincerely believe, by the author himself, and to which he has been betrayed by his absurd partiality for the hero of the cause of reformation in his country, to invert the charge of murder, by transferring it from the voluntary and unauthorized avengers of their slaughtered friends, to the judge who, with whatever circumstances of cruelty, acted under the authority of existing laws which he was regularly commissioned to execute.

The circumstances of the times, and an alarming symptom of depravation which has lately taken place in the English character, have compelled us to take up this subject with more than ordinary seriousness. Assassination has become dreadfully frequent among us: the diffusion of unprincipled publications among the lower ranks has also produced a generation of shallow and pernicious reasoners, who, either before or after the commission of such atrocious acts, may be served at a very cheap rate with drugs to lull their consciences asleep, by putting 'bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter.' The atrocious assassin of Mr. Percival was a reasoner upon these principles. Far be it from us to impute to a man like Dr. M'Crie any purpose of fostering principles so detestable; but as he seems not to have been aware of the tendency

of his own positions, it became our duty to the public to point them out.

One word more on this subject and we have done. What Knox thought of Beatoun's death, his own indecent and brutal narrative of the manner of it too clearly proves. We would now ask Dr. M'Crie whether his own ideas of a faithful minister allow him to justify the conduct of his hero on this occasion? If they do not, he was in duty bound to express himself with his usual clearness and decision on a point of such importance.

Knox entered the castle of St. Andrews soon after the assassination, and was called to the office of preacher. What then, we ask, was the condition of that company of whose consciences he had taken the direction? 'They had killed and also taken possession.' Their course began in bloodshed, continued in robbery, and ended in rebellion. Not content with dispatching the object of their hatred, they had displaced his servants, seized his goods, devoured his provisions, and turned his artillery against a force lawfully commissioned to reduce them. Under these circumstances, to what subjects did the young and zealous preacher betake himself, and on what topics did he principally insist—on the four kingdoms of Daniel, and the antichristian character of the Pope! Had Knox then not acquired the honesty or the boldness for which he became afterwards so famous? The preacher who so liberally applied the character of Jezebel to that of Mary, could he find no resemblance of Ahab in his own friends and companions? But he approved the slaughter. So it appears, and so much the worse for him. On what principles, however, of morality could he approve what followed—Necessity—that is, a necessity created by guilt? On the whole, we should have honoured the fairness of Dr. M'Crie as a biographer quite as much, if, in the midst of his declamations against the Catholics at this time, he had for once done them the justice to acknowledge their lenity to those conspirators in granting them the terms they did; in not insisting that the actual perpetrators of Beatoun's murder at least should be given up to public justice, that they might be consigned to the gibbet instead of the gallies. This is a tone and language which, in speaking of such a work, we should not have wished to assume; but the author and the times compel us to adopt it.

Such then were the instruments, very exceptionable, it ought to have been acknowledged, in themselves, which were nevertheless permitted by Providence to give the first blow in Scotland to a superstition at once the most cruel and degrading, which, under the name or semblance of Christianity, had ever darkened the understandings or enslaved the consciences of men.

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The next step in this great work we can contemplate with approbation. The aristocracy of that country, consisting of the nobility and lesser barons, had so long been accustomed to controul by force the enormities of their sovereigns, that their interference on great occasions may be regarded as constitutional. Accordingly, when a great and respectable portion (perhaps the majority) of this powerful body modestly demanded for themselves liberty of conscience and worship, and were refused; when for the same end alone, they next took arms, resolving to act upon the defensive; when they endeavoured by successive treaties to secure to themselves these great inalienable rights; and when, upon disarming again, they found every engagement violated and every concession revoked, they had recourse to a step less violent than had often been practised towards their sovereigns in person, we mean the suspension of the queen regent; and by degrees, with the voice of the nation on their side, in a peaceable and legislative manner, laid the foundation of that useful, moderate, and respectable establishment, which exists among their posterity to this day. This, if any could be, was justifiable resistance; resistance without rebellion—an interference not of a few fanatical individuals, to revenge themselves on an obnoxious judge, but of a great order in the state, embodied and armed for the purposes of securing to their country what no laws or institutions can justly take away, the rights of conscience.

In relating the triumphant progress of this revolution, we are far from being offended by the exulting tone which our biographer assumes: all that is dear to him in civil or religious polity was at stake; it was moreover the most illustrious period of his hero's life, and greater surely can no private man appear, than when by his talents, his spirit, and his eloquence, he is wielding, as inferior instruments, half the rank and power of his country in order to subvert an ancient and mischievous superstition, and to build on its basis a noble temple of truth and liberty.

But of the literal subversion of many noble buildings, which, perhaps unavoidably, took place in the course of this great revolution, Dr. M'Crie permits himself to speak with a savage and sarcastic triumph, which evinces how zealous and practical an helper he would himself have proved in the work of destruction, had he been born in the 16th century. Less, we are persuaded, would then have been heard of Rowe or Willock as auxiliaries of Knox, than of M'Crie. On the wailings of modern taste, when directed to this fashionable topic of invective, he has no compassion: nay, he most provokingly taunts the poor antiquaries with their obligations to Knox for having produced so many fine sub-

jects for the pencil and the graver. This is really more than can be borne: we must interpose to rescue from such ruffian hands an innocent and persecuted fraternity; and lest some poor artist, with pallet and pencil, should undertake a pilgrimage, in consequence of this ironical encouragement, to Perth and Scoon, the first scene of these outrages, or to St. Andrews, which was the second, we are in duty bound to inform him, that instead of picturesque and beautiful remains he will not find a vestige of those magnificent edifices which once adorned the former, and at the latter, one vast fragment alone will instruct him not what but where was once the metropolitan church of Scotland. It was to the subsequent dereliction of the edifices which Knox had spared, that almost every object of the pencil in that country is owing.

We are next to contemplate Knox actively employed in settling the infant church, a work in which he met with no small obstruction, in consequence of the arrival of the young queen, filled with all the prejudices of popery, and educated in all the licence of a voluptuous court. The poverty of the country which she came to govern; the intractable spirit of the people, the sour and inflexible humour of the reformers, all conspired to fill her with disgust against a situation and a religion so little resembling those which she had left behind. In his conversations with this princess, Knox seems to have copied the tone of the Jewish prophets, when reprehending by divine commission their idolatrous sovereigns. Nor was he much less formidable: for though unable like them to command the elements and to call down vengeance from above, he had at his command an exasperated people, to whom he was not backward in appealing against the mandates of his sovereign. The precipitancy, the profligacy, and we fear too, the unnatural cruelty of Mary herself, afforded to the cause of Reformation advantages which its best friends could neither have foreseen nor hoped, and by one of those astonishing interpositions which baffle all human calculation, the great and devoted patroness of the old religion became one of the most powerful means of establishing the new one.

Presbytery being now established in Scotland, we must be indulged (we are led to it by some curious and original information of our author) in some reflexions on the peculiar fitness of such an establishment for that country, and on the characters of its first champions compared with those who followed them, in another great national struggle, about a century later.

Presbytery, which, like a certain language,

is found

'To flourish most in barren ground,'

first

first sprung up among the rocks of Switzerland, and quickly found a congenial soil and climate when transplanted to the banks of the Tay and the Forth. Naturally allied to a republic, its maxims are in perpetual hostility with monarchic government. Its pretensions are higher than those of the primitive church under the first Christian emperors: it admits of no interference of civil authority with its own discipline; it claims, on the contrary, an unlimited right of discussing the conduct of civil governors in the pulpit. These principles, together with the vacillating politics of James the Sixth, and the unskilfully rigid attachment of his son to episcopacy, sufficiently account for all the contests between the kirk and the crown from the days of Knox to those of the covenant. But, during this interval, though principles remained the same, a new and far inferior race of men had sprung up to support them. Till very lately we have been accustomed to consider the first instruments of the reformation in Scotland as semibarbarians, men of strong minds indeed, great warmth and honesty, and of a powerful and awakening eloquence. The latter qualities, it is true, they enjoyed in perfection; but it is proved by Dr. M'Crie that they were also accomplished and elegant scholars. It has been elsewhere observed that nations sometimes attain to great perfection in the ornamental arts before they have learned those which minister to common convenience; and thus, at a period when the common people of Scotland were a barefooted rabble, with scarcely a chimney to their houses, robbing, plundering, and destroying each other with little restraint from law, and almost universal protection from their chiefs; there arose a race of scholars, who, in the midst of filth and smoke and poverty and an unsettled government, resolutely sacrificed to the Muses and the Graces of antiquity, till they had learned to compose in the Latin language with an ease and elegance unknown since the days of Augustus. To prove this singular fact we have only to quote Dr. M'Crie's well attested account of the family of John Rowe.

'The Grammar school of Perth was the most celebrated in the kingdom, and the noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children there (thither) for their education. Many of these were boarded with Mr. Rowe, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Mr. Rowe's house, but French. The passages of Scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English. If in the New Testament, they were read in Greek. His son John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, and at night he read the Hebrew chapter in the family.'

All this however might have been done, and many learned men might

with respect to events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the church in general.

Whatever may be thought of a fact so controverted even among wise and good men, it is impossible not to honour the fortitude of one who, in spite of the intolerant and persecuting spirit of incredulity which prevails at present, dares to avow the probability of it and to support it by an argument at once so rational and so unfashionable. With regard to the argument itself, though it may be easy to deride, it is impossible to confute it; for if 'no one can refute a sneer,' it must also be remembered, that a sneer can refute nothing.

The History of the Reformation in Scotland, with the exception of one book, has been irrefragably proved by our author to be the work of Knox: an undertaking in which Dr. M'Crie seems to have been aware that truth alone was indebted to him; for he speaks with no disrelish of the broad and coarse buffoonery with which it requires no fastidiousness of taste to be disgusted, and which can now no longer be imputed to some unknown and impertinent interpolator.

Many of Dr. M'Crie's readers have probably conceived of this 'son of thunder' as of a large athletic man, able in that age of 'apostolic blows and knocks' to have proved the orthodoxy of his doctrine by the sword as well as 'by tongue and lively voice.' On the contrary, he was a man of slender frame and feeble constitution, (Beza says *corpore pusillo*,) literally worn out by labours at one period of his life, and by sufferings at another. But *cujusque mens, is est quisque*, and Knox might be said to be all soul and spirit. He was one of those rare and gifted men upon whom the moral and religious destinies of nations are made to depend, and like the two other heroes of the Reformation, Calvin and Luther, was sent into the world with energies, which, in ordinary times, and when mighty energies were not wanted to subvert mighty abuses, would have been mischievous in their strength. In Knox and Calvin there seems to have been a perfect harmony of principles and temper. Luther, besides the strange erratic course which he held on the subject of concomitancy in the sacrament, had a tincture of enthusiasm from which both the others were exempt. All agreed in the predestinarian doctrine, and in that of justification by faith; but more strikingly in an indignant spirit of opposition to existing abuses, in a disregard of worldly rank and power, in a constitutional intrepidity not to be awed, and a pertinacity never to be wearied. Yet what topics are so fashionable, with those who have no other scale of character than the tame mediocrity of settled times, as the rigour and obstinacy of these great reformers? And yet what is plainer than that the workmen were merely suited to their work? Popery was

was not a pile to be battered down by popguns. Its foundations were deeply laid in ancient power, in terrible cruelty, in universal ignorance. From the want of such powerful engines, how many pious spirits had long deplored its corruptions; and wounded their own consciences by partaking of its plagues! How many penetrating understandings had long seen and derided the great imposture, yet seen and derided in secret; either awed by its terrors or bribed by its emoluments! Courage, therefore not to be appalled; and integrity not to be corrupted, must be combined with piety and acuteness to constitute a first reformer; and all these qualifications met in this incomparable triumvirate, and, in their perfection, in them alone.

Thus much then for the *subject* of this vigorous and original work. With respect to the style, it is natural and forcible, free from all modern affectation, excepting the abominable verb 'narrate', which must absolutely be proscribed in all good writing. It abounds indeed with Scotticisms, for which we like it the better. They are the *επιχρησμοί* of a work so thoroughly national. For, why should a Scotsman, who is ashamed of nothing else belonging to his country, be ashamed of its dialect? It is to English what the Doric was to pure Greek, adorned with many rustic graces which have long been felt and acknowledged in the poetry of that country. Why then should it not be tolerated in history, especially since experience has shewn that no efforts of their best writers have been able wholly to avoid it? With respect to the typography of the quotations, we were disposed to invoke the shade of William Bowyer: they have been committed to an illiterate compositor, and never, as appears, revised by the learned author. The Latin is almost unintelligible, and in a Greek epigram of four lines, there are three errata. This mechanical defect we should not have mentioned had such a work been likely to rest in a first or second edition.

We now take leave of Dr. M'Crie with sincere esteem and goodwill, notwithstanding some important points of difference which a little more candour and courtesy to a sister church, not deficient in those regards to his own establishment, might have prevented.

ART. XI. *Voyages and Travels in various Parts of the World, during the Years 1803, 4, 5, 6 and 7.* By G. H. Von Langsdorff, Aulic Counsellor to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, &c. London. 1813.

HOWEVER gratifying to us it might be to know that our critical labours make their way to the most distant corners of the globe, the pleasure derived from that circumstance would be considerably

considerably abated by any well grounded complaint of severe or unmerited censure. We are not indeed now to learn how difficult it is for the best natured critic to satisfy the expectations of the least aspiring author; but we confess ourselves not to have been quite prepared for the serious remonstrance which Captain (now Admiral) Krusenstern has transmitted from St. Petersburg. This officer, it seems, has taken offence at our remarks on the two volumes of his voyage round the world, printed at Berlin, and a copy of which we took some pains to procure. In his letter, he expresses 'much surprize at the spirit of animosity against Russia which pervades the whole of the Review.' This at once astonishes and mortifies us; for to what does it amount? Merely to an observation, which every one knows to be true, that the reign of Catharine was a reign of projects; and that the Japanese embassy sent by Alexander was only following up the views of his august predecessor. Whether this embassy was grafted on the original plan of the voyage, or the voyage was undertaken to carry out the ambassador, is, in our estimation, a matter of very small importance;* in neither case do we see, any more than the author, 'that Russia had made herself ridiculous.' If Admiral Krusenstern will give himself the trouble to read over the 3d Article of our 9th Number, written when at war with Russia, and the 11th Article of the 16th Number, drawn up since the return of friendly relations, he will see in both a consistency of opinion, and a spirit which breathes any thing but 'animosity against Russia.'

But a charge of a more serious nature is brought against us—that of attacking 'in one instance, at least, his moral character.' The instance, it seems, is this. Lieutenant Chwostoff, who visited the coast of Jesso subsequent to the departure of Captain Krusenstern, was told by the Japanese that a revolution actually took place in Jeddo on account of the dismissal of the Russian embassy. Our observation on this passage was, that 'we did not expect the sober good sense of Captain Krusenstern would have led him to give publicity to so idle a tale;' and we added, 'the idea is too absurd to deserve a moment's attention; unless indeed it was intended to flatter Count Romanzoff.' That the Count, like other courtiers, is open to this mode of address, is by no means improbable; nor is there any thing very extravagant in the supposition that the narrative of a voyage should be made as palatable to him that planned it, as truth would allow; we must therefore repeat our surprize that Captain Krusenstern does

* Admiral Krusenstern says in his letter, 'The embassy to Japan was engrafted upon the original plan of the voyage.' We said, 'The project of a new embassy was easily grafted on the present voyage.' Where do we differ? yet this passage has given offence.

not see the absurdity of this story. He would be the first to smile, at being told that the governor of the Crimea, in sending away a Turkish minister, by order of his court, had occasioned a rebellion in Petersburg, and a revolution in the whole government of Russia. Most willingly would we gratify this gentleman—but, on re-perusing our former Article, we can honestly and conscientiously assure him that we find nothing to alter, and that we are at a loss for terms to 'introduce him more fairly to the English public' than we have already done in our concluding sentence, which, to please him, we shall repeat—'We cannot take leave of Captain Krusenstern without expressing the satisfaction which we have derived from the perusal of his very clear and intelligent account of a Voyage round the World, conducted apparently with great good temper, discretion and judgment, and related in a style of modesty and candour which cannot fail to secure the approbation of the most fastidious.' But the English reader has now obtained the fullest and fairest introduction to his acquaintance through the medium of a translation, which, we have little doubt, will find a place among every collection of voyages and travels, and afford in the perusal both amusement and information.

We now turn to the account of the same voyage written by a fellow traveller, who accompanied the ambassador in the capacity of naturalist. This work may be considered to bear pretty nearly the same relation to the authentic and original account of the voyage, that Forster's did to that of Captain Cook. To the general reader it will probably be more amusing than Captain Krusenstern's, because it is less grave, and, with the exception of a storm or two, without which a voyage would be nothing, divested of all nautical matters. Doctor Langsdorff is a German of a far more lively cast than most of his philosophic countrymen, whose ponderous labours we are occasionally doomed to encounter; he even attempts to be witty, and occasionally manifests a disposition to be waggish. At St. Catharine's, he slyly insinuates, when in the act of being rubbed down by a negro slave, that 'if he could but have prevailed on the fair daughter of his host to press the muscles with her delicate hands,' the pleasure would have been equal to that of animal magnetism—a pleasure which, not having ourselves experienced it, we pretend not to estimate. His colouring too of the naked beauties of Nukahiwa is far more warm and glowing than we had expected to encounter from the pencil of a phlegmatic German. Their 'comic effusions' and 'pantomimic gestures,' too expressive to be mistaken, while swimming and playing about the ship 'like a troop of Tritons,' he found to be utterly 'indescribable,' but they were such as to make 'a novel impression' on the doctor's feelings.

feelings. These damsels, it seems, who were so frolicsome in the water, affected considerable distress at appearing on the ship's deck in a state of primitive simplicity; and 'they crept about,' says the doctor, 'with their hands in the position of the Medicean Venus, in attitudes which presented a beautiful spectacle to the philosophic observer.' Unfortunately, however, this 'beautiful spectacle' was evanescent; and the doctor very feelingly laments that he was not allowed 'a sufficient time for making philosophical observations on the new Venusses,' who suddenly disappeared with the sailors, hand in hand, into the interior of the ship. They were equally provoking the following morning; for they no sooner peeped upon deck than they plunged into the sea, to the visible mortification of Doctor Langsdorff.

These 'Venusses,' however, by no means answered the expectations which he had formed of them from the descriptions of former voyagers; and he even thinks that Captain Krusenstern has greatly overrated their beauty. 'I must confess,' he observes, 'that in my opinion, both the form and countenance of a well made negress are more pleasing and interesting than those of the women of these islands. We certainly found in Nukahiwa an Apollo of Belvidere; but it may be as certainly made a question whether a nice observer would not sooner find the original of the Medicean Venus upon the coast of Africa than in the South Sea.'

Without detaining our readers with even a sketch of the manners, laws, &c. of these islanders, from Doctor Langsdorff's book, which have again and again been described by former visitors, and which wear but a thin shade of difference from those of other savage nations, we shall content ourselves with the notice of one custom, which, to us at least, is perfectly novel—that of joining noses by way of salutation. 'When two friends meet,' says the doctor, 'they press the points of their noses together; this stands with them in the place of a kiss, to the sweet sensation of which they seem entire strangers.' Perhaps also their dexterity in catching rats by the hand, and 'feeding their swine with them,' may be something new; but we really cannot discover the force of the doctor's logical conjecture that, because there are plenty of rats and no tame cats to eat them, there must be wild cats in the woods: there may be no necessity for cats either wild or tame, where pigs are so ready to perform their functions.

We cannot in decency entirely pass over the chapter in which the doctor exhibits many profound and 'philosophical speculations on anthropophagiam.' Happy for 'pauvre Jean Jacques' that he did not live to peruse these unholy 'speculations' on the deep depravity of the 'simple children of nature!' How rude a shock must his morbid sensibility have sustained on hearing that,
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in savage life, there is no such thing as love between the sexes, affection between parents and children, or attachment between friends; that man is the most selfish of all animals, and the more so, the farther he is removed from a state of civilization; that, in short, his appetites are so depraved, that it is an incontrovertible truth, that all nations of the world have, at one period or other, been in the habit of eating one another! As the doctor considers this to be a 'matter of sufficient importance to be investigated somewhat minutely,' he summons to his aid a manuscript of Père Loureiro, (the author of the *Flora Cochinchinensis*,) and a treatise written by the 'ingenious Professor Meiners of Gottingen, *De Anthropophagia et diversis ejus Causis*.'

Our notice of the speculations of this learned triumvirate must be brief. They assign four causes for indulging the appetite which men feel for eating one another. The first is a tolerably substantial one—the want of other food. There happened, it seems, at some time or other, a great scarcity in India, so great indeed, that some hundred thousands of persons died of hunger. The survivors, not being of sufficient numbers or strength to bury their deceased friends, came to the resolution of eating them: but mark what followed! they continued to feast so long on their friends that they acquired a taste for human food, and ever after used to way-lay one another for the sake of enjoying so delicious a treat. 'Among others, a person who lived in a forest, upon the side of a mountain, contrived a sling which he threw round the necks of passengers and drew them into the forest, where he satiated his appetite upon them.' Nay, an old woman acquired such an unconquerable taste for young children, that none of the brats in the neighbourhood were safe out of their houses;—what she could not eat fresh, she salted and kept for future eating.' It is added, that 'the flesh of young women and girls, and particularly of new born ones, far exceeds in delicacy that of the finest youths or grown men;' that the inside of the hand and the sole of the foot are real titbits; and, what alarms us not a little, that Englishmen are higher flavoured than Frenchmen. The doctor concludes this part of his interesting subject with a grave and suitable admonition against the immorality of indulging an appetite 'of even eating a corpse in times of the greatest scarcity,' lest we should acquire a taste, like the Nukahiwass, 'for killing and eating our wives and children.'

'The second motive,' says the doctor, 'for anthropophagism is the unruly and inordinate desires to which man is too prone to give way.' Under this head we have examples of the Mexicans and Tahuyas, of the Jaygas and Anzigos, 'of the Hibernians, whom we commonly call Irishmen, and, as related by 'Cælius Rhodiginus,

ginus, of their neighbours the Scotch;—in fine, ‘of all our forefathers’ being anthropophagists; many of whom, it seems, not content with feasting on their enemies, ‘killed and eat their own countrymen, first feeding them well, and even giving them dainties, that their flesh might be the more delicate and finely flavoured; it was then publicly sold in the market.’ We were not aware that our savage forefathers were such epicures.

The third motive assigned by the Doctor, and which we agree with him is a ‘most extraordinary one,’ is the pretence of humanity! This profound proposition is illustrated by examples drawn from the Massagetæ, Essidonians, and many others of whom our readers may not be very anxious to know the names, who all ate their relations out of pure kindness, and then boasted that they had buried them in their own entrails. ‘It may be made a question,’ says the Doctor, ‘whether our German saying of *eating any body through love* may not have arisen from a tradition referring to those antient times, since it is certain that our forefathers, equally with the above-mentioned tribes, followed this custom.’

The fourth and last reason for anthropophagism is ‘hatred, contempt, and a thirst of revenge.’ Thus, the loyal subjects of the king of CochinChina ate their rebel brethren, whose flesh, however, they found some difficulty in swallowing, unless when seasoned with lemon sauce. ‘Our German expression,’ says the Doctor, ‘*to be blood-thirsty*, comes perhaps from the time when our forefathers, out of revenge, literally assuaged their thirst with the blood of their enemies instead of grapes.’—But more than enough of the ‘philosophical speculations’ of the Portuguese Jesuit, the Gottingen professor, and the Russian aulic counsellor. We shall merely observe that the Tauas, or priests, of Nukahiva, when wishing to regale themselves with human flesh, have an awkward custom of *dreaming* that they should like to taste of such a man, or such a woman, when search is immediately made, and the first person that comes in the way, answering the description, is killed and eaten.

Happily for the doctor and his companions these Tauas were kind enough not to dream of a Russian relish, by way of variety; they therefore arrived safely at Owhyhee, whose natives had passed that stage of human civilization in which men delight in feasting on one another. But as they neither liked the appearance of the people, nor the high prices demanded for the refreshments of which they had to dispose, they resolved to proceed on their voyage, and made sail without holding much communication with them. The inhabitants of the Sandwich islands are, in fact, as the doctor afterwards discovered, advancing with rapid

rapid strides from barbarism to civilization. They enjoy a fine climate, and a soil of tolerable fertility; they are conveniently situated for ships bound to the north-west coast of America, the Aleutian islands, and Kamtschatka; they have many secure bays and harbours; plenty of wood and water, and refreshments of all kinds in abundance. Most of the American ships, whether in their voyage round Cape Horn to the north-west coast of America, to collect furs for the China market, or from the South Sea whale fishery, touch at the Sandwich islands. This frequent intercourse has furnished the means of instruction to the natives in the knowledge of many of the comforts and advantages of a civilized state of society: it has taught them the value of property, and the convenience of money as the representative of property. Many of the American seamen have settled on these islands, and connected themselves with the native females. Under their instruction, the people have been taught to build ships, and to become good seamen. In the year 1806, Doctor Langsdorff tells us that the chief, Tomoomah, had a fleet of no less than fifteen ships, composed of three masted vessels, brigs, and cutters.* He agreed with the Russian American Company to send a ship every year with hogs, salt, batatas, and other provisions for the use of their settlement, and to take in return sea-otter skins, which he meant to send to China on speculation, an intercourse which the doctor says he has since learned has actually commenced, and that the Russian Company had even purchased a cutter from him. The king himself is said to be an excellent shipbuilder, and to pay unremitting attention to that art. Having merely to imitate, the natives of this little group of islands may, under a succession of chiefs possessing ability and energy equal to those of Tomoomah, constitute a happy and polished society long before the expiration of the present century: 'they have taken a leap,' as Turnbull observed in 1802, 'into civilization.'

The silence of Captain Krusenstern respecting the objects of the embassy, and the nature of the negotiations carried on at Nangasaki between the ambassador and the Japanese *interpreters*, (for they seem to have had but little intercourse with persons of a higher description,) is, in some measure, compensated by the communicativeness of Doctor Langsdorff. We observe, indeed, in the letter of Captain Krusenstern, to which we have alluded, an expression which will account for his silence. 'If,' says he, 'the political conduct of the ambassador had been more circumspect, the result

* Turnbull says, that in 1802 he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to seventy tons; some of them copper-bottomed. It was Captain Vancouver who laid the keel of Tamabama's first vessel in 1794.

of the embassy would, in all probability, have been of a more pleasing nature.' It now appears, that instead of resisting the unreasonable and humiliating requisitions of the Japanese, he was at first all compliance, and then all complaint. On the first visit of some inferior officers of the governor of Nangasaki, they refused to go on board the Russian ship, 'till the ambassador, the captain and some of the officers, came out to welcome them.' Mr. Resanoff did indeed resist a demand so insolent and derogatory to his character, but offered to send 'some of his cavaliers'; this however being rejected by the 'great men' of Japan, he condescended to meet them himself on the fore-castle. He moreover put them in possession of his instructions, and gave them a copy of the letter from the Emperor Alexander to the Emperor of Japan. He consented to have the guns, ammunition, muskets, and arms of every kind taken out of the ship. He acquiesced in the Nadesbda being surrounded by guard boats; he submitted to be kept on board, a prisoner in his own ship, for several months, and suffered himself to be cajoled from day to day by the most frivolous and childish excuses. When a request was made to take the ship into the inner harbour, he was told that a ship bearing a great personage like him, could not possibly be permitted to mix with Dutch trading vessels; and he was satisfied with their explanation that so great a man as himself must be received with preparations suitable to his rank and dignity; and when at length he ventured to send a message to the governor to say that 'his patience and forbearance had reached their height, and that he insisted on knowing why he had been kept waiting so long, and put off from month to month with empty promises,' he was pacified by being told, as a profound secret, that a council had been assembled at Jeddo to consult on the expediency of establishing a commercial intercourse with Russia, and that this was the sole cause of the delay;—two days after this, the very same man had the impudence to invent a totally different excuse for it.

It is quite amusing to read the manner in which the Japanese interpreters managed their masters' business, and to learn with what barefaced impudence they contrived and succeeded in administering consolation to their prisoner. One of these fellows, who united all the qualifications of the three comforters of Job in his own person, very gravely assured him that they felt how unbecoming the treatment was which he had met with from the great men of Japan; but added that it was their custom, and that 'a reasonable man must know how to accommodate himself to all situations and circumstances, like water which takes the form and figure of every vessel into which it is poured.' Another, when
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he uttered his complaints, and talked of demanding his dismissal, said that they (the interpreters) comprehended these things perfectly, but that patience was a great virtue. 'It is laughable,' said he, 'that Japan, this little country, this little island, makes so much ceremony, and contrives so many difficulties; that in all her manners, even in her ways of thinking, she is little: while Russia, which is a very extensive country, is, in all her ways and manners, in all her thoughts and actions, great and noble.'

This civil piece of irony was, in fact, prompted by the ambassador, who, in exhibiting his maps and charts of the world, took great pains to impress on the Japanese, the magnitude of the Russian territory compared with that of Japan, all which had been faithfully reported at Nangasaki, and treasured up at Jeddo to be made use of at a proper occasion. The second audience furnished that occasion. One of the points mentioned in the Emperor of Russia's letter, was the desire he felt of establishing an intercourse of friendship and commerce with the Emperor of Japan; on which it was observed to the ambassador that 'friendship is like a chain which, when destined to some particular end, must consist of a determined number of links. If one member, however, be particularly strong, and the others disproportionably weak, the latter must, of necessity, be soon broken. The chain of friendship can never, therefore, be otherwise than disadvantageous to the weak members included in it.' In the same strain the interpreter proceeded to state with great solemnity that the mighty monarch of Russia had sent an ambassador with a number of costly presents. 'If they are accepted, the Emperor of Japan must, according to the custom of the country, send an ambassador with presents of equal value to the Emperor of Russia. But as there is strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country, and Japan is besides so poor, that it is impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent, it is wholly out of the Emperor's power to receive either the ambassador or the presents.'

It seems to be the policy of this wary government to humiliate and mortify, for the purpose of weeding out the patience, and thus more easily getting rid, of strangers. One of the first operations of this kind, by way of giving the Russians a taste of the mode in which Europeans are treated, was to bring the gentlemen of the Dutch factory along side the *Nadeshda*, and, after letting them wait a couple of hours in the boat, to ask permission for them to come on board. As Mynheer Doeff, the chief of the factory, was advancing to pay his respects to the ambassador, one of the interpreters caught him by the arm, and reminded him that he must first

make his compliment to the *great men*; on which Mynheer Doeff immediately bent his body into a right angle, and with his arms dangling to the ground, remained in that posture a considerable length of time, when turning himself half round, he whispered to the interpreter, *Kan ik wedrom opstaen?* May I now stand upright? The same compliment was again required on their departure, when a Baron Pabst, who had visited Japan out of curiosity, disgusted with such humiliating conduct, stole out of the cabin; one of the vigilant interpreters, however, perceiving it, called after him, 'Aha, Mynheer Pabst, you must not go away until you have paid your compliments to the *great men*!'

The Russians were not allowed to purchase the minutest trifle, not even provisions, which the Japanese supplied them with in daily rations. One day, however, they were left without their allowance, and on complaining of this neglect, the interpreter very coolly told them that 'Prince Tchingodsi had arrived in the morning, and it was necessary to prepare for his reception:—but even this excuse, insulting as it was, turned out to be a falsehood. In short, their whole conduct is so precisely formed, on that of their prototype the Chinese, that we deem it unnecessary to follow Doctor Langsdorff through his details of the grievances of which he justly complains.

The ambassador did indeed resist the demand made upon him to kneel to the governor and the *great man* dispatched from Jeddo, but as they would neither suffer him to sit on a chair nor stand upright, 'he consented to lie down with his feet stretched out sideways.' The most remarkable thing was, that the fronts of all the houses, in all the streets through which they passed, were covered with hangings of cloth or straw mats, 'so that,' says the doctor, 'we could see nothing of the houses or the people, nor could they see any thing of us: here and there only we saw a head, urged by irresistible curiosity, peeping from behind the hangings;' and the reason assigned was, 'that the common people might be kept off, since they were not worthy to see so *great a man* as the Russian ambassador face to face.'

In their voyage to the northward, along the coast of Saghalien or Tchoka, we have nothing in the doctor's account of it that can interest or instruct. His volume terminates with their arrival at Kamtschatka, whence he proceeded over land to St. Petersburg. The picture drawn by Captain Krusenstern of this distant Russian settlement is a very gloomy one. All its bays are forlorn and forsaken; the shores strewed with stinking fish, cast up by the sea, and the only inhabitants, troops of half starved dogs wallowing among them and fighting for the unsavoury morsel. Even
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the beautiful harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul is unenlivened by a single boat.

‘It is in vain that you look round, on landing, for even one well built house: in vain does the eye seek a road, or even a beaten path, along which a person may walk in safety to the town: no garden, no plantation, no inclosure of any kind, indicative of the least cultivation. A few huts, mostly in a decayed state; five or six cows feeding in the vicinity of the houses, and innumerable dogs lying about in holes which they dig as a shelter against the flies, rendering it, if not impossible, at least extremely dangerous, to walk after dark, are the only objects at St. Peter and St. Paul.’

Such is the miserable condition of the principal seat of a settlement formed more than a hundred years ago. But the government has been more in fault than the climate or the soil. A journey to Kamtschatka was a sort of punishment for military officers whose conduct had not been strictly correct. This marked degradation had rarely the effect of amending the conduct of those who were condemned to suffer it. Separated from his friends and from civilized society, with very little hope of returning to either—disgusted with the world, and dissatisfied with himself—now become the petty tyrant of a country of savages—he descended, by no imperceptible steps, to the condition nearly of those over whom he was placed. The usual resource of a person thus circumstanced, whose mind was, perhaps, originally not too well stored with knowledge, was that of drinking spirituous liquors; and it is a fact mentioned by Krusenstern, that almost the only cargoes for which merchants have met with a ready and certain market, are those of this destructive beverage. That wretched system is, however, now changed, and instead of men being driven by disgrace and despair to become savages, they are encouraged to make savages become men.—The progress, however, is likely to be slow; and the absence of any rival power in the neighbourhood is not calculated to quicken it. Russia, indeed, has so many more alluring objects to attract her attention, that the dreary and distant regions of Siberia and Kamtschatka can only hope to excite a very small portion of interest. But if any fortunate turn of affairs should give a stimulus to investigation and settlement in those quarters, we have little doubt that the Japanese themselves will ultimately fall under the sceptre of the Tsars; and, rising from their present state of political debasement, become, in some measure, to the eastern continent of Asia what the British islands are to Europe.

ART. XII. *Istorie Fiorentine di Giovanni Villani, Cittadino Fiorentino. The Florentine Histories of Giovanni Villani, a Citizen of Florence, to the year 1348. Milan, 1802. 8 toms.*

IT is not long since the perusal of a very able work of M. Sismondi, on the Italian Republics of the middle ages, induced us to express a wish that it might be the means of bringing us better acquainted with the early historians of the Italian nation than we have hitherto been. So full of interest and variety is the subject of their narratives, and so estimable, for the most part, are the authors themselves for all the more eminent qualities of historical excellence, and for the attainment of political and philosophical science, far beyond the level of their contemporaries in the other countries of Europe, that we could not, indeed, avoid feeling some surprise at the obscurity in which both the writers and their works are involved, and the ignorance which appears to prevail even among well informed persons respecting them. Perhaps, however, this feeling was a little unreasonable. The transactions of their own ancestors must be allowed to be more laudable objects of interest, to Englishmen, than those of any foreign nations: yet, before the translation of his chronicle by Mr. Johnes, Froissart, that most amusing recorder of the proudest portion of our annals, was known to hardly any but the few fortunate possessors of a Pynson's or Myddleton's Lord Berners. The resurrection of Hall and Holinshed from the entombment of a public library, is an event of yet later occurrence; and, even now, while every day teems with new impressions of Hume and Smollett, Henry and Andrews, nobody seems to care how long the obscurity of a dead language shall continue to cover the venerable forms of our old monkish chroniclers, those authentic and amusing relators of passing occurrences, who carry their reader back with them, by an irresistible spell, to the days in which they lived, and among the scenes and persons which they describe. Since then the taste for deriving our knowledge, even of the early history of our own nation, from the fountain-head of co-eval antiquity, is of so late growth, and still so imperfectly cultivated among us, it is hardly to be expected that men should be very eager to cross the Alps in search of the means of gratification, of which there is such ample store, yet untouched, lying, as it were, at their own doors.

Nevertheless, we hold it to be no unpleasant part of our duty to contribute all that in us lies towards improving a spirit which, we are quite sure, whatever channel it may take, is attended with the power of procuring abundance of valuable instruction, and great entertainment for all those who may happen to be influenced by it. We indulge hopes that an opportunity will be shortly afforded

us of renewing the subject of our former disquisitions by the arrival of a continuation of M. Sismondi's book from the continent. In the mean time, our attention has been called to a large importation of books, principally of the Milan press; and as our acquaintance with the state and progress of Italian literature has been very slight indeed, since the iron crown was fixed on the august brows of his majesty the emperor and king, it may not be uninteresting to many of our readers to be informed, that an extremely handsome edition of all the best classics of the Italian language has been published at Milan, under the auspices of the ci-devant Vice President of the Cisalpine Republic, and now, we believe, arch-chancellor of the kingdom of Italy, Melzi d'Eril, duke of Lodi, by a society calling themselves 'La Società Tipografica de' Classici Italiani,' the members of which are very numerous, and of the first reputation for literature in their respective communities. This work had its commencement during the short peace of 1802; and in 1811, the date of the latest imported books, extended already to 150 volumes. This comprizes but a small portion of what is intended by the editors. According to them, the term 'classical,' as applied to Italian literature, 'si estende dai più antichi ed insigni scrittori sino al cominciare del secolo xviii;' and an edition undertaken on this basis, 'è quasi una raccolta di preziosi monumenti da' quali può di leggieri scorgere l'origine, il progresso, l'oscillazione, il risorgimento, la gloria finalmente, della Italiana letteratura.' Not all the works, however, (they proceed to say,) even of the most celebrated writers, can properly be termed classical; and thus a new distinction is made between classical authors, and classical productions. They instance accordingly, 'Il Convivio di Dante, la Teseide del Boccaccio, il Quatriregio di Federigo Frezzi, &c.' as not deserving the appellation bestowed on their respective authors, and therefore to be excluded from this edition. But, whatever may be its proposed extent, it is certainly an undertaking which reflects great honour, not only on the society which conducts it, but on the character of the people among whom it originated.

Whence comes it that England, of all nations the proudest, and in many respects the most justly so, of her superiority both in arts and arms, is outdone, by almost every civilized country of Europe,

which we have placed the title at the head of our present article. We are happy in having found this opportunity of recording the laudable zeal for the departed glories of their nation, which exists even in the present degraded and exhausted state of Italy; but our principal purpose in thus introducing the subject was to in-

dulge our inclination for bringing our readers acquainted with some of the merits of the early Florentine historians.

The first of these, in chronological order, is the venerable Ricordano Malespini; whose history, commencing with the fabulous Origin of Fiesole, the Mother of Florence, is broken off at the year 1281, and thence brought down to 1286, by Giacchetto Malespini, his nephew. In point of style and purity of language it remains to this day one of the choicest models of the Tuscan dialect. It is plain and unornamented, without any of that coarse and imperfect abruptness which distinguishes the rude periods of literature in every other language. Of gross and absurd fable respecting the origin and early history of the Florentine nation it possesses a reasonable share—but in proportion as the author advances nearer to the era in which he writes, a tone of perfect credibility and good faith gradually takes place of fiction and romance; and the history becomes remarkable by way of contrast to the monkish chronicles of other nations,—even those of a much later date,—from the almost total absence of superstitious credulity which it exhibits. Even Villani, who wrote half a century later, and who makes Malespini the groundwork of his own history, has here and there foisted tales of visions and miracles into his original, which Malespini himself had either never heard of, or which his better understanding rejected. Since, however, we have mentioned our author's powers of invention, or rather (perhaps) the inventions of others which he thought proper to retain out of compliment to his native city, it is but fair to give a specimen of them; and our readers shall accordingly hear, (in a style which we have studied, not only in this, but in every subsequent quotation, to render as congenial as possible with the simple antiquity of the original.)

Concerning Adam: how long time there was between him and king Ninus (Nimrod); and how Apollo the astrologer caused Fiesole to be built.—Cap. 2.

In the first place I say, that from Adam until king Nimrod, who conquered all the world in battle and subdued it under his dominion, (which was about the time of the birth of Abraham,) were years two thousand three hundred and forty-four. In the days of this Nimrod was built the great Tower of Babel, which caused the division of the seventy-two languages of the world. The first division was into three parts, (Asia, Africa, and Europe, which last is described by its boundaries with very tolerable accuracy, beginning from Brindisi and making the circuit from east to west, back to Brindisi again)—which aforesaid land, so bounded, was first governed by one named Atlante, (Atlas,) (whose wife was a very beautiful woman, by name Electra,) and also by Jupiter with whom was united Appollonio, (Apollo,) a great master of astronomy; and all their actions were directed by his advice. Now they,

they, all together, fixed upon a spot within the confines of their empire, whereon they laid the foundations of Fiesole, which was the first city ever built in the world since the deluge of the ark of Noah; and this place was so chosen by Apollo, on account of its being the most wholesome spot in the whole world, in respect of air, and being under the best and greatest planet; and it was called Fiesole because it was the first city built as aforesaid. In this city dwelt Atlas, and Electra his wife, and many of their people.

In what manner the people of Fiesole came to be concerned with the Trojan war; how in after times Catellino, (Catiline,) a Roman senator of great power, put himself at their head, and obtained many important victories over the Romans and a certain king called Fiorino; (whose name we do not recollect in Sallust;) how this same Catiline was afterward defeated, and Fiesole utterly destroyed by Julius Cæsar, who thereupon built a new city and called it Florence after the name of the said King Fiorino; how, five hundred years later, Attila, surnamed 'Flagellum Dei,' returned the compliment by overthrowing the establishments made by Julius Cæsar, and replacing the inhabitants in the situation in which the eminent astriologer before mentioned had fixed them; the reader, if he has any passion for this sort of historical romance, may find in Malespini. But, after smiling at the simplicity of the chronicler who records these fables so gravely, it is fair to add, that they occupy a very small portion of his work; and that the merits of the remainder are such as amply justify the character which we have given of him. The account of the great battle fought near Benevento between Manfred, king of Naples, and the invader Charles of Anjou, of which the result was the dissolution of the Swabian, and establishment of the Angevin dynasty in that kingdom, affords a favourable specimen of the style and spirit of his narrative. We take it from Villani, who has added some important circumstances; but the main part of it is Malespini's.

Now King Manfred having heard the news of the loss of San Germano, on the return of his discomfited army, was much amazed, and took counsel what he should do; and it was thereupon advised by the Counts Calvagno, Giordano, and Bartolomeo, and by the chamberlain, and others of his barons, that he should withdraw himself, with all his power, into his city of Benevento, that being a place of strength, where he might have the advantage either to accept battle on his own ground, or to retreat into Apulia, as need might be; and where, if he chose to remain, he might prevent the further advance of King Charles, inasmuch as there was no other way by which he could enter the Principato, or reach Naples, or penetrate into Apulia, except by the way of Benevento; and it was done accordingly. As soon as King Charles heard that Manfred had marched towards Benevento, he immediately left San Germano, to follow him with all his host; and he did not take

the direct road by Capua and the Terra di Lavoro, because he might not have been able to pass the bridge of Capua by reason of its strength, and of the strong towers which were there placed to defend the river; but he put himself, in order to pass the Volturno, at the ford of Tuli-vesno, and from thence held on his march through the county of Alife, and the passes of the Beneventan mountains; and, without taking any rest, and in great distress both of money and provisions, he arrived at the hour of prime, (ora di terza,) or about mid-day, at the foot of Benevento, in the valley which surrounded that city, and which is about two miles in length, and near the river Calore, which runs immediately under it.

As soon as King Manfred discovered King Charles's army, he took counsel to fight, and to sally forth in order of battle to assault the Frenchmen before they had well rested themselves; but in this he was ill-advised; for if he had only waited one day, or two, King Charles and all his host would have been destroyed or taken without a blow, for want of provisions for themselves and their horses; seeing that, the very day before they reached Benevento, through distress of victuals, many of them were compelled to eat the leaves of colewort and seed their horses upon the stems, instead of bread and grain; and all the money they had was spent. Also the forces of King Manfred were very much scattered; the Lord Conrad of Antioch being in Abruzzo with his people, Count Frederick in Calabria, and the Count of Ventimiglia in Sicily; so that, if he had delayed ever so little, his strength would have been augmented, and he must have remained conqueror; *but whom God intends to destroy, he first takes away his senses.** Having left Benevento, he descended the hill and crossed the bridge over the Calore to the plain, where stands (the church of?) Santa Maria della Grandella; and there, at a place called La Pietra a Roseto, he drew out his army in three battalions. The first was composed of Germans, in whom he principally confided, and contained twelve hundred lances, (cavalieri,) commanded by the Count Culvagno; the second was of Tuscans, Lombards, and Germans, about a thousand lances, commanded by the Count Giordano; the third, of Apulians and Saracens of Nocera, at the head of whom was King Manfred, in person; and this last consisted of fourteen hundred lances, without reckoning the foot-soldiers and the Saracen archers who were in great numbers.

King Charles, seeing the army of Manfred drawn out, on the plain, in battle array, took counsel as to what he should do, whether to accept battle that same day, or wait; and he was advised by most of his barons to wait until the next morning in order that their horses might have some rest from the fatigues of their long march. The Lord Giles le Brun, constable of France, recommended the contrary course; he said, that, by delay, the enemy would take heart and courage, that their own victuals would entirely fail them; and, in short, that if no others would, he only, with his lord, Robert of Flanders, and the

* *Ma a cui Dio vuole male li toglie il senso.* This is a favourite expression of Villani's. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.* It does not occur in Malengin. Flemish

Flemish force, would undertake the hazard of the battle, having full confidence in God that he should obtain the victory, through his assistance, over the enemies of holy church. When King Charles heard this, he readily accepted the advice, from the great good will he had to fight, and said with a loud voice to his knights, *Venu est le jour que nous avons tant désiré*;* then he caused the trumpets to blow, and gave orders for every man to arm and make himself ready for the battle. In a short time his orders were obeyed, and he formed his men into three divisions after the example of the enemy. The first consisted of Frenchmen, about a thousand lances, commanded by the Lord Philip de Montfort and the Maréchal de Mirepoix; the second was led by King Charles himself, with the Count Guy de Montfort, and many barons and knights of Provence, and of the Campagna, and of Rome, in number about nine hundred good knights; and the royal standard was borne by the Lord William, surnamed l'Etendart, a man of great courage; of the third squadron was captain, Robert Count of Flanders, with his tutor Giles, constable of France, and with seven hundred lances, composed of Flemings, Brabançons, and Picards; and over and above these battalions, were the exiled Guelphs of Florence, and the other Italian states, in number full fourteen hundred more; of whom a great many belonging to the principal houses of Florence, were made knights by the hand of King Charles at the commencement of the battle. Of these exiles of Florence and Tuscany, the Count Guido Guerra was captain, and Master Conrad da Montamagno, a Pistoiese, carried their standard in that battle.

Now King Manfred seeing all the divisions formed in battle array, enquired of what that fourth squadron was composed, which appeared to him so well equipped in arms and horses; and it was answered him, that they were the Guelph faction whom he had expelled from Florence, and the other places of Tuscany. Then Manfred lamented himself, saying, "Where is the succour that I receive from the Ghibelline faction, which I have so well served and put in the possession of so great treasure?" And he said, "Verily, that people shall lose nothing this day;" and this he said, speaking of the aforesaid exiles, and meaning, that, if he should gain the victory, he would be a friend to the Guelphs of Florence, seeing that they were so faithful to their lord, and to their party, and would set himself thenceforward against the Ghibellines.

The armies of both kings being drawn out in the plain of La Graddella, in the manner already related, and each having exhorted the people under him to fight bravely, and King Charles having given the word *Monjoie, Chevaliers*, and Manfred, *Sorvia, Cavalieri*, to their respective soldiers; the Bishop of Auxerre, as legate of the pope, gave absolution and benediction to all those of King Charles's host, with full pardon of every offence and penalty, by reason that they were about to

* Villani, who has added this account of the preparations made by Charles, probably out of the *Historia Sicula* of Sabas Malaspina, frequently gives us the speeches of the Angevin monarch, in the French language; which throws a remarkable air of *verisemblance* over his narrative.

fight for the service of the church. This done, a sharp and severe conflict commenced between the two first divisions of French and Germans; and so desperate was the assault made by the latter, that the French were sorely annoyed by it, and forced to recoil, and lose their ground. The good King Charles, seeing them so roughly handled, no longer kept the order of battle; but being well aware that if his first division, composed of Frenchmen, on whom he mostly relied, were broken, he could have little expectation of safety from the rest, he immediately advanced to their support, with the second squadron. The exiles of Florence, with their division, as soon as they saw the king thus engaged, freely threw themselves upon his defence, and performed marvellous feats of arms that day, always following his person. The same did Master Giles le Brun, constable of France, and Robert of Flanders, with their division, insomuch that the battle was very fierce and bloody, and lasted a long time before it could be known who had the better of it. The Germans, by their valour and the strength of their good swords, caused the French great loss and slaughter; but at last there arose a loud cry among the French ranks, *alli stocchi, alli stocchi, e fedire i cavalli!* To your short swords, and strike at the horses! and they did accordingly; by which means, in a short time, the Germans were sorely grieved, and many thrown down, and almost put to flight. King Manfred, who with his band of Apulians had advanced to their assistance, seeing that they were turned and could sustain the conflict no longer, encouraged those of his own division, and commanded them to follow him to the battle; but he was ill obeyed by them, for the greater part of the Apulian barons, and those of the kingdom, deserted him, and among the rest the earl chamberlain and the Counts of Acerra, and of Caserta, and others; either through faintness of heart, seeing the Germans turn back, or, as some say, through treachery, like a faithless people, and affecting a new master; so they abandoned Manfred, and fled, some towards the country of Abruzzo, and some to Benevento.

Manfred still kept the ground with a few horse, doing as befits a valiant lord, who will rather die in battle than fly with shame; and, putting his helmet on his head, a silver eagle which formed its crest, fell before him upon his saddle bow. He seeing this, was much amazed thereat, and said to the barons by his side, in Latin, "*Hoc est signum Dei!*" I fixed this crest with my own hands in such manner that it could not be moved." For all that he did not give over, but stripped himself of his royal surcoat, that he might not be known for the king, and then valiantly set himself to fight in the midst of the battle, like any other baron. His people however did not hold out long, but were soon put to flight and utterly routed; and King Manfred himself fell dead in the midst of his enemies, being killed by a French esquire, as it is said, but is not known for certain.

In this battle there was great mortality on both sides, but principally on that of King Manfred: and those who fled from the field were pursued till night by King Charles's people, who entered the city of Benevento, together with the fugitives, and made themselves masters

of it; of those who fled, many of Manfred's principal barons were made prisoners; among others the Count Giordano, and Master Piero Asino degli Uberti, both of whom King Charles sent prisoners to Provence, and there caused them to be cruelly put to death in different prisons. The other German and Apulian barons he kept prisoners in different places in the kingdom. A few days after, the wife and children of Manfred, who were with the Saracens of Nocera, were given up to King Charles; and these afterwards died in prison. And well did the curse of God fall on Manfred and his heirs, and plainly was the justice of God made manifest in him, because he was excommunicate, and an enemy and persecutor of holy church.

The body of Manfred was sought after for more than three days before it was found, nor was it in that time known whether he was killed or taken, or had escaped, because he had not worn his royal coat of arms in the battle. At last a common fellow, of his own soldiers, recognized it by many personal marks lying in the midst of the field where the battle had been most fierce. As soon as he had found it, he threw it across his ass's back, and drove it along, saying, "Who buys Manfred?" (*Chi accatta Manfredi?*) Upon this one of the king's barons gave him a severe beating with a cane, and carried the body before King Charles, which that king seeing, commanded all the captive barons into his presence, and enquired of each of them whether that was the body of their King Manfred? All fearfully answered, that it was; but when it came to the turn of Count Giordano, he clapped his hands before his face, weeping and exclaiming, *Oimè, oimè, signor mio, che è questo!* Alas, alas, my master, is it come to this! and the French barons commended him highly. King Charles was then entreated by some of his barons to give it an honourable interment; but he answered, *le fairois je volontiers, si lui ne fût excommunié*; but, seeing that he was excommunicate, King Charles would not suffer that he should be received into consecrated ground, but caused him to be buried at the foot of the bridge of Benevento; and every man of his army threw a stone upon his grave, so that a great mountain of stones was raised thereon. Some say, however, that he was afterwards removed from this place by the Bishop of Cosenza, under the pope's orders, and taken out of the kingdom, (because the kingdom is church-land,) and interred on the banks of the river Verde, on the confines of the kingdom and the Campagna. This, however, we do not affirm, although Dante renders testimony thereof in his *Purgatorio*, cap. 3. where he treats of King Manfred, saying, "*Se'l pastor di Cosenza, &c.*" This battle was fought on a Friday, the last day of February, in the year of Christ 1265.

On this narrative it ought to be remarked that both Malespini and Villani were strongly attached to the Guelph party, which, shortly after the death of Manfred, became again predominant in their native city; and that in the violent language of the faction, the Sultan of Nocera (as, from the employment which he gave to the Saracens established at that place, they used to denominate the

unhappy

unhappy son of Frederick) was little inferior in the scale of abomination to Satan himself. Nevertheless, it will be seen from many passages in the preceding account that, however tainted with the prejudices of the times, those historians were more capable even than some of our own day of acknowledging the real virtues to be met with among their enemies, as well as the errors and vices of their friends. The exalted and chivalrous valour of the poor excommunicated monarch receives from them its tribute of applause, while the inhumanity of his successful rival, though no comment is made upon it, is set in too strong a contrast not to persuade us that it was felt and condemned by those who record it. We must not expect to find in the history of a Florentine Guelph so favourable a portrait of the Swabian prince as that which his friend and follower, Nicholas de Jansilla, has transmitted to posterity; nevertheless the representation which Villani has given us of the conqueror is coloured with greater discrimination, and evinces a mind superior to any slavish bias of faction or superstition.

That the events which are about to be related may be the more plainly understood, we will now speak a little concerning his virtues and conditions; and there is good reason to make record of so great a lord and so great a friend and protector of holy church and of our city of Florence. This Charles was wise, of good governance, valiant and fierce in arms, and much feared and redoubted by all the kings of the world; magnanimous, and of high purpose to accomplish all great undertakings, stedfast in adversity, a fast and true observer of all promises, a little speaker, and a great doer. He scarcely ever laughed, was virtuous as a churchman, and catholic; severe in justice and of a ferocious countenance; large and tall in person, and sinewy; his complexion olive, with a high prominent nose; and he carried the semblance of royal majesty above all other great lords. He watched much and slept little, and used to say that sleep is so much time lost. He was bountiful to his knights and men at arms, but covetous of acquiring lands, dominion, and money wherever it might come from; to pay the expences of his expeditions and wars. In courtiers, minstrels, and jugglers, he never took delight.—*Villani*, lib. vii. cap. 1.

Respecting the infamous murder of Conradin, (a transaction scarcely to be paralleled but by that of the Duke d'Enghien in these days,) the historian's judgment is somewhat warped by his Guelphish prejudices with regard to the effect of the excommunication under which the young prince suffered; but he evidently holds the deed in abhorrence; and would fain absolve holy church from the charge of concurrence in, or approbation of, the measure.

Certainly, says he, it is seen by experience, that whosoever raises his hand against holy church and becomes excommunicate, it follows that his last end will be miserable both for soul and body; wherefore the sentence of excommunication of holy church is forever

to be dreaded, *whether it be just or unjust*; and thereof are we assured by many undeniable miracles, as by whosoever reads the ancient chronicles, or even this new chronicle, may easily be found, in the examples of emperours and great lords who have from time to time been rebels and persecutors of holy church. However, King Charles was greatly blamed, for the sentence he pronounced against Conradin, by the pope and his cardinals, and indeed by all wise men, seeing that he had taken Conradin and his followers in battle, and it would have been better to hold him a prisoner than to put him to death. And some said that the pope was consenting thereto; but let us not give faith to it, because he was reputed a most holy man. And it appears, that the innocence of Conradin, who was of such tender years to suffer judgment of death, was the cause that God displayed his anger against King Charles by a miracle; since, not many years afterwards, God sent him great adversities even at the time when his fortunes appeared to be at their height.—Lib. vii, cap. 29.

It is somewhat instructive at the present day to learn, after what manner great conquerors and scourges of the human race have, in former times, conducted themselves under the pressure of a signal reverse of fortune. Upon the mind of Charles, adversity seems to have produced a favourable effect; and the termination of his career evinces a strong sense of religion, which he certainly partook in common with his brother Saint Louis, and other members of his family, however much it might have been debased, as to its influence upon his general conduct, by the gross superstitions of the age.

When King Charles heard these news,* he was so much amazed, that never, through danger of battle or any other adversity, had he entertained so great a fear; and he said with a sigh, "would God that I were dead, since fortune is so adverse to me that I have lost my dominion, having so great a power both at land and sea; and that it should be taken from me by a people whom I never injured! It greatly grieves me that I did not take Messina upon those conditions which were formerly offered to me. But, seeing I can now do no other," (with much sorrow he spoke,) "break up our host, and let us pass over; and whosoever was the cause of so great a treason, whether he be clerk or layman, of him I will take ample vengeance." The first day he sent over the queen, with all the artizans and equipage of the army; the second, he passed over himself with all his host, except that, by way of stratagem, he left in ambush near Messina two thousand men at arms, with two captains; to this end, that if upon the rising of his army, the besieged should sally forth out of the city to make themselves masters of the baggage of his camp, they might come behind and part of them

* Of the capture of his fleet before Messina, by King Peter of Arragon. This was after the celebrated massacre of the Sicilian vespers, in 1282; and the total loss of the island was the immediate consequence.

enter the place; which, if it should take effect, the king would immediately return with all his power.

This well planned stratagem failed, from causes which it is unnecessary in this place to detail. The liberation of Messina was effected; and the Arragonese admiral sailing to the Calabrian shore, set on fire eighty of King Charles's transports before his eyes.

And this King Charles and all his army beheld, without being able to give them the smallest relief, by reason of which his grief was redoubled. And, holding in his hand a staff, which it was his custom to carry, he began to gnaw it for very anguish, and said, "*Ah Dieu, molt m'aves offert à surmonter; je te prie, que l'avalier soit tout bellement.*" And by this it is shewn, that neither the wit nor the strength of man hath any avail before the judgments of God. When King Charles was arrived in Calabria, he gave licence to all his barons and their people, and returned alone and very dolorously to Naples.—Cap. 74.

'Il sembloit à Charles,' (observes M. Sismondi on this passage,) 'que ses flottes et son armée, instrumens qu'il étoit accoutumé à faire agir avec tant de facilité, se refusoient tout-à-coup à la main qui les dirigeoit.' His situation and feelings on this occasion may probably bear a pretty close comparison with those of Buonaparte after his flight from Moscow; but we entertain some doubt whether the chivalrous spirit of the latter will induce him to offer single combat '*en champ-clos*' to the Emperor Alexander, or whether, on his death-bed, he will have so good a plea to offer for the pardon of his restless ambition as that which the mistaken piety of the times encouraged Charles of Anjou to present before the judgment seat of God, doubtless with a very comfortable persuasion of its acceptance.

When he, whose busy mind could never sleep, had arrived at the town of Foggia, in Apulia, on his way to Brindisi, to advance the preparations of his navy, it pleased God that he fell sick of a violent malady, and departed this life the day after the Epiphany, in the year of Christ 1284. But, before he died, with great contrition he received the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and spoke with reverence the following words, "*Sire Dieu, je crois vraiment que vous êtes mon sauveur, ainsi vous prie, que vous aies merci de mon âme; ainsi comme je fis la prise du royaume de Sicile plus pour servir sainte église que pour mon profit ou outre comotise; ainsi vous me pardonnez mes péchés;*" and having spoken, he departed this life presently after; and his body was brought to Naples, and, after great lamentations for his death, was buried in the archiepiscopal church of Naples with high honour.—Cap. 94.

The history of the two Malespinis terminates, as we have before mentioned, with the year 1286; and the remainder of the chronicle of G. Villani, to its conclusion, in 1348, (comprising at least three-fourths of the whole,) belongs exclusively to the last mentioned

tioned author. For what he has borrowed from his predecessors, Sismondi remarks that he ought not to be charged with plagiarism, although it be true that he has copied a great deal of it, word for word. Before the invention of printing, the rights of authorship were little understood or valued. Villani undertook to compile a history of his native country from the best sources that were within his reach, for the use of his friends and of posterity. This was all his aim; and the thought of literary glory never entered into his calculations. There may have been, even at that period, some vague and unsettled idea of a property in the fruit of a man's own original genius; but in the bare record of passed or passing events (and history was then regarded in no other light) there could not be any whatever. The liberty which an ancient chronicler took with the labours of his predecessors, he was content to furnish to those who came after him; and, in the same manner as G. Villani took, without acknowledgment, the whole work of Malespini into his own history, so Giovanni himself, and his two continuators, Matthew and Philip Villani, were afterwards incorporated by a later compiler, Marchione de Coppo Stefani, and brought down by him, from 1365, (where Philip ends,) to 1385. 'Nous sommes toujours trop disposés à oublier que l'invention de l'imprimerie a complètement changé la tâche des auteurs et leurs relations avec leurs lecteurs.'

Between the Malespini and Villani, however, we have an intermediate historian to notice, whose name is less known than either of the former, but (according to Muratori's authority) is deserving of at least an equal degree of celebration. This author is Dino Compagni, whose '*Cronica di Firenze*,' beginning with the year 1279, and ending with 1312, is inserted in the ninth volume of the *Scriptores Italici*. We have not hitherto had an opportunity of consulting it, so as to know whether Villani is in any respect indebted to this, as he is to Malespini's history, or to appreciate for ourselves the justice of Muratori's commendation. It is probable, however, that owing to some causes unexplained, the work remained either unknown, or, having been partially known, became forgotten, until the illustrious labours of that great antiquary revived it. Scipio Ammirato, certainly, was a stranger to its existence. Yet was Dino a notable worthy in his generation; 'Vir nescio an antiquâ sanguinis nobilitate, certè ex honoribus et dignitatibus quas adeptus est, illustris.' He appears as one of the priors of Florence in 1280; gonfalonier of justice in 1293; and again prior in 1301. The task of amending and revising the statutes was committed to him (among others) in 1294. He says of himself that, when young, he was very active in exciting a popular commotion in his native city, confessing (with a laudable ingenuousness)

mousness) that 'per giovenazza, non conosceva le pene delle leggi.'

'It is much to be wished,' Muratori observes, 'that we had many more such historians; for no man is more worthy of faith, or at least more capable of conveying accurate information than he who having sat at the helm of government describes events in which he himself bore a principal share, or which, at least, passed immediately subject to his own inspection.' In comparison with Malespini and G. Villani, he considers Compagni as excelling them both 'in elegance of style and choice of matter;' 'ad hæc in illo quedam verborum dictionumque puritas occurrit, usque aded ut inter præcipuos linguæ nostræ patres sit accensendus.' Nor, he adds, is this to be wondered at; since, 'ut erat ingenio liberali a naturâ instructus, non levem Musis operam dedit.' Some of his poetical productions are preserved in Leo Allatius; and an oration which he pronounced before Pope John the Twenty-second is still extant. 'Whether he was Guelph or Gibelline* is not discernible; but it is abundantly evident that he was a lover of good government, and a constant friend to peace; and, although he often inveighs against the vices of his countrymen, he never does so with acrimony, but always evinces the spirit of a patriotic citizen. 'Uno verbo,' concludes his animated eulogist, 'Florentia habet unde sibi de hoc etiam Scriptore multum plaudet atque gloriatur.'

We at last come, in chronological order, to the author whose name stands at the head of this article. The precise period of the birth of Giovanni Villani cannot be ascertained; but it is known that his family was among the most respectable in his native city, and that his father held the venerable office of prior in the year 1300. He appears to have been the eldest of four sons, of whom Matthew, the continuator of his history, was the youngest. He was twice married, and had children by both his wives; but none of them seem to have left any descendants; and the male line of his brother Matthew, which continued for a much longer period, terminated in the year 1616. Like almost all the noble citizens of Florence, he exercised the mercantile profession, and (as his biographer, in the 'Elogio di Giovanni Villani,' prefixed to this edition of his work, informs us) by the prudence with which he lived, was reputed worthy of the first and most honourable offices of the state. In the year 1300, (the same year in which his father held the situation of prior, as before related,) he was present at the great jubilee held at Rome under pope Boniface VIII. As it was

* If it could be ascertained that he was of the latter faction, the ascendancy of the Guelphs at Florence, and the inveterate jealousy of their rivals which so long prevailed among them, would sufficiently account for the obscurity of his work.

upon this occasion, that he first conceived the design of writing his history, we shall give our readers his account of it in his own words.

In the year 1300, Boniface the Eighth, who then filled the papal chair, proclaimed a plenary indulgence, says our author, "for every Roman, who during thirty days, and for all other persons of whatsoever nation, who during fifteen days, successively, in the said year, should visit the churches of the blessed apostles St. Peter and St. Paul." Multitudes flocked to the celebration of this jubilee from all parts of Christendom; and it was the most wonderful thing ever beheld, that, throughout the year, there were at Rome two hundred thousand pilgrims in addition to the constant inhabitants, without reckoning those who were on the roads coming and returning, and they were all (both horses and men) amply provided with victuals of all sorts, with great regularity, and without any noise or bustle. And to this, adds the historian, I can myself bear witness, who was present and saw it. Now, having undertaken this blessed pilgrimage to the holy city of Rome, seeing with my own eyes the noble antiquities which are therein, and reading the records of the great actions of the Romans written by Virgil, and by Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, Paulus Orosius, and other masters of history, who have described little things as well as great, even those relating to the further ends of the world, in order to give memory and example unto posterity, I took from them my style and method of writing, albeit I were not a disciple worthy to perform so great a work. But considering that our own city of Florence, the daughter and the workmanship of Rome, was then in her ascension, and disposed to the achievement of great fortunes, as also that Rome was in her decline and diminution, it appeared to me convenient to collect in this new chronicle all the acts of the said city from its commencements, as far as it was possible for me to search for and discover them, and to follow up the same with the histories of times past and present, and of those to come (so long as it shall please God) both of the acts of the Florentine people, and of all other notable occurrences throughout the whole world, of which I may be able to obtain any knowledge; God granting his grace; in the hope whereof I have entered upon this undertaking, duly considering my own poor skill as that upon which I could place no reliance. And thus, through the mediation of Christ, in the year of his incarnation 1300, I, being returned from Rome, began to compile this book, to the glory of God and of the blessed Saint John, and in commendation of our city of Florence.—Lib. iv. cap. 36.

Very shortly after he had taken this commendable resolution, in the summer of the same year 1300, broke out that dreadful division of the Guelf faction into the *parte nera* and *parte bianca*, (the black and the white party,) which he deplores with all the feeling of a good citizen. The origin of that '*maladetta briga*' is traced to a private feud which took place in the neighbouring city of

Pistoja: but, although the history of that event deserves to be remembered, not only on account of the tremendous consequences which it carried in its train, but also as being extremely characteristic of the barbarous manners of the age, and the factious spirit of the nation, in which it occurred, we cannot here afford space for its relation.*

To proceed with the history of our author. It appears that, in the ensuing year 1301, he was present at the grand public entry of Charles de Valois into Florence to attempt the restoration of tranquillity, in which, from his general spirit, "it may be believed that he cordially assisted; but in vain; since the year after witnessed the banishment of the chiefs of the *parte bianca*, and among others, of the illustrious poet Dante, from Florence. In 1304, he undertook a journey to Flanders; probably on some commercial concerns, though it has been conjectured that he was induced by the desire of seeing foreign countries, or of escaping the calamities to which he was an unwilling witness in his own. However it be, we owe to this journey some very interesting particulars respecting the wars of Philip le Bel with the Flemings, which are not to be met with in the French historians. He tells us (*lib. viii. cap. 78.*) that he visited the field of battle at Mons en Puelle, a few days only after that celebrated and sanguinary contest, and while the dead bodies were still lying on the ground unburied. How long he remained in those parts is uncertain; nor does his name occur again in any memorial of the times until the year 1316, when he was appointed for the first time to the office of prior; and it gives us some little light into the zeal and ardour with which he collected all the information he was able about the affairs of foreign nations, however widely dispersed, to find that one of his colleagues was Pela Balducci, who furnished him with all that he has written concerning the mercantile privileges conferred by the King of Tunis; and another Pace di Certaldo, author of a '*Storia della Guerra di Semifonte*,' from which it appears that Villani was in the habits of a regular interchange with him of historical records and monuments. In the same manner, he collected from a Florentine of the house of Bastari, who was brought up in his infancy at the court of '*Cassano Imperatore de' Tartari*,' (Ghâzan Khân, the seventh king of Persia of the race of Jeughiz,) and was, about the year 1299, sent by that conqueror on an embassy to the pope, a variety of very curious information respecting his sovereign, and the manners

* A much more minute, and therefore more valuable, account of it than that given by Villani, is to be found in a very curious original history of the same period, whose author is unknown, and which is published and cited under the title of '*Historie Pistoiesi anonyme, ovvero delle cose avvenute in Toscana dal 1300 al 1348.*'

and customs of the Tartar nations, which, on comparison with the oriental historians, will be found to be remarkably correct. The miraculous conversion of Sultan Ghâzan to christianity is, indeed, a manifest fable; but it is not at all improbable that the Florentine envoy related it for the purpose of rendering his mission more acceptable. In other respects, the character of Ghâzan Khân, certainly one of the greatest and most enlightened princes of his race, as it is given by Major Price from the Hâbeib-Usseir, corresponds in a striking manner with that which Villani extracted from his conversations with his friend Bustari. The year, 1317 was happily distinguished for a general pacification, obtained by the mediation of Robert of Naples, between the Guelphs and Gibellins throughout Tuscany, when Villani was sent in conjunction with two others as *providitori* of a treaty between his native city and the Ghibelline state of Pisa.

We need not follow him through all the offices of state which from this time he is found to have filled at different intervals with equal honour to himself and advantage to his countrymen. His military employments do not appear to have been very frequent, but he took the field in the year 1323, during that most unfortunate campaign against Castruccio, Lord of Lucca, which had nearly terminated in the destruction of the army of the Florentines and the subversion of their liberties. In his honest and minute account of these transactions, he presents us with a very lively picture of the alternation of ignorant terror and vain confidence displayed in the conduct of an unwarlike populace, unexpectedly called to take arms in defence of their independence: lively, indeed, is his whole history of this very romantic war, which lasted with little intermission during the life of Castruccio, and during which, with an occasional mixture of extreme folly, perverseness, and vain glory, were called out all the best energies and noblest exertions of the Florentine character. The account of Castruccio himself is an honourable instance of that great historical quality which we have before attributed to Villani, of impartiality and candour even towards his enemies. Of the pride and presumption which were prominent features in his character, indeed, he affords some memorable examples; but when he comes to relate his death, which he does with many interesting particulars, he adds the following description of his person and qualities.

This Castruccio was very well made in person, sufficiently tall and active, neat and not corpulent, of a fair complexion verging towards paleness, with strait light hair and a gracious countenance. He was about 47 years old when he died. A short time before, knowing his death to be approaching, he said to many of his most intimate friends: “I see that I am going to die; *e morto me di corto vedrete disasroccato*,”

meaning, in his native Lucchese dialect, "and when I am dead, you will shortly see a great revolution of affairs." And he prophesied truly, as we shall soon have occasion to see. And, as we have been informed by his most private friends and relations, he confessed himself and received the sacraments and holy unction devoutly: but, nevertheless, he rested under a great error, inasmuch as he never acknowledged that he had offended God by the offence he had committed against holy church, satisfying his conscience that he had acted justly.

Now this Castruccio was a valiant and magnanimous tyrant, wise and crafty and enterprising and industrious, and accomplished in arms and provident in the art of war, and very adventurous in his undertakings, and much feared and redoubted, and in his time he did many great and notable things, and was a great scourge to his fellow citizens and to the Florentines and Pisans and Pistoiese, and all the inhabitants of Tuscany for the space of fifteen years that he ruled over Lucca; and* he was somewhat cruel in putting men to death and torture, ungrateful for services received in his distresses and necessities, fond of new people and new friends, and very vain glorious of his state and signory; inso-much that he believed himself to be lord of Florence, and king over all Tuscany. The Florentines were so much overjoyed at his death, that they could scarcely believe it possible; but as soon as the news was made certain, it came into the mind of me, the author of this book, to make record of a circumstance which happened to me respecting it.

Being a Florentine, and seeing my country in great disturbance through the persecution inflicted by him on our community which it seemed impossible that we should surmount, I wrote a letter to my devout friend, Master Dionysio dal borgo a San Sepolcro, master of divinity and philosophy in the University of Paris, wherein I lamented our condition, and prayed that he would instruct me how soon our adversity should come to its close; which letter of mine he answered in brief, saying, "I see Castruccio dead; and at the end of the war you will obtain possession of the Signory of Lucca by the hand of one who shall bear for his arms sable and gules, with great affliction and great expense and shame to our community, and you shall govern it but a short time." This letter I received from Paris in those days when Castruccio had won Pistoja as above related; so I wrote back to the master how Castruccio was in greater pomp and state than he had ever been, whereto he answered, "at present I shall again affirm that which I wrote to you by a former letter; and if God hath not changed his judgments and altered the course of the heavens, I see Castruccio dead and buried." And when I received this letter, I showed it to the priors my colleagues, (being then a member of that body,) and it so happened that Castruccio had then actually died a few days before, and the judgment of Master Dionysio was accomplished as a prophecy in all its parts.—Lib. x. cap. 85.

This is a pretty fair specimen of our author's credulity in matters

* The conjunction made use of in the original is never changed from 'and,' to 'but,' so that it is not easy to discover from the text at what point Villani begins to speak in terms of disapprobation.

of astrology, in which science various passages of his work evince him to have been a firm believer. It must be remembered, however, that it was a science so fully established in those days in the judgments both of the learned and of the unlearned, that to disbelieve, would have been regarded as a proof of incredulity deserving of punishment in that circle of Dante's *Inferno* to which the poet has doomed Farinata and Cavalcante, the Emperor Frederic, and the Cardinal Ubaldini.

The year after Castruccio's death, the Florentines entered into a treaty for the purchase of Lucca from certain German adventurers who had seized it in the name of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and Villani was appointed one of the commissioners to conduct the negociation. To his great displeasure, however, it was long before any thing could be done towards the accomplishment of this important purpose, owing to the over-reaching disposition which his countrymen displayed on the occasion. It seems not improbable that they might have relied on Master Denys's prediction so strongly as to indispose them for listening to reasonable terms of accommodation.

In 1341, he was again appointed to the office of treating for the purchase of Lucca which had then fallen (By the chances of the times, so fertile in revolutions among all the little states of Italy) into the hands of Mastino della Scala, lord of Verona; but the year following was witness to a revolution in Florence itself, so extraordinary that, in preparing to relate it, the author himself is constrained to doubt whether posterity will yield credit to the tale. This was the usurpation of the Signory of Florence by the Duke of Athens, who had been sent thither as lieutenant to the Duke of Calabria, by virtue of a voluntary compact entered into some time before for the sake of their defence against the common enemy Mastino, who then aspired to the dominion of Tuscany. The account of this French adventurer's tyranny, in which he found means to maintain himself, for the space of nearly a twelvemonth, is among the most interesting portions of the work; and the particulars which Villani gives of the character and conduct of the despot, who (to the greater disgrace of the Florentines) was a very contemptible being, and governed rather by the basest views of self-interest than by the principle of a splendid ambition, afford a favourable specimen of his patriotic spirit as well as of his historical ability.

Shortly after he was condemned to suffer a sad reverse of fortune. The failure of the great commercial company of the Bardi, the circumstances and causes of which are detailed with great perspicuity and intelligence by the historian, involved with it the ruin of many others of the first houses of trade in Florence, and

among the rest that of the Bonaccorsi, of which Villani himself was a principal, who, in consequence of this calamity, was, at a very advanced age, consigned to a public gaol. This event happened in the year 1345. How long he remained a prisoner is not known, nor whether he ever extricated himself from the embarrassments of his declining age; but, three years afterwards, he became one, and that the most illustrious, of the numerous victims swept off by the plague, which in 1348 desolated all the provinces of Italy, and thence spread its devastations over almost the whole of Europe. Thus was terminated a long and chequered life, the greatest part of which was spent in honour and affluence, and in a state of unremitting public activity, which furnished him with the best opportunities for the study of mankind. ‘*Les historiens de la Grèce,*’ observes M. Sismondi, (tom. iv. p. 204,) ‘*avoient, comme lui, parcouru toutes les carrières publiques et privées, et, par bien des traits, Villani est digne d’être comparé à Hérodote.*’

After the death of Giovanni, his brother Mattéo, who, being the youngest of the family, was probably several years his junior, took up the continuation of his history from the point where it was broken off by his death, and prosecuted it with vigour, intelligence and ability, at least equal to those displayed by his predecessor, until the year 1363, when the same public calamity which had deprived the world of the elder, in its recurrence carried off the younger also. He was struck by the fatal disease on the 8th of July, and lingered till the 12th, when he devoutly rendered up his soul to God. The length of his struggle was ascribed to his temperate course of life. In dying, he charged his son Philip to continue the family work until a peace should be concluded between the states of Florence and Pisa; a task, which he faithfully performed. The treaty of peace was signed at Pescia on the 17th of August, 1364; and with that event concludes the history of the three Villani.

With regard to the comparative merits of Giovanni and Mattéo, Muratori (and no opinion can have more weight than his) seems inclined to bestow the palm upon the former. ‘*Comparatus cum Johanne,*’ he says, ‘*concedere illi non uno titulo videtur; quippe qui Asiatico stylo usus, pluribus interdum quam opus sit, rerum eventus describit; attamen,*’ he continues, ‘*spondere id possumus, neminem ad legendum Matthæi historiam accessurum, cui voluptatem non pariat hominis sinceritas, prudentia, rectumque de rebus quas enarrat, judicium. Proinde tanti estimata est semper ejus auctoritas, ut ferè quicumque Italianam, immò et Gallicam, aliarumque provinciarum historiam, ad ea tempora spectantem, scribere amplissimè aggressi sunt, honorem illius fidei habuerint, eumque testum rerum tunc gestarum sine trepidatione adhibuerint.*’

On

On account of these last mentioned and most important qualities of the historian, M. Sismondi pronounces him superior to his brother; and perhaps, though he does not expressly say it, Muratori, from the above passage, may be thought upon the whole to have entertained the same opinion.

Both these histories, eminently valuable as they are, lay concealed and almost forgotten, in MS., till about the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Giunti of Florence undertook the laudable task of giving them to the public. Their first edition of Giovanni Villani was printed at Venice in 1559; that of Mattéo, at the same place, in 1562, extending only to the 9th book. The three concluding books of the same author, and his son Philip, did not appear till 1577; and in 1581 and 1587 the whole of both histories was republished by the same enterprising printers, at Florence.

Still much was wanting to restore the text of Villani to its original purity; and many MSS. existed of which the Giunti had no information, or which they certainly did not take the pains of consulting. Muratori undertook to supply these defects, and, in 1729, published at Milan the edition which appears among his *Scriptores Italici*: it was not, however, very well received, and gave rise to a literary warfare, of which we have now neither time nor inclination to inquire into the merits. The present editors have, nevertheless, made the text of Muratori the foundation of their own; and they certainly possess ample means of forming an accurate judgment respecting it. The notes which they have furnished are few, and those few (as far as we have consulted them) distinguished only for an air of solemn trifling, which the name of the writer, Remigio Fiorentino, however high it may stand in the catalogue of Florentine commentators, does not, in our apprehensions, redeem.

The merits of the author may be in some degree, but still very imperfectly, appreciated by the series of desultory remarks and quotations which occupy the preceding pages. The latter half of the thirteenth century, and the beginning of the fourteenth, have been aptly called the heroic age of Florentine history; and the comparison of Giovanni Villani to Herodotus holds equally good with regard to the manners and situation of the people, of whom they were respectively the contemporaneous historians. It was the same age that witnessed the revival of poetry and philosophy, of sculpture, painting, and architecture. Dante,* the first and greatest of Italian poets, Guido Cavalcanti, one of the earliest

* The high reputation which this poet enjoyed, even among his contemporaries, is plainly shown, not only by the passages in which Villani expressly dwells on the circumstances of his banishment and death, but by the frequent references which he makes to the historical allusions with which his poem abounds,

among those who dared to judge for themselves on the great questions of philosophy and religion, Cimabue and Giotto, Arnolfo and Brunelleschi, were all contemporaries and fellow-citizens of the Herodotus of Florence.

The simplicity of manners which distinguished the Florentines of that early period, may be collected from the picture presented by our historian of the condition of his fellow-citizens about the year 1250, that is, about twenty or thirty years previous to his own birth. That period forms a most distinguished era in the Florentine annals. It was then that the Guelphs were recalled to the government, after having been expelled from their native city by the Emperor Frederick the Second; and the administration which was formed upon their recal, and which lasted during the space of ten years, till the fatal battle of the Arbia (Sept. 4, 1260) restored the Gibellin faction, offers a spectacle of successful warfare, and legitimate aggrandizement, of patriotic magnanimity and public disinterestedness, hardly to be paralleled, in the same short space of time, by the annals of any nation under the sun.

In those times, the citizens of Florence lived in great sobriety, on coarse diet, and at little expense. In many of their habits they were uncultivated and rude: both themselves and their wives were clad in garments of the coarsest texture; many even wearing skins without lining, with bonnets on their heads, and wooden shoes (*usatti*) on their feet. The ladies used no ornaments; even those of the highest rank were satisfied with a gown, somewhat scanty, of coarse scarlet stuff of Ypres or Cambray, girt with a broad silken sash after the antique fashion, and a hooded mantle lined with fur; and the common sort went clad in coarse green cambrick, made after the same mode. One hundred pounds was the general rate of dower given with a woman in marriage; and those who gave the utmost, reckoned two or three hundred pounds to be an extravagant portion, and quite beyond measure. The young maidens, for the most part, were twenty years old, or upwards, before they wedded. Of such habits, and such coarse manners, were the Florentines of that day; but they were of good faith, and loyal to each other and to the public, and with all their coarse living and their poverty, they accomplished greater and more virtuous actions than are performed in these our days, with so much more refinement and so much greater opulence.—*Lib. vi. cap. 70.*

‘*Car meilleur temps fut le temps ancien,*’

has been the universal cry of writers in all ages sufficiently advanced to reflect upon the manners of their predecessors, and compare the actual state of things with what they have heard, or believe that they have heard, of former times. How just the maxim may be in general, or how strictly applicable to the age in which Villani thus deploras the decay of virtue, which the short space of half a century had produced, we shall not stop to inquire; but one or two instances of that Spartan principle which, at the period we

are

are speaking of, characterised both the community at large, and many of the individuals who composed it, we cannot forbear recording, although conscious of having already exceeded our limits. The first was the action of the public at large. The city of Arezzo had hitherto remained a stranger to the wars which divided the rest of Tuscany; the Guelphs and Gibellins possessed an equal share in its internal government; and its tranquillity was assured by treaties with the neighbouring states, and among the rest with Florence in particular. In the year 1255, it happened that Count Guido Guerra, at the head of a troop of Florentine cavalry, marched through the territory of Arezzo, on his road to Orvieto; as he passed under the walls of the former city, the Guelph party watched their opportunity, and sent him an invitation to enter and expel their Gibellin rivals. In recompense for this service, which he instantly performed, they put him in possession of their citadel. 'It is thus,' observes M. Sismondi, who relates the circumstance after Villani, 'that the citadel of Thebes was seized by a Lacedæmonian general; the senate of Sparta condemned the captor, and retained the prize: the Florentines, on the contrary, took arms immediately, and repaired to Arezzo, to re-establish the Gibellins. They were their enemies, it is true, but they were enemies with whom a treaty of peace had been concluded; and, as Count Guido thought proper to defend his conquest, and the Guelphs who had invited him, knew not how to dismiss him without a remuneration, the Florentines lent the inhabitants of Arezzo a sum of 12,000 florins, which was never repaid, to enable them to satisfy the count, recover their citadel, defend their liberties, and re-establish order within their walls.'

The other anecdote reflects at least equal lustre upon an individual. The Pisans, after breaking a peace which the superior prowess of their enemies the Florentines had compelled them to sign, were again forced, by new defeats, to submit not only to the former terms, but to deliver up in addition the castle of Mutrone, on the sea-shore, which the Florentines reserved the right of destroying, or retaining to themselves, as they might deem most advisable. After long deliberation, they came to the resolution of adopting the former course; but the Pisans, unwilling to trust to this contingency, and extremely anxious to prevent their enemies from obtaining an establishment on the sea-coast, which they feared would tend to the prejudice of their exclusive commerce, had previously sent a secret deputation to prevent them, if possible, from coming to the determination which they so much dreaded.

There was then at Florence, says Villani, a great citizen, very powerful in his influence with the people and the commonalty, one of the Anziani, by name Aldobrandino Ottobuoni, to whom the Pisan envoy

envoy applied himself, through one of his friends, offering him 4000 golden florins, or more if he required it, to procure the dismantling of Murrone. The good man Aldobrandino, hearing this offer, acted not like one avaricious of gain, but as a loyal and virtuous citizen; and calling to mind, that, only the day before, he had taken counsel with the other Anziani to dismantle Murrone, and now seeing how much it was the wish of the Pisans that it should be dismantled, he returned to the council board, and, without saying any thing of the offer which had been made him, persuaded them, by many eloquent and sound arguments, to adopt the contrary of that on which they had before determined. Now note, reader, (continues our historian,) the virtue of this noble citizen; who, albeit he was far from being rich in possessions, yet had so great continence and sincerity of love for the public good, that the good Roman, Fabricius, did not display more in rejecting the treasure offered him by the Samnites; and therefore it appears a worthy thing to make mention of him for the sake of a good example to our citizens, that now are and hereafter shall be, to cherish more the reputation of virtue than the acquisition of corruptible riches.—Lib. vi. cap. 63.

Such were the people and such the age of which the history of Giovanni Villani exhibits throughout a most lively and interesting picture; and, however much the citizens of Florence may have degenerated, even in his life-time, from the pristine simplicity of manners and strictness of morals which he remarks to have prevailed in the days of their fathers, neither then, nor for more than a century after, did their spirit of patriotism decay, or that public virtue which, so long as it accompanies a people, alone creates and preserves the genuine interest of historical narration, in any degree become extinct or evaporate.

ART. XIII. *Observations on the Nature and Cure of Dropsies.*

By John Blackall, M. D. Physician to the Devon and Exeter Hospital and to the Lunatic Asylum near Exeter. London. 1813. 8vo. pp. 428.

THE endeavours of those who have sought to improve the practice of medicine by applying to it facts or principles discovered in any other branches of physical science, or even by the introduction of any subtle refinements of investigation into morbid physiology and pathology, have hitherto been attended by no very decided success. An attempt of this kind is made in the present work of Dr. Blackall; and in a form, which is at least sufficient to excite our attention, and to induce the medical world to submit to the test of further experience the observations which it contains: but the concurrent testimony of such experience, in the hands of various practitioners, is obviously required, before their

the minstrel to his mistress, and the lay itself, by the melody of which he attempts to gain her heart, and in the course of which he wins her hand.

The Introduction, though by no means destitute of beauties, is decidedly inferior to the Poem. Its plan or conception—and we have already told the whole of it—is neither very ingenious nor very striking. The best passages are those in which the author adheres most strictly to his original: in those which are composed without having his eyes fixed on his model, there is a sort of affectation and straining at humour, that will probably excite some feeling of disappointment, either because the effort is not altogether successful, or because it does not perfectly harmonize with the tone and colouring of the whole piece.

The ‘Bridal’ itself is purely a tale of chivalry; a tale of ‘Britain’s isle and Arthur’s days, when midnight fairies daunced the maze.’ The author never gives us a glance of ordinary life, or of ordinary personages. From the splendid court of Arthur, we are conveyed to the halls of enchantment; and of course are introduced to a system of manners, perfectly decided and appropriate, but altogether remote from those of this vulgar world; the purpose of the poet, whose betrothed is peculiarly enamoured of the extravagancies of chivalry, being to tell

‘Of errant knight and damozelle,
Of the dread knot a wizard tied,
In punishment of maiden’s pride;
In notes of marvel and of fear,
That best may charm romantic ear.’—p. 11.

The era chosen is the eleventh century. Sir Roland de Vaux, Lord of Triermain, having returned from an inroad on the Scottish Border, sees in a dream a lady of matchless beauty, wearing an eagle’s feather in her hair, who transports him with the unrivalled tones of her harp. This powerful baron, as we learn from the introductory lines, to be afterwards quoted, required in the fair one whom he should honour with his hand, an assemblage of qualities that appears to us rather unreasonable even in those high days, profuse as they are known to have been of perfections now unattainable. His resolution however was not more inflexible than that of any mere modern youth; for he decrees that his nightly visitant, of whom at this time he could know nothing but that she looked and sung like an angel, if of mortal mould, shall be his bride. To resolve the question of her mortality, (for none of his attendants had either seen or heard her,) he dispatches his squire to a celebrated sage, on the banks of the river Eamont, by whom it was to be determined whether he was to set out in quest of a
mistress

mistress of flesh and blood, or whether he had been visited by a delightful but tantalizing dream.

The fair intruder, we learn from this high authority, was 'of middle earth;' but she was in the *five hundred and second year of her age*. So long a period had elapsed since Arthur, the amorous and warlike, wandering from Carlisle one April morning, in his usual spirit of adventure, found himself in the delightful valley of St. John in Cumberland! In the middle of the valley he descried, for the first time, a castle pranked in all the pomp of feudal dignity and power; the drawbridge was up, and the gate closely barred; but the castle itself seemed untenanted. The gloom and silence of the scene quailed his heart for a moment; at last he blew his bugle, the portcullis slowly rose, the drawbridge was let down, and the king entered, grasping his sword, and prepared for the worst that might befall him. The warrior's alarm and precautions were equally unnecessary. Nor giant, nor dragon, nor fiend, was in that enchanted abode. In a stately hall, lighted by hundreds of tapers, he was greeted by a band of ladies, beautiful and blooming, who welcomed the flower of Christendom to their retreat. Before he recovered from his astonishment at this strange adventure, the queen of the mansion entered the hall, and Arthur became perfectly reconciled to his thralldom. The feast and song went round—the night wore apace—the lady became more tender and the knight less timid—and long ere the morning dawned he had forgot both his subjects and his queen.

But this delirium could not last for ever—and Arthur insensibly awoke to the recollection of his duties as a husband and a sovereign. To console his seductress, (the daughter of a genie and a mortal princess,) who was affectionately attached to him, he assured her that if the pledge of their loves should prove a boy, he would bestow a kingdom on him; if a maiden, that his knights, the host of England and of Europe, should hold a joust for a summer's day, and the damsel should be the prize of the victor. This magnificent promise did not sooth his lovesick fair. She attempted by an artifice to detain or destroy him, but Arthur found means to pass the drawbridge; and on looking back to gaze on the castle, the scene of his happiness and remorse, he discovered only the solitary streamlet, and a knoll fenced with fragments of rock.

After the lapse of fifteen years, Arthur, when holding his annual court at Penrith during the feast of Whitmaside, the solemnities of which are described with angular felicity, was astonished by the appearance of a lady heading a band of maidens, who, lighting from her palfrey, advanced to the king, and knelt at his feet. She was dressed like a huntress, the eagle plume waved conspicuous in her hair, and she bore a resemblance, but softened and refined by the gentle

their universal truth and importance can be admitted as sufficiently demonstrated.

Dropsies have been attributed by some authors to the inactivity or obliteration of the orifices of the absorbents of the respective cavities alone; but there can be little or no doubt that, in all serious cases, the secretion of the exhalant arteries has also undergone a morbid change. With whatever other disturbances of the processes of life these diseased affections may be connected, we are totally ignorant of the general nature of such a connexion: frequently they seem to be preceded by a state of inflammation, which has sometimes been supposed to have obstructed the orifices of the absorbents by an effusion of lymph, while the exhalants have remained pervious; but frequently also there is no appearance of any affection of this kind, and sometimes mechanical pressure on the trunk, or larger branches of the absorbents, seems to afford a tolerable explanation of the occurrence of local oedema. In general dropsy, it was discovered by the ingenious and industrious chemist Mr. Cruickshank, that a portion of the serum of the blood, at least of its albuminous or coagulating part, was usually mixed with the secretion of the kidneys: and the distinction of the nature and treatment of dropsies, according to the presence or absence of this symptom, constitutes the principal subject of Dr. Blackall's work, which is deduced from a series of observations, continued for several years, on an extensive scale.

With respect to the pathological part of the investigation, our author's labours seem to have been in great measure anticipated by Dr. Wells, of whose papers, published in 1812, the Postscript contains an abstract. In the dropsy following scarlatina, Dr. Wells found much danger from inflammation of the pleura or peritoneum: in a large proportion of cases the kidneys secreted some red blood; in many more their secretion was turbid, and in all severe cases it was coagulable by heat. In dropsy not following scarlatina, the coagulation took place in a little more than half of the cases examined; sometimes by heat only, and sometimes by the addition of nitrous acid, a test which becomes necessary where the fluid is so much diluted as to contain less saline matter than in its natural state; for in this case the addition of any neutral salt is sufficient to render the albumen coagulable by heat as usual. Anasarca and hydrothorax most commonly exhibited the coagulum; ascites less frequently. It often happened that the whole fluid exposed to heat became solid; sometimes softish, but sometimes quite firm: an effect which took place when common serum was added to the same secretion in a healthy state, in the proportion of one to four. From this mode of estimation it was concluded, that in one case as much as seven ounces of serum was discharged every

every day. In healthy persons Dr. Wells could scarcely ever discover any traces of a similar deposition of albumen; in some chronic diseases, especially where mercury had been employed, it was more or less observable. Bark and steel were of no use where it appeared; nor were squills, digitalis, and crystals of tartar so beneficial as in other cases: the tincture of cantharides seemed, however, to be more successful. Mr. Brande found, in a case of this sort, a considerable quantity of albumen precipitated by sulphuric acid, and an almost total deficiency of urea.

The principal part of Dr. Blackall's book is filled with a minute relation of cases of dropsies of all kinds, with their treatment, and sometimes with the appearances on dissection. Besides the distinctions derived from the presence or absence of a coagulum, Dr. Blackall seems to think that a high colour, and a large portion of extractive matter, where the coagulum is wanting, denote a strength of constitution with internal obstruction, (p. 192) and require active diuretics and deobstruents; and that the opposite state of great dilution indicates a feeble and impoverished habit, and sometimes a constitution completely broken down. With respect to the treatment of dropsy where the coagulum is discoverable, his observations are more elaborate and original.—p. 277.

‘Stahl remarks, that hæmorrhages are cured by moderate depletion, but by the use of astringents and tonics are converted into dropsies; and our practice will be rational in dropsy itself, in proportion as we keep the spirit of this observation in our view. The loss of the serous part of the blood, which so remarkably distinguishes it, presents to us a symptom of a very debilitating kind; and our first consideration of the subject might naturally enough encourage us to attempt its cure by those remedies, which, from their effects on occasions not apparently dissimilar, are called astringents. If, however, the doctrine of Stahl is ever true in an actual inflammatory hæmorrhage, it is certainly most strictly so with regard to this flux of serum. Whoever endeavours to restrain it by bark, steel, and similar remedies, will inevitably see reason to repent that attempt in an increased tension and fulness, a pulpy countenance, a cough, if there has been already none, and in worse cases a true peripneumony. The very symptom for which he has prescribed will likewise be aggravated. Experience more than enough has convinced me of the truth and importance of this observation. Not, indeed, that practitioners can be said generally to act in contradiction to it; for they have too much overlooked the appearance to which it relates, to have made its removal an object of their contemplation. But it is so common an error in practice to impute discharges to debility, and endeavour to check them by astringents, that it cannot be too much provided against.’

It appears, however, (pp. 80 and 188) that where the urinary coagulum is very loose, bark and other tonics are beneficial.

The author proceeds to recommend very strongly that great attention

attention be paid to the signs of inflammation, not only preferring febrifuge hydragogues, but frequently employing even venesection, especially where there are symptoms of pneumonia, after mercurial courses, and in inflammatory anasarca; the firmness, copiousness, and early appearance of the urinary coagulum affording the best guide for the administration of this remedy. Purgatives in general have the advantage of obviating an inflammatory tendency; but in hydrothorax they are generally ineffectual. Half an ounce of the supertartrate of potass daily stands 'in the very first rank,' especially where there is much urinary sediment, and coagulum; it is less appropriate where the kidneys are feeble and their secretion watery. Antimonials also seem to favour the operation of laxatives. Of diuretics, squills are the more likely to be serviceable in proportion as the coagulum is less marked, and there is less appearance of inflammation and of indigestion; they operate best in the fullest doses that can be borne, and the mixture of gum ammoniac with nitrous ether seems to afford a good vehicle for administering them (p. 66.) Cantharides, and other stimulating diuretics, our author thinks have a tendency to promote the appearance of coagulum. Tobacco seems to have some pretensions to notice; but digitalis is the most important of all diuretics where the urinary coagulum is present; in its absence, and where the fluid is 'pale and crude,' it seems to fail almost uniformly: (p. 297) in the hydrothorax, its powers are truly astonishing, but it ought not to be rashly mixed with other diuretics, nor with mercurial deobstruents.

Here, however, we must observe, that we have very lately been witnesses of the total failure of a full dose of digitalis in a case of hydrothorax, which was soon afterwards completely relieved by mercurials, carried to the extent of an incipient salivation, and combined with antimonial medicines. Against an over dose of digitalis, blisters on the stomach and opiates are recommended. Dr. Blackall entertains some doubts whether the tincture is equally diuretic with the infusion and the powder. He strongly insists on the efficacy of digitalis in subduing an inflammatory diathesis, and considers it as in many cases equivalent to venesection; nor is he disposed to admit the exceptions made by Withering, Maclean, and later authors, against its use, where inflammation is present. He is even inclined to believe that the blood may generally be in an inflammatory state in the dropsy of debilitated constitutions, and that digitalis may be beneficial by 'breaking down' its 'altered texture;' (p. 316) here however we fear he is venturing a little too far into groundless theory. In other states of the body, digitalis does not appear to be diuretic. (p. 317.) Broom, artichokes, and bohea tea, are cursorily mentioned; opium more favourably; and certainly the effect of this powerful medicine in diabetes would lead

us to expect benefit from it in many dropsical cases. Tapping and scarifications have been observed to alter the nature of the urinary coagulum; but the relief derived from these operations is scarcely ever permanent. The diet, our author thinks, has usually been too cordial and stimulant: where there is hyperbæmia, he forbids fruit, and recommends soda water; with respect to thirst, he observes that it is rarely not to be gratified. In a species which seems to have been the hydrops (anasarca) cacotrophicus, in the crew of an Indianman, the use of well fermented bread appears to have produced an almost instant cure, as an active diuretic.

Among tonics, Dr. Blackall prefers bark in young persons of sound constitution, steel in a vitiated habit, with a sallow complexion. Mercury, as tending to produce the appearance of a coagulum, or even of blood, is forbidden where this appearance already exists; but where the bile passes off by the kidneys, or where their discharge is only scanty and high coloured, mercury may be the most effectual remedy. Two grains of calomel every night seem to have converted an anasarca after scarlatina into a hydrocephalus internus; while on the other hand digitalis with topical bleeding has completely succeeded in curing a hydrocephalus. Mustard cataplasms quickened with oil of turpentine are recommended to be applied to the feet in this disease; and we agree with our author in thinking this remedy frequently preferable to a common blister for the relief of local affections.

A concise and comprehensive account of almost all that has been observed concerning the angina pectoris forms an Appendix to the volume. In general Dr. Blackall coincides in opinion with Dr. Parry respecting this disease, though he remarks that in some cases the term syncope appears to be inapplicable. In the treatment, he observes that its connexion with gout or rheumatism ought to be kept in view: he recommends drains, especially issues in the thighs, or rather setons about the chest, opium in large doses, and the immersion of the arm affected in hot water, have been found very useful palliatives.

We cannot agree with Dr. Blackall when he says (p. 259) that the ancients, 'not without much propriety, termed the natural secretion an *exhalation*,' and, (p. 264.) 'that the fine material, which lubricates internal surfaces, is not liquid, but something more volatilised.' We are utterly ignorant of any 'experiments of Mr. Hunter,' which can be said to prove so paradoxical a proposition. It is firmly established, by the most accurate physical experiments, that no aqueous vapour can exist under the atmospheric pressure at a temperature lower than 212° ; and there is no vital power which has hitherto been shown, or even suspected, to exist, that can supersede this law of inanimate nature, and communicate to a watery fluid the power of remaining permanently elastic

elastic at the ordinary temperature of the animal body. It is only in very elevated situations, where the barometer is always very low, that even Lavoisier's reasoning, respecting the possible existence of ether as a vapour within the body, could be at all admissible. We also entertain doubts of the propriety of the expressions, that the '*blood has been found inflamed*;' (p. ii.) 'a severe and long continued inflammation of the blood, not connected with any corresponding affection of the internal parts.' (p. 117.) We strongly suspect that the improper use of the term 'inflammation' has insensibly led the author to the reasoning which follows; 'can we suppose it possible that such a disposition as this should be merely general? Or, is the cellular membrane in these instances' of dropsy, 'the seat of an obscure inflammatory process?' We see no difficulty in supposing the *possibility* that the disposition should be general, or that the blood may exhibit a buffy coat in dropsy as well as in inflammation; though we do not mean to insist on the probability of the fact.

Among the difficulties to be encountered by those who, like our author, are laudably employed in applying chemical tests to nosological distinctions, the complicated nature of the products to be examined, in a state of health, is one of the greatest. In illustration of this observation, we may adduce the analysis of the fluid which has been the principal subject of Dr. Blackall's investigations, from a paper of Professor Berzelius, published in the last volume of his Essays. Afh. III. 97.

Water	933.00	peculiar animal ex-	
Urea	30.10	tract and mucilage,	
Sulfate of potass . . .	3.71	and urea in triple	
Sulfate of soda . . .	3.16	combination . . .	17.14
Muriate of soda . . .	4.45	Neutral earthy phos-	
Phosphate of soda . . .	2.94	phates	1.00
Muriate of ammonia . .	1.50	Uric acid	1.00
Superphosphate of am-		Mucus of the bladder .	.32
monia	1.65	Silica03
Uncombined lactic acid,			
lactate of ammonia,			1000.00

These proportions are however liable to considerable variation, without actual disease; in particular the uric acid may be entirely wanting, when the perspiration has been abundant. Some of the substances here enumerated would present but little difficulty in the operation of such chemical agents as might be employed for any purpose independent of them; while it would be highly necessary to attend to the presence of others, the complicated constitution and diversified form of which have hitherto rendered their nature and properties extremely obscure and uncertain.

ART. XIV. *Sketch of the Sikhs: a singular Nation who inhabit the Provinces of the Penjab, between the Rivers Jumna and Indus.* By Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm. Large 8vo. pp. 200.

WE knew little of the *Seeks*, *Sic'hs*, or *Sikhs*,* as a distinct sect of Hindoos, till the short account of them which appeared in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Mr. Charles Wilkins found at Patna a college of this sect. Curiosity led him to ask permission to enter it; he was told it was a place of worship, open to all mankind; but he was desired, as a mark of respect, to take off his shoes. He was then conducted to a carpet, and seated in the midst of a numerous assembly. On each of six or seven low desks was placed a book. In the chancel was an altar covered with a cloth of gold, upon which was laid a round black shield over a sword. On a low desk near the altar was a large folio book. Notice was presently given that it was noon, the hour of divine service; on which the great book and desk were brought with some ceremony from the altar, and placed at the opposite extremity of the hall. An old man with a reverend silver beard, kneeling before the desk, attended by a person with a drum, and two or three others with cymbals, opened the book and chanted to the time given by them; at the conclusion of every verse, the congregation joined in a response with countenances exhibiting great marks of joy. It was a hymn in praise of the unity of the Deity. 'I was singularly delighted,' says Mr. Wilkins, 'with the gestures of the old man: I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy, whilst he turned about from one to the other, as it were bespeaking their assents to those truths which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth.' A young man next stood forth, and pronounced with a loud voice and distinct accent a kind of litany, in which, at certain periods, all the people joined in a general response, saying *Wa Gooroo!* They prayed against temptation; for grace to do good; for the general good of mankind; and for a particular blessing on the *Seeks*. A short benediction from the old man, and an invitation to a friendly feast, terminated the ceremony.

Mr. Wilkins was informed that the founder of their faith was named *Nāneek Sah*, a Hindoo of the military caste, who lived about four hundred years ago in the Penjab; that the great book he had seen was of his composing; that this book informs them there is but one God, filling all space, and pervading all matter; and that he is to be worshipped and invoked; that there will be

* *Seek*, according to Mr. Wilkins, signifies 'learn thou.' '*Sikh* or *Sicsha*,' says Sir John Malcolm, 'is a Sanscrit word, which means a disciple or devoted follower.'

a day of retribution, when virtue will be rewarded and vice punished; that it commands universal toleration, and forbids disputes with those of other persuasions; that it denounces all crimes against society; inculcates the practice of all the virtues, but particularly universal philanthropy, and a general hospitality to strangers and travellers.

Such is the substance of Mr. Wilkins's information collected in 1781, which is calculated more to excite than to gratify curiosity. In 1805, General (now Sir John) Malcolm, while serving with the British army in the Penjab, collected materials for elucidating the 'history, manners and religion of the Sikhs.' His Sketch of this singular people appeared in the eleventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, and is now republished in a separate work. We here learn that Nanac Shah was born in 1469, at a small village in the province of Lahore, of the Cshatreya caste and Vedi tribe of Hindoos. Nanac was from his infancy inclined to devotion, and his indifference for all worldly concerns gave great uneasiness to his father, who endeavoured by every effort to divert his mind from the serious turn it had taken.

'With a view to effect this object, he one day gave Nanac a sum of money to purchase salt at one village in order to sell it at another; in the hope of enticing him to business by allowing him to taste the sweets of commercial profit. Nanac was pleased with the scheme, took the money, and proceeded, accompanied by a servant of the name of Bala, of the tribe of Sand'hu, towards the village where he was to make his purchase. He happened, however, on the road, to fall in with some fakirs, (holy mendicants,) with whom he wished to commence a conversation; but they were so weak from want of victuals, which they had not tasted for three days, that they could only reply to the observations of Nanac by bending their heads, and other civil signs of acquiescence. Nanac, affected by their situation, said to his companion with emotion, "my father has sent me to deal in ~~the~~ with a view to profit; but the gain of this world is unstable and profitless; my wish is to relieve these poor men, and to obtain that gain which is permanent and eternal." His companion replied, "thy resolution is good; do not delay its execution." Nanac immediately distributed his money among the hungry fakirs, who, after they had gained strength from the refreshment which it obtained them, entered into a long discourse with him on the unity of God, with which he was much delighted; he returned next day to his father, who demanded what profit he had made. "I have fed the poor," said Nanac, "and have obtained that gain for you which will endure for ever." As the father happened to have little value for the species of wealth which the son had acquired, he was enraged at having his money so fruitlessly wasted, abused poor Nanac, and even struck him; nor could the mild representations of Nanaci save her brother from the violence of parental resentment.'

The superstitious of his countrymen had, however, raised up for

Nanac a powerful protector[†] against the ill-usage of his father. While yet a youth, and tending the cattle in the fields, he fell asleep; and as the meridian sun shone full on his face, a large black snake, raising itself from the ground, interposed its broad hood between Nanac and its rays. The chief of the district witnessed this unequivocal sign of his future greatness, and having overheard Calu punishing his son, chid him severely, and interdicted him from ever lifting his hand against him. Anxious, however, to fix him in some worldly occupation, the father prevailed on his son-in-law Jayram to admit him into partnership in his business, which was that of a grain-factor. He attended at the granary for some time; but his heart was still bent on its first object.

‘One morning, as he sat in a contemplative posture, a holy Mahomedan fakir approached and exclaimed, “Oh Nanac! upon what are thy thoughts employed? Quit such occupations, that thou mayest obtain the inheritance of eternal wealth.” Nanac is said to have started up at this exclamation; and, after looking for a moment in the face of the fakir, he fell into a trance, from which he had no sooner recovered, than he immediately distributed every thing in the granary among the poor; and after this act, proceeded with loud shouts out of the gates of the city, and running into a pool of water, remained there three days; during which some writers assert, he had an interview with the prophet Elias, from whom he learnt all earthly sciences.’

From this period he began to practise all the austerities of a holy man, travelled to the different Hindoo places of pilgrimage, and visited the temple of Mecca. A celebrated musician of the name of Merdana was the companion and partaker of the adventures of this errant devotee. ‘Poor Merdana, who had some of the propensities of Sancho, and preferred warm houses and good meals to deserts and starvation, was constantly in trouble, and more than once had his form changed into that of a sheep, and of several other animals.’ Not so his master, who resisted all the temptations thrown in his way.* To Mahomedans as well as Hindoos, he held forth the same doctrine, earnestly entreating both to abjure the errors into which they had fallen, and to revert to that great and original tenet, the Unity of the Deity. He preached before the Emperor Baber, who was so pleased with him as to offer him an ample maintenance, which he declined on the ground of a full

* It is impossible to read this part of the story, without adverting to the singular coincidence between the adventures of Nanac, and those of Appollonius of Tyana, who had also his Merdana, in the person of a simple squire and buffoon, named Dams. The sober sense of the west quickly reduced the pretensions of this miracle monger to their just level: and even in India, the hot-bed of credulity and imposture, it is sufficiently manifest, that if the institutes of Nanac had not, at an early period, assumed a cast wholly military, as little would now be heard of him as of the thousand other juggling fakirs and yogees who have, from time to time, aspired to notoriety by the extravagance of their devotions.

confidence in him who provided for all, and from whom alone a truly religious man could receive favour or reward. After travelling over the greater part of India, Persia, and Arabia, every where inculcating the doctrine of the unity, he died at Kirtipur, and was buried near the bank of the river Ravi, which has since overflowed his tomb. 'Kirtipur continues a place of religious resort and worship; and a small piece of Nanac's garment is exhibited to pilgrims as a sacred relic, at his Dharma Sálá, or temple.'

In the fabulous account of Nanac's life and travels, enough appears to warrant the conclusion 'that he was a man of more than common genius;' and we think that Sir John Malcolm, in the following passage, has formed a pretty correct estimate of the object of his life, and the means he took to accomplish it.

'Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Mahommed and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union; and he only endeavoured to effect this purpose through the means of mild persuasion. His wish was to recal both Mahommedans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to that sublimest of all principles, which inculcates devotion to God, and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one, and the deep-rooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by the force of reason and humanity: and we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Mahommedan government under which he lived.'

Arjunmul, the fifth in succession as chief of the Seiks in their spiritual character, was less fortunate, having met his death from the hands of the Mahommedans; on which occasion this peaceable and inoffensive sect took to arms under Har Govind, his son, and from that moment an irreconcilable hatred sprung up between the followers of Nanac and those of Mahommed. Gúrú Govind, the grandson of Har Govind, whose father had also been murdered, called upon his followers to 'graft the resolute courage of the soldier on the enthusiastic faith of the devotee, to swear eternal war against the cruel and haughty Mahommedans, and to devote themselves to *steel*, as the only means of obtaining every blessing which this world, or that to come, could afford.' Nanac had carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutions of the Hindoos; but his more daring successor, Gúrú Govind, found them so much at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition, as to determine at once to break in pieces those fetters in which

the Hindoos had been so long manacled, to make converts from all castes and tribes, and to open to men of the lowest condition the prospect of worldly wealth and glory; to level the Brahmin with the Sudra; to make all Sikhs equal; and to let their advancement depend solely on their own exertions. To rouse their vanity he changed their name from Sikh to Sing, or *lion*, an honourable distinction assumed by the Rajaputs, the first military class of Hindoos. 'The disciples of Govind were required to devote themselves to arms; always to have *steel* about them in some shape or other; to wear a blue dress; to allow their hair to grow; to exclaim, when they meet each other, *Wa! Guruji ká khalsah! Wa! Guruji ki futteh!* Success to the state of the Gúru! Victory attend the Gúru!'

The neighbouring Rajas having made war on the Sikhs, applied to the Emperor Aurungzeb for assistance. He sent his son for the purpose of subduing them. 'At the prince's approach,' says Govind, 'every body was struck with terror. Unable to comprehend the ways of the eternal, several deserted me and fled, and took refuge in the lofty mountains.' He then denounces every misery that this world can bring, and all the pains and horrors of the next, on those who desert their Gúru or spiritual leader. 'The man who does this shall neither have child nor offspring; his aged parents shall die in grief and sorrow, and he shall perish like a dog, and be thrown into hell to lament.' His followers fought desperately against superior forces; his mother and his two children were taken prisoners and inhumanly massacred, his son was slain in battle, and Govind, overwhelmed by numbers, fled from Chamkour, and sunk under his misfortunes.

A prophecy had limited the number of spiritual guides to ten; and Gúru Govind, being the tenth in succession, was the last acknowledged ruler. But a devoted follower and friend of his, named Banda, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued on the death of Aurungzeb in 1707, established the union of the Sikhs under his banners. Having subdued all the petty chiefs in his neighbourhood, he attacked Foujdar Khan, governor of Sarhind, the man most abhorred by the Sikhs, as the murderer of the infant children of Gúru Govind. 'The Sikhs fought with that desperation which a spirit of revenge usually inspires. The Khan fell, with most of his army; his wife and children were put to death together with a great part of the inhabitants of Sarhind; the mosques were destroyed or polluted; the carcasses of the dead dug up and exposed to be devoured by beasts of prey. In a word, the whole country between the Setlej and the Jumna was subdued by the Sikhs. To stop the career of these merciless invaders, which threatened the empire of Hindostan, several armies were sent against them; and at length Banda was overcome, and fled with the

the most devoted of his followers to the fortress of Lóhgar, where he was surrounded and starved into a surrender. Banda and the chiefs were sent to Delhi, where, after being treated with every kind of obloquy and insult, they were put to death by the most excruciating tortures. 'Banda,' says a Mahommedan writer, 'was at last produced, his son being seated in his lap. His father was ordered to cut his throat, which he did without uttering one word. Being then brought nearer the magistrate's tribunal, the latter ordered his flesh to be torn off with red hot pincers, and it was in those moments he expired.'

From this period the Sikhs were persecuted by the Mahommedans with unrelenting severity. An edict was issued ordering all who professed the religion of Nanac to be put to death; 'a reward was offered for the head of every Sikh, and every Hindoo was ordered to shave off his hair on pain of death.' Those who escaped fled to the mountains to the north-east of the Penjab, and were scarcely heard of for a period of thirty years, when Nádir Shah invaded India. On this event, the peaceable inhabitants of the Penjab, who retired with their property to the same mountains to escape the rapacity of the Persian, were plundered by the Sikhs: the defeat of the rear of Nádir Shah's army, encumbered with spoil, added to their wealth; and at the death of this extraordinary man, taking advantage of the confusion into which the provinces of Lahore and Cabul were thrown, and of the weak state to which the empire of Hindostan was reduced, the Sikhs became daily more bold, and thousands hastened 'to join a standard under which robbery was made sacred, and to plunder was to be pious.' They extended their ravages over most of the provinces of the Penjab; repossessed themselves of the holy city of Amritsar; subdued a considerable part of the Duab of Ravi and Jalcudra, and got possession of many of the countries which they now enjoy, and from which the united forces of the Affghans and the Mahrattas, have in vain endeavoured to expel them. When unable to stand a general action, they invariably 'retreated to impenetrable mountains, and the moment they saw an advantage, rushed again into the plains with renewed vigour and recruited numbers.' Their determined courage, added to the enthusiasm of religion, has hitherto baffled every attempt to crush them. It is probable, however, that the failure is rather to be ascribed to the decline of the house of Timur than to the combined valour of the Sikhs. So far, indeed, is there at present any thing like union among them, that quarrels are regularly transmitted from father to son; every village is an object of dispute among themselves; and the title to the supremacy is contested between the nearest relations. Scindia, with his French brigades, not only checked their inroads, but made all the chiefs to the southward of the Setlej his tributaries. Sir J. Malcolm

states, that when Lord Laké, in 1805, pursued Holkar into the Penjab, the condition of the Sikhs was found weak and distracted in a degree that could hardly have been imagined; they were wholly destitute of union, 'and every shadow of that concord which once formed the strength of the nation, seemed to be extinguished.' The whole country is in fact under the government of a number of petty chiefs. These, however, on extraordinary occasions, assemble in a grand national council at the holy city of Amritsar. On this solemn occasion all private animosities cease; every personal feeling is sacrificed to the public good, and nothing is thought of but the interests of the religious commonwealth established by Nanac.

This national council, called the *Gúrú-matá*, is convened by the Acalis,* or immortals, 'who, under the double character of fanatic priests and desperate soldiers, have usurped the sole direction of all religious affairs at Amritsar, and are consequently leading men in the council held at that sacred place.' The cause of one is the cause of all, and no Sikh can offend this powerful body with impunity. When the chiefs are seated, the great book is opened as described by Mr. Wilkins. After the prayers and music have ceased, and the holy cakes of wheat, butter and sugar have been broken and distributed, in commemoration of the command of Nanac to eat and give others to eat, the Acalis exclaim, 'Sirdars, this is a *Gúrú-matá*. The sacred Grant'h is betwixt us; let us swear by our scripture to forget all internal disputes, and to be united;' after this they proceed to settle the business of the general assembly.

The principal chiefs of the Sikhs are descendants of Hindoos. The Mahomedans who have become Sikhs are not allowed to attain power; those who retain their faith and inhabit their territories are very numerous, but invariably poor, despised and oppressed. The lower class of Sikhs are more happy; the tyranny of one chief towards his people would infallibly drive them to seek the protection of a rival chief. The ruling power is entitled to one half of the produce of the land, the farmer to the other half; but the chief generally remits a part of his share; the ryot is treated with great indulgence. They have no written code for the administration of justice. Disputes about property are settled among the heads of the village by the arbitration of five persons, the ancient mode throughout India.

The Sikhs have the Hindoo cast of countenance, are as brave, as active, and more robust, than the Mahrattas; they are bold and rough in their address, and invariably converse in a loud tone of voice. 'A Sikh,' says Sir J. Malcolm, 'bawls a secret in your ear.' He adds, 'they are more open and sincere than the Mahratt-

From the Sanscrit privative a and cal, death—never-dying.

tas, and less rude and savage than the Affghans: the soldiers are all horsemen, 'they are without polish, but neither destitute of sincerity nor attachment.' The character of the merchant and the ryot is pretty nearly the same; all indeed wear *steel*; and all are prompt to use it when required. A Sikh chief upwards of one hundred years of age was introduced to Lord Lake, who, pleased with the manliness of his address, and the independence of his sentiments, told him he would grant him any favour he chose to ask. 'I am glad of it,' said the old man; 'then march away with your army from my village, which will otherwise be destroyed.' Meeting two officers at the door in going away, he laid his hands on their breasts, exclaiming, 'Brothers, where were you born, and where are you at this moment?' and instantly retired.

The great objects of Nanac seem to have been to restore the Hindoo religion to its ancient purity,* and to make all Sikhs equal as to rights, but preserving most of the institutions of Brahma. Gúrú Govind, the tenth spiritual leader in succession, gave a new character to the religion and institutions of the sect, and by the complete abolition of all distinction of castes, destroyed at one blow the whole system of the civil and religious polity of the Hindoos. 'The Brahmin, the Chsatrya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra,' he said, 'would, like *pawn*, (betle-leaf,) *chunam*, (lime,) *supari*, (areca nut,) and *khat*, (catechu,) become all of one colour when well chewed.'

This narrative of Sir John Malcolm is interesting in many points of view. It proves that the Hindoos are by no means so unchangeable in their religious tenets and civil institutions as is generally supposed, when a set of fanatics could so completely succeed in overturning both; and it holds out a hope that, by a proper management of the Brahmuns and pundits, the inhuman and impolitic division of the people into castes, that fatal spell which palsies all exertion, might be dissolved, without which all attempts to improve their condition must be fruitless. It also shews us what kind of people are interposed between our possessions and the Persians on the one hand, and the Affghans and Mahattas on the other; and it appears to us, that, united under a wise prince, the Sikhs would prove, on that side of India, an invincible barrier against any enemy that might attempt the invasion of the British territories in Hindostan.

* Sir J. Malcolm informs us how this is to be understood—'The most ancient Hindoos do not appear to have paid adoration to idols; but though they adored God, they worshipped the Sun and Elements.'—p. 147.

ART. XV. *The Bridal of Triermain; or, the Vale of St. John.*
 Edinburgh; John Ballantyne & Co. London; Longman & Co.
 1813. 12mo. pp. 233.

THIS poem, which is ushered to the world in a form the most unassuming, is distinguished by excellencies of no ordinary rank. We are informed, in the preface, that three fragments, written in imitation of living poets, were inserted in the Edinburgh Annual Register for the year 1809; and that, as they attracted somewhat more attention than the author anticipated, he was induced to complete one of them, and to present it as a separate publication.

It requires but little discrimination to discover that the prototypes of these beautiful pictures are Scott, Crabbe, and Moore. The imitations of the two latter are given as they appeared in the Edinburgh Annual Register: the fragment which bears the image of the northern minstrel is expanded to the tale which we now introduce to the acquaintance of our readers.

There is one peculiarity by which these imitations are distinguished. To say nothing of the more obvious and common exertions of the mimetic art, it must have been observed of those more perfect specimens of imitation, in which not the style merely, but the spirit of the original author's composition, the train of his sentiments, and his characteristic habits of thinking, have been successfully embodied, that the effect has been produced, first by judiciously selecting the peculiarities of his style and sentiments, and then by amplifying and exaggerating them. It is the same, perhaps, in every department of art. The nature which is sung by the poet, and portrayed by the painter, is not simple nature, but nature *embellished*. The intellectual mimic, if we may be allowed the expression, while he faithfully seizes the qualities that are characteristic of his model, seldom fails to vary their *degree*: his sentiments are considerably overcharged, and the singularities of his composition are either pushed to extravagance, or introduced with unsparing profusion. The author of the *Bridal of Triermain* has happily found means to vary and improve the principle on which hitherto such imitations have been framed. There is nothing overcharged in his sentiments; nothing exaggerated in his diction. The pictures which he has drawn are not caricatures. He has chosen such subjects as would have been selected by the authors themselves whom he imitates, and we offer them no offence when we say that they could not themselves have illuminated those subjects with sentiments more poetical, or have expressed those sentiments in language more peculiarly their own.

We shall pass over the song written after the manner of Moore,

It is distinguished by all his elegance of conception, and all his airiness and flow of versification; and indeed it is precisely such as at some future period he may himself indite, when maturer years, and a corrected taste, have taught him that the lyre of the poet should be strung to other themes than the ephemeral strife of party politics, the imputed weaknesses of the great, or the pollution of vulgar sensuality.

But we cannot refrain from noticing somewhat more particularly the imitation of the poet of Mûston. Its title is the *POACHER*; a character Mr. Crabbe would have delighted to draw, uniting, as it does, all those qualities of poverty, misery, and profligacy, which he pours forth with unexampled felicity; and in the delineation of it; the author has given us specimens of almost all the merits and defects of the master whom he copies. The character and scenery are seen with the eye, and drawn with the skill of the original artist. There is the same force, and truth, and minuteness of description; the same selection and compression of language, generally powerful, though sometimes quaint and familiar; the same delight in dwelling on the realities, and the painful realities of life; the same propensity to quibble and antithesis, by which Crabbe has sometimes relieved, but oftener, perhaps, degraded some of his most gloomy delineations.

The lines in which the history of the 'Poacher' is given, possess great excellence independent of every collateral consideration; as a specimen of Mr. Crabbe's style of composition, they leave nothing to be desired.

'That ruffian, whom true men avoid and dread,
Whom bruisers, poachers, smugglers, call Black Ned,
Was Edward Mansell once;—the lightest heart,
That ever played on holiday his part!
The leader he in every Christmas game,
The harvest feast grew blither when he came,
And liveliest on the chords the bow did glance,
When Edward named the tune and led the dance.
Kind was his heart, his passions quick and strong,
'Hearty his laugh, and jovial was his song;
And if he loved a gun, his father swore,
" 'Twas but a trick of youth, would soon be o'er,
Himself had done the same, some thirty years before."

'But he, whose humours spurn law's awful yoke,
Must herd with those by whom law's bonds are broke.
The common dread of justice soon allies
The clown, who robs the warren or excise,
With sterner felons train'd to act more dread,
Even with the wretch by whom his fellow bled.

Then,—

Then,—as in plagues the foul contagions pass,
 Leavening and festering the corrupted mass,—
 Guilt leagues with guilt, while mutual motives draw,
 Their hope impunity, their fear the law;
 Their foes, their friends, their rendezvous the same,
 Till the revenue baulk'd, or pilfer'd game,
 Flesh the young culprit, and example leads
 To darker villainy, and direr deeds.

' Wild howl'd the wind the forest glades along;
 And oft the owl renew'd her dismal song;
 Around the spot where eist he felt the wound,
 Red William's spectre walked his midnight round.
 When o'er the swamp he cast his blighting look,
 From the green marshes of the stagnant brook
 The bittern's sullen shout the edges shook!
 The waning moon, with storm-presaging gleam,
 Now gave and now withheld her doubtful beam;
 The old Oak stoop'd his arms, then flung them high,
 Bellowing and groaning to the troubled sky—
 'Twas then, that, couch'd amid the brushwood sere,
 In Malwood-walk young Mansell watch'd the deer:
 The fattest buck received his deadly shot—
 The watchful keeper heard, and sought the spot.
 Stout were their hearts, and stubborn was their strife,
 O'erpower'd at length the outlaw drew his knife!
 Next morn a corpse was found upon the fell—
 The rest his waking agony may tell!—p. 228.

Our more immediate concern, however, is with the poem that occupies the larger part of the volume now before us. It is written, as we have already mentioned, in the style of Mr. Walter Scott; and if *in magnis voluisse sat est*, the author, whatever may be the merits of his work, has earned the meed at which he aspires. To attempt a *serious* imitation of the most popular living poet; and this imitation, not a short fragment, in which all his peculiarities might with comparatively little difficulty be concentrated, but a long and complete work; with plot, character, and machinery entirely new; and with no manner of resemblance therefore to a *parody* on any production of the original author;—this must be acknowledged an attempt of no timid daring, and it cannot be uninteresting to inquire if its execution be equal to the boldness of its conception.

In endeavouring to appreciate the merits of the copy, we may perhaps derive some benefit from impressing on our recollection the features of the original. We have had more than one opportunity of examining the characteristics of Mr. Scott's poetry, and of analysing the causes that have most powerfully contributed to his
 unprecedented

unprecedented popularity. We shall not resume them in detail; but a few of them are naturally brought back to our recollection by the subject more immediately before us.

Mr. Scott is the poet of chivalry. His imagination, it is evident, has been, in a peculiar manner, captivated with that extraordinary system of manne which prevailed throughout Europe after the destruction of the Roman empire; and if we may form any conjecture of the acquirements of the author from his works, he is profoundly acquainted with those circumstances that distinguished the ages of Roman chivalry, on one hand, from the classical times of antiquity, on the other from the institutions and observances of modern days. To this period he has generally assigned the events which he has celebrated; and when, in any instance, he has chosen a date somewhat less remote, the whole picture takes its tone and colouring from an age long since gone by. Upon what principle Mr. Scott has adopted the system of his poetry; whether he has selected it from some preconceived opinion of its excellence and probable popularity, or whether, as is more likely, he has been guided by the bent of his own genius and studies, it would be superfluous to inquire: and it seems to us to possess advantages which may in some measure account for the celebrity he at present possesses, and sufficient too, if prudently managed, to secure to that celebrity a permanence proportioned to its extent.

The machinery and manners and characters of classical antiquity, it has been observed, are but ill suited to the purposes of modern poetry. In the development of personages whose features are minutely known, and in the management of fictitious beings whose attributes are precisely defined, the imagination of the poet and his audience is cramped and embarrassed. The whole scene, and the actors in it, are distinctly seen, as under the blaze of a broad sunshine; and the exertion of fancy, even in the description of beings and events wholly imaginary, is not authorised by the great masters who have fixed immutably the nature of their qualities, is apt to offend, nearly as much as the violation of historical truth: nor can we conceal from ourselves that the playmates of our infancy unavoidably excite associations altogether destructive of the dignity of time. In the regions of romance, as they have been termed, are found mines of which the riches are still unexplored. That are of ferocity and courtesy, of religion and hospitality, of enthusiastic love, of inflexible honour and of magnificent enterprise, which distinguished the manners of the middle ages, opens the happiest and most fertile sources of poetical invention. In the construction of the fable, the poet is enabled to unite the claims of fiction and truth; and

his machinery, consisting of beings whose powers are undetermined, and whose forms are dimly seen, is calculated to excite emotions eminently suited to the purposes of poetry—emotions that will not rise at the bidding of all the choir of Olympus.

The characteristics of Mr. Scott's mind, his natural talents, and acquired endowments, must have insured to him the palm in this department of poetry. His imagination is peculiarly captivated with the splendid and heroic; with events that touch the extreme verge of probability; with characters that delight in achievements requiring the most sublime exertions of virtue and valour, it is fertile in its resources, and bold and sustained and evulsive in its flight. His learning, though not various, is profound. We do not, indeed, discover in his writings any very intimate acquaintance with the authors of ancient Greece; but he is perfectly versant with the events and manners of the times in which his scenes are laid. He has thus been enabled to give the most powerful and captivating interest, and the animation of reality to the pictures of his pencil. He never seems to draw from the stores of his memory. He is not a narrator of events of which he has heard or read; but appearing to have lived in the times to which his transactions relate, he presents to us individuals whom he personally knew, and events that passed before his eyes the instant before he began to describe them. These talents, natural and acquired, co-operating with perfect good sense, and a discriminating attention to the prevailing taste of his age and nation, may in some measure account for his success in the department of poetry he has chosen, and for the eminence to which he has attained by the suffrages of his country.

With all those splendid qualifications, it is impossible to conceal from ourselves, that in the construction of his stories, Mr. Scott is by no means entitled to unqualified praise. Whether a failure to please, in him whose end is pleasure, arises from inattention or incapacity, it is not perhaps very necessary to inquire; but although the sentence to be pronounced by the critic on the work itself will in both cases be the same, his sentiments, so far as they concern the author, will be materially different. If our estimate of Mr. Scott's genius and learning is accurate, or approaches to accuracy, he could not have failed in the formation of the design of his piece, provided he had bestowed the requisite degree of attention on the accomplishment of an object, which no human talent, without much painful labour and unwearied attention, can possibly perform: and of this we are the more persuaded when we observe with what felicity he has finished certain individual and insulated compartments of all his pictures. The fact however is unquestionable, that his fables will not bear the test of a minute

